THE

INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, BART., C.I.E.,
HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE.
FORMERLY LIEUT.-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

AND

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

VOL. XLIII.—1914.

BOMBAY:

Printed and Published at the BRITISH INDIA PRESS, Mazgaon, Bombay.

LONDON: QUARITCH & SONS. | *CHICAGO*: S. D. PEET, Esq., Ph.D.
NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co. | *PARIS*: E. LEROUX.

CONTENTS.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BOOK NOTICES.

SUPPLEMENTS.

INDEX

Sup. stands for the first Supplement, the Bower MS.

F. K. stands for the second Supplement, Folklore of The Konkan.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

Prefatory Remarks.

When I first discovered some Old Western Râjasthânî MSS. in the Indian collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence three years ago, it occurred to me that an account of the new grammatical forms, which are met with in them, would prove very profitable to students of Neo-Indian philology. When, however, I took the task upon myself and began to study the MSS. and to grow familiar with the language, I saw I could give new explanations of many grammatical forms, the origin whereof had been missed or ignored hitherto, and therefore resolved to enlarge the original plan of the work into an historical grammar of the Old Western Râjasthânî, and this I now lay before the public in the form of the present "Notes." The subject being extremely important for the history of the development of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars from Apabhramça, I hope that my labours will be well acceptable to all scholars interested in this branch of Indian philology. As regards imperfections, which will still for many years to come necessarily accompany every similar research into this field, I think there is a reason, for which I ought to be particularly excused in the present case. It is this: that, as far as I know, I am the first European who has ever dared to treat an important subject of Neo-Indian philology, without having been in India. I am, therefore, entirely cut off from that help from natives, which is thought to be indispensable for any such work. That I have never been in India is no fault of mine, as it has always been my strongest desire to prosecute on the spot the study of the languages I love so well. It has simply been want of that opportunity, which I yet hope may some day come to me.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The language, which I have termed "Old Western Râjasthânî" and propose to describe in these pages, is the immediate offspring of the Çaurasena Apabhramça, and the common parent of the modern dialects comprehended in the two general terms, Gujarâtî and Mârwârî. Attention to this old form of language was first called by the late Mr. H.H. Dhruva, who in the year 1889 published an edition of the *Mugdhâvabodhamauktika*——an elementary Sanskrit Grammar with explanations in Old Western Râjasthânî,—and in the year 1893 read a paper on "The Gujarâtî Language of the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century" before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London. He was, however, too careless in his work and too unaccustomed to philological accuracy to give his observations a reliable character and to make his labour profitable for inquirers into the origin of Neo-Indian vernaculars. In Vol. ix, Part ii of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Grierson took up the subject again and gave a most clear account of the language used in the commentary of the *Mugdhâvabodhamauktika*. This was as complete as it could be made on the comparatively scanty evidence of the grammatical forms occurring in it. He called the language "Old Gujarâtî," and explained it as the link connecting Gujarâtî with Apabhramça. The reason that I have adopted a different name for it is that, from the new materials which I have utilized in the present "Notes," it appears that at least until the fifteenth century there was practically only one form of language prevailing over the whole area now covered by Modern Gujarâtî and a great part, or possibly most of the area of Modern Mârwâṛî, and that this language was precisely that which is evidenced by the *Mugdhâvabodhamauktika*. In other words, at the time above-mentioned Mârwâṛî had not yet detached itself from Gujarâtî, and hence the necessity of substituting for the one-sided term of Old Gujarâtî another in which Old Mârwâṛî could also be comprehended. [1]

[1] The term "Old Western Râjasthânî," which seems to me a most convenient one, was first suggested to me by Sir George Grierson.

The fact is that the language, which I call Old Western Râjasthânî, contains all the elements which account for the origin of Gujarâtî as well as of Mârwârî, and is therefore evidently the common parent of both. That Gujarâtî and Mârwârî are derived from a single stock, the Çaurasena Apabhraṃça, has long been recognized[2], and Sir George Grierson, who was the first to detach Râjasthânî from Western Hindî and to class it as a separate language, has already remarked that "if the dialects of the Râjasthânî are to be considered as dialects of some hitherto acknowledged language, then they are dialects of Gujarâtî.[3]" The close agreement between Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî is quite consistent with the ethnological theory according to which—as shown by Sir George Grierson[4] and Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar[5]—Rajputana and Gujarat were populated by the same Aryan tribe, *i. e.*, the Gurjaras, who migrated from the ancient Sapâdalaksha in the North-West of India into North-Eastern Rajputana and thence gradually spread westwards into Gujarat, imposing their language over the whole tract covered by their immigrations. The same theory also accounts for the agreement between Râjasthânî and the languages of the Himâlaya, which Sir George Grierson has grouped together under the general name of "Pahâṛî."[6] Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his "Early History of Gujarat[7]" represents the immigration of the Gurjaras into Gujarat as having taken place during the period A. D. 400-600. However this may be, it is certain that the language imported by the Gurjaras from Sapâdalaksha took a principal part in the formation of the Çaurasena Apabhraṃça.

Our present knowledge of the latter language is chiefly based on the description given by Hemachandra, *sûtras* iv, 329-446 of his Prâkrit Grammar. Hemachandra, having flourished in the 12th century A. D. (St. 1144-1228), and it being evident that the form of Apabhraṃça treated of by him must be anterior to his time, we have authority for placing the *terminus ad quem* for the Çaurasena Apabhraṃça described by him at least as early as the 10th century A. D. For the subsequent period in the history of the Apabhraṃça we may expect ample information from the *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgala*, as soon as a critical edition of it will be available. A part of this work has been collated by Siegfried Goldschmidt and utilized by Pischel in his Prâkrit Grammar, and from it it is clear that the language, in which the illustrations to the *Piṅgala-sûtras* are written, represents a stage of development more advanced than the Apabhraṃça of Hemachandra. To confine myself to mentioning only one, but most important, feature of this later Apabhraṃça stage, I may quote the case of the present passive, which commonly ending in *-îje* (<*ijjaï*),[8] is a sign that the process of simplification of double consonants and lengthening of the preceding vowel, which is the chief phonetical characteristic of the modern vernaculars comparable with the Apabhraṃça, had already begun long before the fourteenth century, during or after which time the final redaction of the *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgala* seems to have taken place.[9] For, though some of the verses quoted in the above work to illustrate the various metres are not older than the fourteenth century, it is clear that the same cannot be the case with all the others, and anyhow the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃça can by no means be looked upon as representing a form of speech, which was current at the time, when the *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgala* was composed, but an antiquated form of language already almost dead and used only in literary composition. The practical conclusion is that the language of the *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgala* represents for us the intermediate step between the Apabhraṃça of Hemachandra and the earliest stage in the history of the modern vernaculars, and is referable to a period from about the tenth to the eleventh, or possibly the twelfth century A. D.

---

2 Cf. R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 5.
3 *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 15.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 2, 323.
5 *Ante*, XL, (1911).
6 *Progress Report of the Linguistic Survey of India, up to the end of the Year 1911*, presented before the xvith International Congress of Orientalists, Athens, 1911.
7 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. i, Part, i (1896), p. 2.
8 E. g. *thavîje* ii, 93, *kahîje* ii, 93, 101, *dîje* ii, 102, 105, *bhaṇîje* ii, 101, etc.
9 See Chandra Mohana Ghosha, *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgalam*, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta 1902), p. vii.

Next in the development comes the stage of the language, which I have called Old Western Râjasthânî. It is, however, to be observed that the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃça is not a pure representative of the stock from which the latter originated, but contains in itself many elements, which point towards Eastern Rajputana as to their home, and are now found to have developed into the dialects of Eastern Râjasthânî, such as Mewâtî, Jaipurî and Mâlvî, and of Western Hindî. The most important of such Eastern peculiarities is the use of the genitive postposition *kau*, which is utterly foreign to Old Western Râjasthânî, and even at the present day is found to be completely missing in the dialects of Gujarat and Western Rajputana, and *vice versa* to be largely spread amongst the dialects of Eastern Râjasthânî and Western Hindî. For the purpose of deriving Old Western Râjasthânî from Apabhraṃça, the language of the *Prâkṛita-Paiṅgala* is therefore only indirectly utilizable. The immediate successor of the latter is not the Old Western Râjasthânî, but that distinct form of language, of which we have a document in Chanda's poetry, and which might well be called Old Western Hindî. One of the characteristic features of this language, as well as of the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃça, is the use of the present participle to give the meaning of the present indicative. With the evidence hitherto available it is not possible to fix the limits of the Old Western Hindî on the West, just as it is not possible to fix those of the Old Western Râjasthânî on the East. It is very likely, however, that at the time, with which we are concerned, Old Western Hindî extended more to the West than at the present day and occupied some portion at least of the area of modern Eastern Râjasthânî. Whether it went so far as to be conterminous with the Old Western Râjasthânî or was separated from the latter by an intermediate form of speech, in which the two merged together, I cannot say with certainty, though I am inclined to favour the second alternative. If this intermediate language existed, it would be proper to call it Old Eastern Râjasthânî and to regard it as the old representative of the modern dialects, which are known under the general name of Ḍhuṇḍhâṛî or Jaipurî. Possibly some documents of this old language are in existence, but until they are produced we shall have to leave the question *sub judice*. We may, however, take it for granted that the old vernacular of Eastern Rajputana—be it Old Eastern Râjasthânî or Old Western Hindî—was in origin more closely allied to the language of the Gangetic Doab than to that of Western Rajputana and Gujarat, and was only afterwards differentiated from the former under the influence of the latter. In the collection of Indian MSS. in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, I have discovered a fragment of a Jaipurî version of Râmachandra's *Puṇyâçravakathâkoça* and, though the language is hardly more than 200 or 300 years old, yet it is noteworthy that it presents many more points of agreement with Western Hindî, than does Modern Jaipurî.

I now return from this digression to take up the thread of my subject. The chief characteristics of the Old Western Râjasthânî, whereby it stands out as separate from Apabhraṃça on the one side and from Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî on the other, may be resumed in the two following :

1 A double consonant of the Apabhraṃça is simplified and the preceding vowel generally lengthened. Ex.: Ap. *ajja*> O. W. R. *âja* (Dd.[10] 6) ; Ap. *vaddala* > O. W. R. *vâdala* (F 535, ii, 2) ; Ap.* *chibbhaḍi*> O. W. R. *chîbhaḍa* (P. 252). This phonetical process is, with few exceptions, equally common to all Neo-Indian vernaculars and may be regarded as the most marked feature of the latter in comparison with the Apabhraṃça.

2 The hiatus of the two vocalic groups *aï*, *aü* of the Apabhraṃça is preserved, *i.e.*, the two vowels in each group are still considered as forming two distinct syllables. Ex.: Ap. *achchhaï*> O. W. R. *achhaï* ; Ap. **uṇhaâlaü* > O. W. R. *ûnhâlaü* (ÂdiC.) In Modern Gujarâtî *aï* is contracted to *ê* and *aü* to *ô*, and in Modern Mârwâṛî *aï* to *ai* and *aü* to *au*. Thus in the former language the two examples above would be *chê* and *unâḷô* respectively.

[10] The meaning of these abbreviations will be explained at the end of the present chapter.

As regards the time, towards which the final detachment of the Old Western Râjasthânî from the Apabhraṃça took place, we cannot go very far from the truth if we fix it in the thirteenth century or thereabouts. This is borne out firstly by the consideration that the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃça cannot have existed as a current language after the twelfth or at the most the thirteenth century A. D., and secondly by the evidence of the *Mugdhâvabodhamauktika,* which is dated in the year 1394 A. D. and represents the Old Western Râjasthânî not in a period of formation, but already completely developed. Many grammatical forms older than those evidenced by the *Mugdhâvabodhamauktika* have been preserved in poems written in the fifteenth century.

As already pointed out above, Old Western Râjasthânî represented in origin a single language, common over both Gujarat and Rajaputana. When the process of differentiation of Old Western Râjasthânî into Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî began it is not possible to determine with the materials hitherto available, but it is certain that it was effected gradually and its completion required a very long time. One of the chief characteristics, by which Mârwâṛî is distinguished from Gujarâtî, namely the ending -ā̃ of the first person plural of the present indicative, is already found in the *Vasantavilâsa,* a work which is reported to come from Ahmadabad and to date from St. 1508.[11] It would therefore seem that in the fifteenth century the formation of the Mârwâṛî was already in progress. But even long before that time it is possible to notice in the Old Western Râjasthânî a Mârwâṛî tendency, chiefly characterized by the employment of the dative postposition *rahaĩ* to give the meaning of the genitive case. In the later stage of the Old Western Râjasthânî the differentiation becomes so marked that it is always possible to say whether a MS. is written under the influence of the Gujarâtî or is of the Mârwâṛî tendency. Of the two currents, into which Old Western Râjasthânî thus divided itself, the one represented by Gujarâtî remained generally faithful to its source, whilst the other represented by Mârwâṛî differentiated to some degree from the latter by assuming many peculiarities, which were common to the neighbouring dialects of Eastern Rajputana and, in some cases, to Pañjâbî and Sindhî. The above is the reason, for which Old Western Râjasthânî has been hitherto explained as merely Old Gujarâtî. The chief characteristics of the Mârwâṛî tendency, which existed in later Old Western Râjasthânî, are the following:

1 The common substitution of *i* for *a,* as in : *kimâḍa* for *kamâḍa, khiṇa* for *khaṇa, piṇi,* for *paṇi, paṇa* (AdiC.)

2 The employment of the genitive (oblique case) for the instrumental and *vice versa,* as in : *sagalā̃-hi dukkhê,* instr. plur. (ÂdiC.)

3 The use of the postpositions: *rahaĩ > hraĩ > raĩ, rai, tāĩ.*

4 The pronominal forms: *tuhê* for *tumhê* ; *amhā̃, tumhā̃* for *amha, tumha* ; *tiā̃, jiā̃* for *têha, tîha, jêha, jîha.*

5 The substitution of the compound pronouns *ji-kô, ti-kô,* for *jê, tê.*

6 The substitution of *ā̃pa, ā̃pê* for Gujarâtî *âpaṇa, âpaṇê,* when used to give the meaning of the first personal pronoun plural, including the person addressed.

7 The forms *di, tîna* of the cardinals 2, 3, instead of *bê, triṇi.*

8 The substitution of the pronominal adverb *kadî* for *kahî.*

9 The ending-ā̃ of the first person plural of the present indicative, instead of *-aũ.*

10 The ending *-isi* of the second and third person singular of the future indicative, instead of *-isai, -isii.*

11 The substitution of the feminine for the neuter with past participles of verbs of saying or asking, used without any object expressed, as in: *pûchhî* " [He] asked " (ÂdiC.)

All the above peculiarities are found in the MS. *ÂdiC.* and a great part of them also occur in the MS. *Shasht.* As regards the genitive postposition *hamdô,* which Mârwâṛî borrowed from Pañjâbî and Sindhî, I have noticed no traces of it in the texts I have seen.

When the Old Western Râjasthânî stage finishes and Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî properly begin, I am not able to say with certainty. All the MSS. of the later Old Western

11 H. H. Dhruva, *Op. cit.,* p. 320, 323, 325.

Râjasthânî period, which have been available to me, are unfortunately undated and, till further evidence is produced, it is impossible to fix any definite limits. Of one thing I am certain : that Modern Gujarâtî cannot commence with Narasiṃgha Mehetâ, as is commonly stated. This poet having been born in the year 1413 A. D., was contemporary with Padmanâbha, who wrote his *Kânhadêprabandha*, in the year 1456, and it is therefore plain that Narasiṃgha Mehetâ too must have written in the same form of Old Western Râjasthânî as Padmanâbha did. That the songs of the former appear now to be couched in a form of language very near to Modern Gujarâtî, does not affect the question, for it is quite natural that they were in due course modernized during the 450 years, through which they have come down to us. Judging from the fact that the Old Western Râjasthânî poems, which are known to be dated from the fifteenth century, exhibit a language, which must be at least 100 years older than that of the later Old Western Râjasthânî MSS.—even allowing for the antiquated forms which are commonly employed in poetry,—I have no difficulty in holding that the Old Western Râjasthânî period must have lasted at least as long as the end of the sixteenth century. But it is very probable that Old Western Râjasthânî reached beyond this limit; anyhow some of its characteristics certainly did. The passing of one language into another being always effected through gradual steps, it is natural that. whenever the older language is made to finish and the younger one to commence, some of the features of the former must be found in the early stage of the latter and likewise some of the features of the latter in the ultimate stage of the former. Confining myself to Gujarâtî, which is more faithful to the Old Western Râjasthânî tradition and better known than Mârwârî, I would take the following as the principal characteristics marking its existence independent from the Old Western Râjasthânî :

1 Contraction of the vocalic groups *aï*, *aü* into *ê*, *ô*. Ex.: *karê* (<*karaï*), *ratô*[12] (<*aurataü*).

2 Substitution of *a* for *i*, *u*, in open syllables. Ex. : *traṇa* (<*triṇṇi*), *dahâḍo* (<*dihâḍaü*), *bâpaḷo* (<*bâpuḍaü*).

3 Tendency to shorten the long vowels *â*, *î*, *û*. Ex. : *athaḍe* (<*âthaḍaï*), *visare* (<*vîsaraï*), *upari* (<*ûpari*).

4 Elision of *h* between vowels or after nasals. Ex.: *bîno* (<*bîhanaü*), *derũ*(<*deharũ*), *evo* (<*ehavaü*) ; *ame* (<*amhe*), *ûnâlo* (<*ûnhâlaü*). It is, however, to be observed that in most of such cases the *h*-sound, though disappeared in writing, is still slightly heard in pronounciation. Cf. the list of words quoted by Sir George Grierson, *Op. cit.*, p. 347 ff.

5 Substitution of *ç* for *s*, when the latter was originally followed by *i*> *y*. Ex :*karaçe* (<*karisyaï*), *ço* (<*syaü*).

6 Cerebralisation of *l*, when derived from a medial single *l* of the Apabhraṃça. Ex. : *maḷe* (<*milaï*). This process had probably begun since the earliest Old Western Râjasthânî stage, but in no MS. of the latter language the *ḷ*-sound is distinguished from *l*.

7 Loss of the strong form *-aũ* in the nominative singular neuter and substitution of the weak form *-ũ*.

8 Introduction of the element *-o-*, as a characteristic of the plural.

9 Loss of the termination *-aũ* of the first person plural present indicative and future, and substitution of *-îe* in the former and *-ũ* in the latter case.

10 Substitution of the potential passive in *-âya* for the original passive in *-îjaï*, *-îaï*.

The information, contained in the present "Notes," is chiefly derived from Jaina MSS. belonging to the Indian Collection in the Regia Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence (Italy). Beside these, however, I have also utilized two Jaina MSS. of the India Office Library, which have been accessible to me through the kindness of the Librarian, Dr. F. W. Thomas, two Jaina MSS. kindly procured to me by the *munirâj* Çrî Vijaya Dharma Sûri, and also all the printed materials, hitherto available on the subject and already referred to in the preceding pages. The following is a list of the chief sources of my information, alphabetically arranged under abbreviated titles. Works in prose are distinguished from those in poetry by an asterisk placed before the title. Florentine MSS. are indicated by *F* followed by a number, which corresponds to the progressive number under which they are

[12] For the sake of simplification, I shall henceforth leave unmarked the quantity of *e o*.

arranged in Professor Pavolini's "I Manoscritti Indiani della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (non compresi nel Catalogo dell' Aufrecht)."[13]

* *Âdi.*—Bâlâvabodha to the *Âdinâthadeçanâdhâra*, 88 Prâkrit gâhâs. From the MS. *S. 1561, c* in the India Office Library.

* *ÂdiC.*—*Âdinâthacharitra.* From the MS. *F 700* (Sûrapura).

* *Indr.*—Bâlâvabodha to the *Indriyaparâjayaçataka*, 99 Prâkrit verses. From the MS. *S. 1561, c* in the India Office Library.

* *Up.*—*Upadeçamâlâbâlâvabodha* by Somasundarasûri. From a MS. kindly lent to me by Çrî Vijaya Dharma Sûri, 120 leaves. Saṃvat 1567.[14]

Rsh.—*Rishabhadevadhavalasambandha.* From the MS. *F 758.*

* *Kal.*—Avachûri to Siddhasenadivâkara's *Kalyâṇamandiraastotra*, 44 Sanskrit verses. From the MS. *F 671.*

Kânh.—*Kânhadeprabandha* by Padmanâbha (Jhâlora, Saṃvat 1512 = 1456 A. D.) Lately printed by K. H. Dhruva (in the गुजराती प्राचीन ?) I was able to collate it through the kindness of Sir George Grierson, who lent to me his own reprint copy of it.

Chat.—[*Navasthânasahita-*] *Chaturviṃçatijinastavana*, 27 verses. From a MS. procured to me by Çrî Vijaya Dharma Sûri. Saṃvat 1667.

Ja.—*Jambusvâmi-naü gitâchhandaü*, 30 verses. From the MS. *F 752.*

* *Daç.*—Avachûri to the *Daçavaikâlikâsûtra.* From the MS. *F 557.*

* *Dd.*—*Daçadṛishṭânta.* From the MS. *F 756.*

P.—*Pañchâkhyâna*, a metrical translation of the first *tantra* of the *Pañchatantra*, 694 verses (including a number of Sanskrit verses, which are now and then interspersed) From the MS. *F 106*, registered in Theodor Aufrecht's "Florentine Sanskrit Manuscripts" (Leipzig 1892).

* *Pr.*—Paraphrase to the Prâkrit *Praçnottararatnamâlâ* by Rishyuttama, 29 verses. From the MS. *F 762.*

* *Bh.*—Bâlâvabodha to the *Bhavavairâgyaçataka*, 104 Prâkrit verses. From the MS. *F 615.*

* *Mu.*—*Mugdhâvabodhamauktika*, a Sanskrit grammar with explanations in Old Western Râjasthânî, written in the year 1394 A. D. An account of the Old Western Râjasthânî forms occurring in it, is made by Sir George Grierson in *LSI.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 353-364.

* *Yog.*—Chhâyâ to Hemachandra's *Yogaçâstra*, first four chapters. From the MS. *F 618.*

Ratn.—*Ratnachûḍa-* or *Maṇichûḍa-nî kathâ*, 351 verses. Saṃvat 1571. From the MS. *F 766.*

Vi.—*Vidyâvilâsacharitra* by *Hîrâṇandasûri*, 174 verses. Saṃvat 1485. From the MS. *F 732.*

Çâl.—*Çâlibhadrachaüpai* by Sâdhuhaṃsa, 220 verses. From the MS. *F 781.*

* *Çîl.*—Ṭabâ to Jayakîrti's *Çîlopadeçamâlâ*, 116 Prâkrit gâhâs. From the MS. *F 791.*

* *Çrâ.*—Bâlâvabodha to the *Çrâvakapratikramaṇasûtra.* Saṃvat 1564. From the MS. *F 643.*

* *Shashṭ.*—Bâlâvabodha to Nemichandra's *Shashṭiçataka*, 162 Prâkrit verses. From the MS. *F 638.*

Besides the above, I have also partially collated several other Florentine MSS., which in the course of the following pages will be occasionally cited by *F* followed by their progressive number in Professor Pavolini's catalogue. As regards the chronology of the above-quoted materials, of which most are undated, the following is an attempt to classify them by centuries, chiefly based on the comparison with six or seven of them which are dated:

A. D. 1300—1400—*Kal., *Mu.

A. D. 1400—1500—Vi., Kânh., Rish., *Daç., *Yog.

A. D. 1500—1550—P., Ja., Ratn., Çâl., *Çrâ., *Up., *Indr., *Âdi., *Bh.

A. D. 1550—1600—Chat., *Shashṭ., *Âdi Ch., *Pr., *Dd., *Çîl.

It is not impossible that some of the MSS. classed under the last period, of which only one (*Chat*) is dated, and this in the year Saṃvat 1667 (=A. D. 1611), outreach the end of the sixteenth century. The MSS., which show traces of the Mârwâṛî tendency, are the five following: *Kal., *Daç., *Up., *Shashṭ., *ÂdiCh. The two last, being more recent in time, are naturally affected by Mârwâṛî peculiarities in a greater degree.

(*To be continued.*)

[13] *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, Vol. xx (1907), p. 63-157.

[14] At the time of sending the present "Notes" to the Press, I had collated this MS. only as far as leaf 68, corresponding to Gâhâ 300 in the Prâkrit original by Dharmadâsa.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 17.)

SECTION V.

The Indigenous Pâṇḍyan Kings from 1371 to 1500.

From what has been said in the preceding section, the question will naturally suggest itself as to who the Pâṇḍyan kings of this period were; for as we have already seen, the Pâṇḍyan dynasty did exist during this period. Who were the kings then? How many of them ruled? Did they rule in Madura, as of old? How did they distinguish themselves? What was their attitude to the Vijayanagar political agents? We have, unfortunately, very few materials from which we can draw any definite conclusions in regard to these important questions.

The Line of Sôma-Sekhara.

According to one MS., "the *Supple. MS.*" of Mr. Taylor, there was a continuous dynasty of Pâṇḍyan kings from the time of Kampaṇa Udayâr right down to the establishment of the Nâik Râj. It says that immediately after his conquest of the Musalmans and the revival of Hindu government and worship, Kampaṇa Udayâr, the Vijayanagar General[72] instituted a search for persons of the old Pâṇḍyan race, as a result of which he caused one Sômaśêkhara Pâṇḍya to be crowned. This Sômaśêkhara, it continues, ruled for a space of 17 years, and was followed by as many as 14 kings. The last of these, it says, was Chandra Śêkhara Pâṇḍya, and it was in his time that a war took place between the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa chiefs of the day, the result of which was the advent of the Nâik Râj in Madura. The MS. mentions the number of years during which each of these kings is said to have ruled. The whole can conveniently be expressed in the form of a genealogy :—

Sômaśêkhara (17 years)
|
Sôma Sundara (35 years)
|
Râja Kunjara (18 years)
|
Râja Śêkhara (18 years)
|
Rama Varma (36 years)
|
Varada Râja (19 years.)
|
Kumâra Singha (16 years)
|
Bhīma Sêna (40 years)
|
Pratâpa Râja (15 years)
|
Varaguna Pâṇḍya (27 years)
|
Kumâra Chandra (22 years)
|
Varatunga (8 years)
|
Kulottunga (19 years)
|
Chandra Śêkhara (35 years)

[72] The MS. says that he was "the general of the Mysore King." He came at the head of the Canarese in S-1293, *Virôdhikrit*. See *Madr. Manu.* I, p. 123. and the appendix for the translation of the MS.

In other words, there were 15 sovereigns whose rule covered a period of 345 years. "During this state of things," continues the MS., "in K. 4533, S. 1354, (1432) year *Paritâpi*, Kottiyam Nâgama Nâik, by order of the Râya, conquered the Pâṅdyan country. Afterwards down to *Iśvara* (S. 1380) Visvanâtha Nâik ruled the country."

It will be at once perceived that, in regard to chronology, this account cannot for a moment be believed. From the distinct specification of the number of years allotted to each king, it will be plain that Chandra Śêkhara Pâṅdya, the king, in whose time the invasion of Nâgama Nâik is said to have taken place, must have reigned from 1683 to 1718. And yet in the very next line the MS. says that the invasion of Nâgama took place in 1432 A.D. How could the chronicle seriously maintain that Chandra Śêkhara lived, as a computation of its own dates shews, between 1683 and 1718, and yet that he was conquered by Nâgama in 1432? Further, as we shall see later on, the date 1432 assigned to Nâgama Nâik and his son Visvanâtha, that is, to the Nâik conquest of the Pâṅdyan kingdom, is too early by a century. The chronology, then, of the "*Supple. MS.*" cannot be trusted; but is the list of the Pâṅdyan kings given by it genuine? So far as the indigenous chronicles are concerned, there are at least three[73] MSS. which, though they do not give any dates, and though they differ in minor details, yet generally support the "*Supple. MS.*" After giving a good deal of legendary and historically valueless matter, one of them says: "While Kula Vardhana Pâṅdya was thus ruling, a Muhammadan named Badshah invaded the country, conquered it, destroyed temples, and drove the Pâṅdyan king to the Western country. Then the Pâṅdyan kingdom was miserable and subject to Musalmân rule. Subsequently the Canarese came in large numbers, destroyed the Muhammadans, revived the worship in temples, came to the west, called Somaśêkhara Pâṅdya, a scion of the Pâṅdya line, crowned him, and then returned to the Canarese country." Somaśêkhara, continues the MS., ruled "for some time," and was then followed by fifteen kings. These kings are identical with the kings of the "*Supple. MS.*"; but there are three differences between the two chronicles. First, while the *Supple. MS.* says that the dynasty ended with Chandraśêkhara, the 15th from Somaśêkhara, the other MS. says that it ended with Chandra Kumâra, the son of Chandra Śêkhara and the 16th of the line. Secondly, the latter MS. gives no date. Thirdly, the latter is, as we shall see later on, a little more detailed in regard to the circumstances of the Nâik conquest of Madura. In fact its account of the conquest places the whole fact in a different aspect. The third MS., (called[74] the *Pâṅdya Rajas' Purana Charita*) mentions the same list of kings, but has got its own version of the Vijayanagar and Naik conquests. After giving a list of 24 kings previous to the Muhammadan advent, it says: "While the kingdom was thus ruled, some Muhammadans from the north under Mulla[75], captured the country, ruined the temples, and necessitated Mînâkshi and Sundarêśvara to take refuge in the Malayâlam[76] country. When things were in this condition a Hindu king from the north named Kamanan[77] overthrew the Muhammadans, reopened the temples for worship, and reorganised the daily *pûja*. Some days after, a scion of the old Pâṅdyan dynasty who had fled westward, got the help of the kings of Malayâlam[78] and Mysore, and attacked Kumana. The latter, thereupon, came to an agreement with him by which he left the kingdom and returned northward. The Pâṅdya, Somaśêkhara, then ruled for some time, and was followed by 14 kings. These are exactly the kings mentioned

[73] These are: "An *account of the Chôḷa, Chêra, and Pâṅdya kings, copied from a document in possession of one named Kâli Kavi Râyan of Pânthurai, Coimbatore.*" (Restored Mack. MSS., III, 234-256); *Pâṅdya Rajas' Purana Charita* (*Ibid*, 15-25); and *Pâṅdya Pratâpa Vamsâvali*. See appendix for translations and references.

[74] *Resto. Mack MSS.* III, p. 15-25.

[75] *i.e.*, Malik Kâfûr.

[76] In this it agrees with the other MSS. see *ante* section 2.

[77] Kamanan was Kampaṇa Udayar. He was not a king of course. The MS. is very meagre and vague.

[78] That the Pâṅdya king was at this time a refugee in the west is confirmed by other MSS. *E.g.* The *Supple. MSS.*, *Kâli Kavi Râyan's Account*, etc. But the account of Kampaṇa's defeat and return is quite absurd and contrary to fact.

in the other two MSS, but no dates are given, and the cause of the Nâik advent is dismissed in the single statement that "as Chandra 'Sêkhara had no son, he adopted Visvanâtha Nâik, and the Râya confirmed this, and sent him as *Pâṇdyamandalâtipati* and *Dhakshinasimhâsanâtipati.*"

Another MS. Chronicle, *The Pâṇdya Pratâpa Vamsâvaḷi*, has got its own version of the events. It says, after a good deal of legendary matter, that "while Kulavardhana[79] Pâṅdyan was ruling, a Muhammadan named Mullah came from the north, fought with Kulavardhana, seized the kingdom, closed the temples, and spread Muhammadanism everywhere. Then a single garland, a single sandal paste and a single lamp were left in the holy of holies of the Madura shrine, a stone wall was erected in front of the Garbhagraha in both the shrines, and the festival idols were taken for safety to Malayâlam.[80] For many a day there was the Muhammadan regime. Then two Canarese named Kampaṇa Udayâr and Empaṇa Udayâr came from the north at the head of a large army, overthrew the Muhammadans, and revived worship, as of old, in the temples. The stone wall before the Garbhagraha was then removed and lo! it was found that the sandal paste, the garland, and the lamp were as fresh as if placed that very day. The two kings were struck with wonder. They got the festival idols from Malabâr, revived the old festivals, and thus ruled for many days.

"Meanwhile Kulavardhana Pâṅdya had gone to the west and died there. His son Somaśêkhara then proceeded to the Canarese country in the north, had an interview with its kings, and proceeding to the court of Kampaṇa's master[81] Basava Dêva Mahâ Râja, waited on him for a year, during which he enjoyed his grace and the favour of his ministers. At the end of the year, thanks to the advice of the latter, the Râja presented him with elephants, horses, army, etc; crowned him as the king of the Pâṅdyan kingdom, and wrote to Kampaṇa Udayâr to give it over to him. Sômêśvara, thereupon, came to Madura and when three *Kâdhas* off it, sent word to Kampaṇa, who gave him a cordial reception, crowned him, and entrusting the kingdom to him, returned to his country. Then Somêswara ruled for some time."

The MS. then gives this genealogy. It has no dates. It, moreover, gives only 13 kings, and many of these are not identical with those mentioned in other MSS.

Somêśvara.
|
Kuvalayândha Pâṅdya
|
Varada Râja P.
|
Kumâra Singha P.
|
Vajra Singha P.
|
Bhîma Sêna P.
|
Pratâpa Râma P.
|
Varaguna Râma P.
|
Kumâra Chandra P.
|
Varatunga P.
|
Chandra 'Sêkhara P.
|
Somêśvara P.
|
Chandra 'Sêkhara P.

79 It will be seen that in regard to the name of the Pâṅdyan king this Ms. differs from others.
80 Cf. the *Koyiloḷugu.*
81 The term Basava Dêva Mahâ Râja is unknown to the inscriptions. The MS. is here unreliable. It may however be the fact that the Pâṅdya king got back his kingdom from the Râya after waiting on him for a year.

" After Chandra Śêkhara the Pâṇḍyan kingdom became extinct. For he had no child, and Vîra Śêkhara Chôḷa invaded the kingdom, seized it, and drove him away. Chandra Śêkhara, thereupon, went to the Râya and complained, and he sent Nâgama Nâik to restore him. He came, defeated and drove out the Chôḷa ; but, turning traitor, seized the Pâṇḍyan crown himself, and ruled for four years. Then owing to the Râya's orders, Visvanâtha Nâik came to the south, defeated his father Nâgama Nâik, and gave back the kingdom to the Pâṇḍyan. Subsequently, however, the Pâṇḍyan, owing to his having no heir and owing to his fear that after him his kingdom would be seized by his enemies, adopted Visvanâtha as his son, gave him the royal seal, and crowned him in Mînâkshi's temple. From that time, Viśvanâtha and his descendants ruled the Pâṇḍyan kingdom."

The MSS. thus agree in mentioning fifteen kings as the rulers of the Pâṇḍyan realm from the time of Kampaṇa Udayâr to the time of Viśvanâtha Nâik. But, in spite of this agreement, the list must be considered a spurious one. Messrs. Nelson and Sewell[82] solved the problem for their part by putting these monarchs to the pre-Musalmân period, to, in fact,a Parâkrama Pâṇḍya who is said to have been the victim of the Islamites,—a procedure which is directly against the account of the MSS., which plainly indicate that they were the *successors* of Kampaṇa Udayar. Mr. Taylor, on the other hand, believed in the existence of the kings, but not the dates[83] ascribed to them by the " *Supple. MS.*" He says that the period of 345 years assigned to them cannot be accepted, as it would bring the last Pâṇḍyan king " too low down." Nor is he prepared to believe the date S. 1354 so inconsistently attributed by the MS. to Chandraśêkhara. He gives three reasons for his contention. First the period of 61 years which will have to be assigned to the 17 kings in case the date S. 1354 is accepted, is too small as the average comes to less than four years. Secondly S. 1354,he surmises, may be a mistake of the copyist for S. 1454. Thirdly, Nâgama Nâik, the founder of the Madura Nâik dynasty, was, according to many authorities, a general of Krishna Dêva Raya in the 16th century. For these reasons he adds 100 years to S. 1354 and concludes that the dynasty must have ended about S. 1454[84] *i.e.*, 1532 A.D. In spite of Mr. Taylor's opinion, there are certain reasons which warrant the belief that the list of kings is not genuine. It is more than probable that the three MSS. were taken from a single source.

Their Existence doubtful.

Then, again, all of them are suspiciously short and vague, and while the chronology of one is distinctly absurd, the chronology of the others is a perfect blank. Above all, there is a singular lack of epigraphical evidence to support the existence of these kings. Had they existed, they would certainly have left the marks of their sway in stone or metal, as the kings of those days invariably did. A Hindu king without resort to the panegyric of Brâhmans and the reputation of a donor to temples and priests was, in the mediæval age of Indian history, a practically impossible phenomenon. The name of religious benefactor was as dear as life to the kings of those days. Charters and grants carved in undying plates, and inscriptions cut in undying stone were, for them, the only means of ensuring an eternity of fame and a perpetuation of remembrance. A king indifferent to such means of reputation in such an age would indeed be a marvel, and a series of such kings would be a still greater marvel. And yet, throughout the 15th century, we do not meet with any inscription of these kings. Only one conclusion is possible,—they had not existed at all.

If the information given by the " *Supple. MS.*" and other MSS. in regard to the Pâṇḍyan line of Somaśêkhara can be thus dismissed as a fabrication, it ought not to be concluded that there were no indigenous rulers in Madura during the period of 1½ centuries which we have surveyed. We have already seen how during the Muhammadan occupation and rule of Madura in the 14th century, kings of the Pâṇḍyan dynasty continued to rule. We have seen how according to Kielhorn, three of them at least, Mâravarman Kuleśêkhara II, (1314-21) Mâravarman Parâkrama Pâṇḍya (1334-52) and Jatâvarman Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, have left evidences of their nominal, though not actual sway, and how[85] according to Mr. Krishna

[82] *Antiquities*, Vol. II. 218-20. [83] *O. H. MSS*, II, 88. [84] *O. H. MSS*. II, p. 88 [85] See *Ante*, section 2.

Sastri a certain Vîra Pâṅdya ruled and distinguished himself during the same period. We may be sure that, in the time of Kampaṅa Udayâr's dynasty and of the Naik Viceroys who followed him, the indigenous kings continued to rule. But we have got few inscriptions of this period to enlighten us on the reigning dynasty.

Pâṅdyan Emigration to Tinnevelly.

This absence of inscriptions in the name of the Pâṅdyans between 1370 and 1550 has made some scholars suppose that the Pâṅdyans had left Madura. They indeed never abandoned the title of "Lords of Madura"; never for a moment thought themselves as otherwise than the kings of the city of Mînâkshi and Sundraêśvara, of the city which the halo of tradition connected with prehistoric scenes, in which the gods played a more active part than men. Nevertheless, they ceased to be the direct rulers of Madura. They shifted their headquarters to the district of Tinnevelly, to the town of Tenkâsi which they built and beautified. Henceforward their immediate activities were in the basin of the Tâmbraparni and not the Vaigai, and their immediate neighbours were the Kêraḷâs and not Chôḷas. The frequency of invasions, Chôḷa as well as Hoysaḷa, Hindu and Muhammadan, Telugu and Canarese, must have been the cause of this emigration. Nearness to the historic areas of Trichi and Tanjore, of Coimbatore and Dvârasamudra, was a source of constant danger and ceaseless anxiety; and the Musalman conquest must have completed that dread and anxiety which the occupation of Madura must have inevitably engendered in the minds of its occupiers.

The Bânas established in Madura.

The Pâṅdyas of the Vijayanagar period, then, ruled in the Tinnevelly District. They, however, it should be clearly understood, never gave up the title of "Lords of Madura." In fact it is more or less certain that the chiefs who were in the direct charge of Madura considered themselves to be the dependents and feudatories of the Pâṅdyans at Tinnevelly, both of course being under the control of the Telugu agents of Vijayanagar. Who were these chiefs, then? Were they the relations of the Pâṅdyans, or did they belong to a distinct hereditary line? It is in answering this question that we find a significant clue in the statement of the *Pand. Chron.* we have already noted,—namely that in the middle of the 15th century, Lakkana Daṅdanâyaka installed, in Madura, the illegitimate sons of the Pâṅdyan, Mâvilivâna Râya, Kâlayâr Sômanâr, Anjâtha Perumâl and Muttarasa Tirumali Mâvilivâna Râya; and that these ruled till 1499, when Narasa Nâik became the master of the Empire. Now, the *Pand. Chron.* is valuable only in giving us a clue as to the rulers in Madura and nothing more. It does not enlighten us as to details. In fact, a minute consideration of it puzzles the investigator. From its phraseology, for instance, it is inferable that all these four chiefs were brothers and crowned at once: that could, of course, not have happened. The first Mâvilivâna alone would have been brought from Ḳâlayâr Koil, and the others should have been his successors. They might have been his brothers or sons, or even grandsons. Then, again, the chronicle implies they were Pâṅdyas. This can be dismissed as false. It may be true that they were connected by marriage with the Pâṅdya royal family, but they were not Pâṅdyan except in title. They were, or at least two of them were, as their very name shows, Bânas. The term Mâvilivâna Râya was long a puzzle to the historians of Madura. Mr. Taylor believed that Mâvilivâna was identical with Mahâbalipuram! "The allusion to the king of Mâvilivâna" he says, "is made in a passing and familiar way, as to a matter very well-known and understood at the time when the MS.[86] was written. The word Mavilivanam will not bear an application to the Marava country. The Malayâlam country is also radically different in its orthography. There is no independent *pâlayam* of this name in our lists. And the only name (within our knowledge) to which the names agree is Mâvalivaram, or the Seven Pagodas, near Madras, sometimes learnedly termed Mahâbalipuram

86 Mr. Taylor refers to the *Hist. Carna Dynast.*; but this applies equally to the present MS.

Besides, on inquiry, it is found, that the people of the country commonly use the words Mâvalivanam and Mâvalivaram, quite indifferently, and interchangeably ; and that there can be no reason whatsoever to question the application of the name in our MS. to the place called on the spot, more usually Mâvalivaram. Hence we presume that the certainty of the reference may be taken for granted. We further remember speaking to an intelligent native, who, alluding to the ancient division of Soradêsam, said, that after the partition of it by a Soren king in favour of his son, this part of the country came to be called Soramandalam (that is, we suppose Tondamandalam) and that the capital of this latter kingdom was Mâvalivaram."[87] This interpretation, however, must be described as absurd. Mr. Nelson was happier in his endeavour to clear the mystery. He surmises that, from the fact that Mâvalivânan is not mentioned in the list of the *pâlayams* of the day, it must have been the name of some obscure chief, probably a scion of the old Pâṅdyan line. The eminent epigraphist, Rao Bahadur V. Venkaiyah was the first to give, with the aid of epigraphy, some information which goes to elucidate the early history and activities of the Mâvalivána kings.

The Previous History of the Bânas.

He points out that the Bânas or Vânas[88] originally owned a kingdom which extended as far as Kâlahasti in the east and Punganûr in the west, *i. e.*, "the whole of the modern North Arcot District to the north of the river Pâlâr."[89] In the beginning of the 10th century the great Chôḷa king Parântaka I. deprived the Bânas of their dominions. One branch of them, in consequence, sought their fortunes in the Telugu country in the Guntûr District.[90] Another branch migrated apparently to the banks of the Southern Pennâr, and gave their new home the name of Vanagopâdi. Chiefs of these branches evidently continued to acknowledge allegiance to the Chô a Emperors of the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.[91] With the decline of the Chôḷa Empire the Vânada Râyars, like other feudatories, displayed a spirit of disaffection, and one of them, whose inscriptions are found at Kudumiâmalai in the Pudukôttah State, and who reigned from 1243 to at least 1278, claims to have defeated the Chôḷa monarch. In later times, the Bânas seem to have gone further South and settled in the Madura District, where we find inscriptions of Mâvilivâna Râyars in the 16th century."[92] Mr. Gopinâtha Rao, the Superintendent of Archæology in Travancore, is more explicit in describing the circumstances of the Bâna advent and advancement in the district of Madura. "About the beginning[93] of the 13th century A. D." he says, "when the Chôḷa supremacy was getting weakened, and the Pâṅdyas were rising in importance, a chief of Nadu Nâdu (or Magadhai Nâdu), Râja Vanakôvaraiyan by name, rebelled against his overlord,[94] and seems

[87] *O. H. MSS.*, II, 140-44. Mr. Taylor often writes absurdity and this is a good illustration of it.

[88] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1903, 1906 etc. Tiruvallam was ancient Vânapuram in North Arcot District. The connection with Mahâbalipuram is a pure fancy and there is no clue to any extension of territory as far as that place. (*Ep. Rep.* 1904, p. 16), *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, 230-8 contains a very detailed account of the Bânas and their emigrations.

[89] *Ep. Rep.* 1906-7, p. 79, An insc. at Tiruvallam of the 9th century says that the Bânas were the masters of 1200 villages of Vaduga vaḷi ; *i. e.*, the road of the Vadugâs or Telugus. (*S. Ind. Insc.* III p. 90-91 and 95-96) A Chôḷa king of the 10th century changes the name of their region on the Pâlar at the instance of a Mâvalivâna Râya to his own name Vîranârâyanachêri (*Ibid.* II, p. 389). See also *Ep. Ind.* XI pp. 222-229, for five Bâna insc. from Gudimallam.

[90] Mr. Venkaiyah says that a descendant of this branch was at Kondavîdu in the 12th century A. D. See *Ep. Rep.* 1899-1900, para 85 ; 1900, etc.

[91] *Eg. Rep.* 1906-7, p. 79-80 gives some instances. See also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 239.

[92] *Eg.* No. 585 and 587 of 1902.

[93] *Trav. Arch. Series*, p. 53.

[94] *Sendamil*, III, 423-432. Magadhai Nâdu is the region between Trichinopoly and S. Arcot districts. See *Ep. Ind.* VI, and XI, p. 239-40 for detailed examination of the term.

to have joined the Pâṅdya king."[95] Mr. G. Rao surmises that, in return for this invaluable service, the Pâṅdyas apparently left "the Madura country in charge of their new ally the Vânakôvaraiyan"; and "changed their capital from Madura to Tinnevelly."

Bâna Chiefs of Madura 1400 to 1550.

In the paucity of Pâṅdyan inscriptions in the 15th century in Madura and in the frequency of Vâna inscriptions, he finds unmistakable proofs of his theory. "We see from about S. 1375 (1453 A. D.), inscriptions[96] of the Mâvalivânada Râyars, of whom one Urangâvillidân Mâvalivânadarâyan calls the country his own. The next person of this dynasty appears to be one Sundarattôludaiyân Mâvalivânadarâyan, the son of Tirumalirunjôlai, Mâvalivânadarâyan. It seems to me that the Mâvalivânadarâyars of the *Pand. Chron.* must refer to these kings. Gopinâtha Rao further says that the second of these two chiefs, who bore a few of the Vijayanagar *birudâs* and lived about S. 1398 (1475 A. D.), must have been the opponent of Narasa Nâik during his reputed invasion of the Pâṅdyan kingdom some time about this date. "Either[97] the Mâvalivânadarâyan was defeated by the Vijayanagar general and then dubbed himself with the Vijayanagar *birudâs*, or he defeated the latter and assumed, as the conqueror, the Vijayanagar *birudâs*; which of these was the case, it is not easy to say in our present state of knowledge of the history of that period. But that the chieftains of this family held or were suffered to hold the Madura country under them is certain. For inscriptions of a second Sundarathôludayan Mâvalivânadarâyan are found in several places, such as Tirupaḷḷani, Alagar Kôil, Kâlayâr[98] Koil etc., till so late a period as S. 1468 (1545 A.D.)." It will be thus perceived that, whatever might be the case of Kâlayâr Somanar and Anjâtha Perumal, the other two Mâvalivânas of the Pâṅdyan chronicle are historical figures; and it is not improbable that the Pâṅdyan that made grants in the Conjeevaram temple was a Mâvalivâna Râya, who, unable to endure the overbearing nature of the Sâḷuvas, rose against them and marched as far as Conjeevaram,[99] but only to be beaten and driven by Sâḷuva Narasingha and his general Narasa Nâik.

Their relations to the Pâṅdyans of Tenkâsi.

The Pâṅdyas of the Vijayanagar period, then, confined themselves, if we are to depend mainly on inscription lore, to the Tinnevelly district. They still of course had claims over Madura as the Vânadarâyas were originally their allies and later their vassals. But they did not directly rule the Madura country. In Tinnevelly, they distinguished themselves as great builders and rulers from the middle of the 14th century to the end of the first quarter of the 17th century. The researches of scholars have elucidated and defined the history of the various sovereigns of the line. Bishop Caldwell, the foremost authority on the history of

[95] See *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 240 footnote 5. It will be seen from this that Mâravarman Sundara Pâṅdya I (1216-35) is styled 'Vanada Râyan'; while Jatâvarman Sundara Pâṅdya I, had an officer named Vikrama Pâṅdya Vânada Râyan. *Vânada Râya* thus became the title both of the Pâṅdyan king and his nobles.

[96] For one such inscription see *Trav. Arch. Series,* 46. It belongs to the Mahâmantapa of the Ânda! temple at Srîvilliputtûr. Insc. 113 and 121 of 1903 are other examples.

[97] Or, as Venkaiyah says, perhaps he helped "the contemporaneous Pâṅdyan princes Srî Vallabha and Kulaśêkhara to set up a show of Pâṅdya sovereignty." *Ep. Ind.* XI, p. 240; *Ep. Rep.* 1908-9, para. 32 and 1909-10, para 38.

[98] *Madr. Ep. Rep.*. 1903, p. 18 and 19. Nos. 585 and 587 of 1902 which are in the Alagar temple say that in 1530 (*Manmatha,* which is wrong) and *Hêvilambi* (this is also wrong) he made gifts of land.

[99] *Ep. Rep.* 1907, p. 84, para 57. The inscription is in the Ekâmbaranâtha temple. "It is not unlikely that he (the Pâṅdya) took advantage of the weakness of the central Government at Vijayanagara and occupied Conjeevaram for a short time."

Tinnevelly, was the first to attempt a connected account of the Pâṇdyas of this period. He gives a list of eight sovereigns from 1365 to 1623. From an inscription at Kottâr in South Travancore he points out that the first of these, Parâkrama Pâṇdyan[100] by name, came to the throne in 1365 A.D. It was in his reign, says Caldwell, that Kampaṇa Udayar's reduction of the South must have taken place. It was in his time also that the Bahmani King Mujâhid Shâh[1] imitated the exploits of Malik Kâfûr, and instituted a plundering raid throughout "the countries between Vijayanagar and Cape Comorin."

The Tenkâsi Dynasty 1365-1500.

From 1374 to 1431 Bishop Caldwell is unable to assist us, but Mr. Sewell points out from an inscription[2] near Râmnâd and another in the Sankara Nârâyana Taluk in Tinnevelly District, that two kings, Vîra Pâṇdyan and Kulaśêkhara Pâṇdyan, ruled successively in 1383 and 1402, while Kielhorn mentions a Kônêrinmaikondân Vikrama Pâṇdya, who came to the throne between June and July 1401. The second in Dr. Caldwell's list is Ponnum-Perumâl-Parâkrama Pâṇdyan[3] who came to the throne in 1431. Dr. Caldwell then gives the following list.

Vîra Pâṇdya	1437– ?	[4]
Vîra Pâṇdya	1475–1490	[5] (at least)
Parâkrama P.	1516– ?	[6]
Vikrama Pâṇdyan	1543–1565	[7]
Vallabha Dêva *alias* Ati Vîra Râma. P.	1565–1610	
Sundara Pâṇdya	1610–1623	

During these reigns, concludes Dr. Caldwell, the Vijayanagar kings were the suzerains. But "I think it may be assumed that they did not interfere much in the internal affairs of the country, that they contented themselves with receiving tribute and occasional military help, and that the principal result of their suzerainty was that the various petty states included

[100] It is highly probable that this was Jatâvarman Parâkrama Pâṇdya whose inscriptions found at Nâgar Koil shew that he came to the throne in 1357-8, according to Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* VII).

[1] *Madr. Manu* I; Briggs' *Ferishta*, etc.

[2] See for these inscriptions Sewell's *Antiquities* I, 302, and 306. The former was found in the S. wall of the Sabhâmantapam of Tiruttârakosamangai temple, 8 miles S. W. of Râmnâd. It is dated S. 1305 (Rudirôtkâri). The 2nd is a grant of lands and tolls by "Tribuvana Chakravarti Kulasêkhara Dêvar in S. 1324. It is a grant in Karivalamvanda Nallur, N. of Sankara Narayana Koil, but the king was at Vāsudevanallur, when he ordered the grant, as is proved by Ext. I in *Trav, Arch. Series*, p. 45.

[3] From a Tenkâsi inscription according to a local tradition he was the son of a Kâsi Kanda Parâkrama Pâṇdyan, whose existence, however, is doubtful. See Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 224 and Caldwell's *Tinnevelly*.

[4] From two inscriptions at Srî-Vaikuntam in Tinnevelly.

[5] Based on a Mack MS., and an inscription of 1490.

[6] An inscription at Kuttâlam.

[7] Caldwell gives no authority for him. According to him Vikrama's immediate successor was the famous Ati Vîra Râma Pâṇdya, but Mr. Nelson mentions an inscription at Srîvilliputtûr (Sewell's *Antiq.* I., 105), which records a grant in 1546 by a Parâkrama Pâṇdya. (Sewell's *Antiq.* II, p. 224). Caldwell's authority for placing Ati Vîra Râma's accession in 1565 is a Kuttâlam inscription, dated in his 40th year, 1605. Sewell points out, however, a Tenkâsi inscription giving the date of the beginning of his reign as 1562. 1610 is fixed by Caldwell as the date of Ati Vîra Râma's death and of Sundara Pâṇdya's accession on the authority of Burnell, who got the information from a copper plate grant belonging to a *matt* in Tanjore Dt. (which is the *matt* referred to here ?).

within their nominal rule were protected from foreign invasion and their propensity in fighting with one another kept in check."[8] Subsequent researches[9] have added much to the information given by Caldwell. It has been said that the first king of this line according to Caldwell was Parâkrama Pâṅdya (1365) and the second Ponnumperumâl Parâkrama Pâṅdya, who came to the throne in 1431,and that Mr. Sewell added the names of two kings between 1365 and 1431. Mr. Krishna Sastri confirms[10] the additions of Mr. Sewell. Only he says, on the authority of an earlier inscription, that Kulesêkhara[11] ruled in 1396 A.D. The Parâkrama Pâṅdya, whom Caldwell attributes to, year 1431 the really ascended the throne in 1422[12] A.D. and ruled for a space of 42 years till 1465 A. D.

Arikêsari Parâkrama 1422-65.

From a large number of inscriptions concerning him at Kuttâlam and Tenkâsi, we find that Arikêsari Parâkrama is a celebrated figure in the history of the later Pâṅdyan kingdom. As the builder of the important and historic temple of Visvanâthaswâmi at Tenkâsi, "the Benares of the South," which, ever since his time, was the capital of the Pâṅdyas, he will ever live in the history of Indian religion and art. The story goes that god Visvanâtha of Benares appeared to him in a vision, and asked him, as his own temple in distant Benares was dilapidated, to build a new temple at Tenkâsi, on the banks of the holy Chitra Nadhi, in the Tennâr Nâdu. The king accordingly commenced the building of a shrine in S. 1368. It was a huge undertaking, and occupied, from the laying of the foundation to the completion of the pinnacle, the long space of seventeen years, and did not cease with the king's death.[13] Parâkrama Pâṅdya was a great devotee of Śiva, and he signalised his piety by constructing, in addition to the Tenkâsi temple, a *sabha* at Jayantipura, a *mantapa* to each of the gods at Marudhûr and Senbagavanam, and by bestowing liberal endowments on the Salitêsvara temple at Tinnevelly. Arikêsari Parâkrama was not only a builder and devotee, but in the view of Mr. Gôpinâtha Rao, a great soldier and an important political figure of the age. An inscription affirms that he was the conqueror over the chiefs of Singai, Anurai, Irasai, Semba, Vindai, Mudali, Virai and Vaippâr. Mr. Gôpinâtha Rao believes that he was also the enemy of the celebrated Narasa Naik, the father of Krishna Dêva Râya. "In all the Vijayanagar grants of the second or Tuluva dynasty, Narasa Nâyaka, the father of the distinguished Krishna Dêva Râya, is said to have defeated a king of Madura named Mânabhûsha. We know that Narasa lived about the time of the first usurpation of the Vijayanagar kingdom by Śâluva Narasimha[14] about 1470 A. D., and

[8] Caldwell's *Tinnevelly*, p. 54.

[9] See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1906, p. 72 which gives an account of the Pudukôttah plates, which are an important document in this period of Pâṅdyan history ; (*Ep. Rep.* 1908-09, p 85-86.)

[10] *Ep. Rep.* 1908-9 ; p. 100, Mr. Krishna Sastri here sums up all the information in regard to the Pâṅdyan dynasty of Tinnevelly.

[11] Inscription No. 270 of 1908.

[12] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1909-10, p. 100 ; *Trav. Arch.* p. 44. According to Keilhorn, Arikêsari ascended the throne between 10th June and 19th July 1422, as proved from astronomical calculations (See. *Ep. Ind.* VII) Keilhorn mentions a Vîra Pâṅdya Mâravarman, whose inscriptions are found at Tenkâsi, Kâlayar Kôil and Tiruvadi, and who came to the throne, according to his calculation, between March and July 1443, and ruled till at least 1457. (*Ep. Ind.* VII).

[13] For some minor differences between Mr. Krishna Sastri and Mr. Gopinâtha Rao in rega d to the meaning of the phraseology of the inscription describing the building of the temple, see. *Trav. A ch. Series*, p. 52.

[14] This is wrong. The Śâluva usurpation took place only about 1486. Narasa, however, lived about 1470. But he could not have met Parâkrama, as the latter died in 1465.

distinguished himself in the latter's service. This period agrees very well with that of a Parâkrama Pâṇdya."[15] One other theory of the same scholar may be noted in this connection,—a theory which is, in my opinion, entirely untenable owing to its violation of accepted tradition. "In the section of stray Tamil verses called Tanippâdaltirattu, a verse praising a king named Mânâbharaṇa, said to be the composition of the Tamil poet Pugaḷêndi, is found. If this name refers to Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇdya Dêva, the age of Pugaḷêndi will become the last quarter of the 16th century A. D. "But tradition," he acknowledges, "places him at the beginning of the 12th[16] century A.D."

Alagan Perumâl Kulasêkhara till 1473.

On the death of Arikêsari Parâkrama, his younger brother Alagan Perumâl Kulaśêkhara Dêva, who had already shared with his brother the duties and dignities of royalty for more than three decades—for two inscriptions clearly prove that he began to reign in 1429,—succeeded him as the chief king. It is not improbable that he was the great Pâṇdya, who signalised his reign by marching as far as Conjeevaram in 1469 and was evidently compelled to retreat by Śâluva Narasingha and his general Narasa Nâik. This, however, remains yet to be proved. A builder like his predecessor, he constructed an audience hall in the Visvanâtha temple, and completed the tower which had been left unfinished by his brother. His reign seems to have ceased about 1473 A.D., when evidently his son Alagan Perumâl Parâkrama Dêva assumed the sovereignty. Like the large majority of the kings of the age, he had a colleague in one Parâkrama Kulaśêkhara[17] whose period of co-operation, however, is completely overlapsed by the period of his superior.

Alagan Perumâl Parâkrama 1473-1516.

Alagan Perumâl[18] Parâkrama ruled till 1516, and was therefore the sovereign who must have been ruling at the time of Nârasa Nâik's usurpation in 1501.

(To be Continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BEZOAR: MANUCCI'S "CORDIAL STONE."

IN his *Storia do Mogor* Manucci has several references[1] to the bezoar (Pers. *pâdzahr*) or 'poison stone," a hard concretion found in the stomach of a wild goat of the Persian province of Lâr. He used it with beneficial effects when treating a female patient at Lahore c. 1673, and employed it, after he settled at Madras, in a special remedy which bore his name. The fame of Manucci's 'patent' medicine reached the ears of C. Biron, a French surgeon. Biron spent about six months in India in 1701-1702, chiefly at Pondicherry and Chandarnagar. On his return to Europe he published a short account of his travels with many curious and interesting notes on the minerals, plants, animals, etc., that had attracted his attention.[2] He has a chapter on "bezoard" stones and a long account of the properties of the Goa or Gaspar Antonio stone. "I have also," he adds,[3] a cordial stone composed by Manouchi, a Doctor of Madras on the Coromandel coast. He sells it at a Crown an ounce. I do not know what it is made of: this Doctor makes a great secret of it."

H. HOSTEN.

["Manooch's stones" were also known to Lockyer in 1711. See *Trade in India*, p. 268. R. C. T.]

15 *Ibid*, 53.

16 There were other Pâṇdyan kings who had the same title. See *Ep. S. Ind. Inscs.* III, 56, *Madu. Gazetteer*, 32

17 *i. e.*, Jatila Varman Kulaśêkhara, who came according to Keilhorn between November 1479 and November 1480 and whose 20th year was 1499.

18 The history of this series of kings however is not so easily defined. There are so many Kulaśêkharas and Parâkrama Pâṇdyas mixed together in the inscriptions that the whole period is one of hopeless confusion. But I hope that the verison I have given here is fairly correct and complete. See *Trav. Arch. Series* and *Ep Rep.* 1909-10, p 100-102, etc.

1 *Storia do Mogor*, edited by W.Irvine, I. 54, II. 178, 431, III. 199.

2 *Curiositez de la Nature et de l'Art*, Paris, Jean Moreau, 1703.

3 p. 199.

"DHARANI", OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., L.L. D.

THE cult of protective spells, in the form of magical texts, has been shown by me elsewhere to be widely prevalent throughout Buddhism in all its sects, and to have played an important practical part in that religion from its commencement.[1] Such texts under the name of *Parittâ* or *Dhâraṇî* are in universal use by all sections of Buddhists,—"Southern" as well as "Northern,"—and I there adduced evidence, almost unimpeachable, to show that some of these spells were used by Buddha himself.

I also described the early widespread use of these spells amongst the amulet-loving people, not only of India but of the adjoining lands, that embraced Buddhism. It is also attested by the fact that the great bulk of the ancient Sanskritic manuscripts recovered from Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein and others consist mainly of fragments of these protective texts, the originals of several of which are as yet unknown.

The interest and historical importance of these spells is not merely Buddhistic. Most of the charms and their associated rituals (*sâdhana*) exhibit elements which, like those of the *Atharva-vêda*, are manifestly pre-Buddhist and even pre-Vedic, and **afford some insight into the religion of pre-Aryan India**. Especially interesting in this regard are the vestiges thus preserved of the animal-gods; *e.g.*, the Garuḍa, dating manifestly to the earliest nomadic and pre-historic 'hunting'-stage of primitive society, and the references to the early anthropomorphic 'mother'-fiends, (**Râkṣinî**), also pre-Vedic, and dating to the matriarchal and more settled stage of early civilization; as well as the light that is shed upon the evolution of many of the Brahmanical gods of the Vedic and later periods. Thus several of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon are disclosed by these contemporary texts in early or transitional forms, and in the process of being clothed by the hands of the Brahmans with the functions and attributes of popular aboriginal gods and genii, in regard to which prototypes Brahmanical literature is more or less silent.

As little of this Dhâraṇî Literature has hitherto been published for Western readers,[2] and a great mass of it exists in Tibetan texts translated with remarkable fidelity from the Sanskrit, it has been suggested to me that translations of some of these Tibetan versions into English would be acceptable to students of Oriental religion and mythology. I accordingly offer here an instalment of these texts and their translations.

The Tibetan material now available in Europe for this purpose is immense. The British collections in the national libraries are especially full, as they have been greatly increased by the large accessions collected by me during the Lhasa Expedition of 1904,[3] which included several sets of the "*Dhâraṇî Piṭaka*"[4] as well as the series contained in three sets of the great Mahâyâna Canon (*Ka-gyur*), in the Encyclopedic Commentaries (*Tan-gyur*), and in numerous separate texts, mostly in duplicate or triplicate.

---

1 *The "Dhâraṇî" Cult in Buddhism, its Origin, Deified literature and Images: Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift*, **1912, 155-195.**

2 Of the Pâli *Parittâ* several have been translated by Gogerly.—"Collected Writings" edited by A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1908. Of *Dhâraṇî* a few have been translated or summarised from the Sanskrit by R. L. Mitra ("*Nepalese Buddhist Literature*" 1882), by Max Müller (*Uṣṇîṣa-vijaya D*); by R. Hoernle (*Mahâ-mayūrî* in *Bower MS.*"). From the Chinese, a few by S. Beal (*Catena*); by H. Kern (*Sacred Books of the East.* XXI); and a list of others contained in the Chinese *Tripitaka* is given by B. Nanjio (*Catalogue*). Of the Tibetan collections,the titles of several are given by Csoma Körosi ("Analysis" in *Asiatic Researches* XX) and more fully by J. J. Schmidt (*Index*, St. Petersburg 1848), and for part of those in the Tan-gyur by F. W. Thomas (*Sâdhanas* in "Museon," Louvain, 1903) and Dr. P. Cordier (in his *Catalogue of the Tan-gyur Collection*, Paris 1909). From the Uigur Dr. F. W. K. Müller has translated a few (*Uigurica*, II Berlin 1911.)

3 "*Tibetan MSS. collected in the Lhasa Mission,*" *Asiatic Quarterly Review* **1912, 80-113**. The collection was dispersed between the libraries of the India Office, British Museum, Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

4 *Hiuen Tsiang's Records* (Beal) II. 165, Watters, *do.* II. 160; Kern's *Manual Indian Buddhism* 46,

The texts which I have selected at present are with one exception (No. 6)[5] now published and translated for the first time and relate especially to the **Garuda**, which is characterised in the title by its '**beak**.' That monstrous bird, which incorporates a sun-myth as well as a thunderstorm-myth, from its widespread prominence amongst primitive people in remote antiquity, presumably was regarded as the supreme spirit in prehistoric times. It is the Phoenix or *Feng* of the Chinese in its combat with the dragon-spirits (the *nâgas* of India) who withhold the rain; it is the *gryps* of the Greeks and the *roc* or *rukh* or *simurgh* of the Persians. In the ancient Indian Buddhist sculptures at Sâñchî and elsewhere it figures prominently in antipathy to the *nâgas*, and in process of being absorbed into Buddhist mysticism. Whilst into later Brahmanism it has been incorporated to form the car of Vishṇu and as the symbol of victory to surmount the standards and banners dedicated to that god by the Imperial Guptas and other would-be Chakravarta emperors. In No. 2 the appearance and functions of the bird are described.[6]

By No. 6 important light is thrown upon the genesis and evolution of the Buddhist goddess **Târâ**, the so-called 'Queen of Heaven' and 'Mother of the (celestial) Buddhas.' The identity of **Târâ** with the goddess Uṣṇîṣa-Vijayâ was pointed out by me long ago.[7] Now, in this *Dhâraṇî* Târî is identified with Durgâ (who also bears the title of Vijayâ) and Kâlî and most of those other 'Mother' she-devils of pre-Vedic times, who have in later days been imported into and incorporated with Brahmanism. She is moreover especially identified with the Garuḍa under the title of the "Female Thunderbolt-Beak," Vajratuṇḍi.

In form, these *Dhâraṇîs* or spells are generally given the shape of the orthodox Buddhist *sûtra*. They purport to have been recited in the usual way by Ānanda at the 'First Council,' the place and circumstances where they were 'delivered' is usually mentioned; and the words of the spell are often put into the mouth of Buddha himself. The incantatory formulas, constituting *mantras* or spells-proper, are in a crude style of Sanskrit, with recurring cabalistic ejaculatory words, such as are also found in Brahmanical *mantras*.

1. The Iron Thunderbolt-Beak.

Vajra-loha-tuṇḍa Dhâraṇî.

[India Office Tibetan texts (Waddell Collection) No. 17 Vol. Z. (19). No. 261 in my list n 'Tib. MS.' *loc. cit.*]

Oṁ! In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ârya vajra loha-tuṇḍa nâma dhâraṇî:* in the Tibetan speech Phags-pa rdorje gnam-lchags kyi mch'u [or "The noble Iron-Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky."]

Salutation to Buddha and all the Boddhisattvas! Thus have I heard. The Blessed One having gone into the country of Magadha passed through 'the mango-grove.' Leaving the mango-grove he sat down in the rock-cave of the Indra hills[8]. Then Sakra the most powerful of the gods together with the [gods of the] directions, came to the outside of the place where The Blessed One was and saluted the feet of The Blessed One. Then Brahmâ and Vishṇu and Indra (Sakra) and the four great kings [of the Quarters] thrice circled around The Blessed One and besought him saying:—O Bhagvân we, all assembled, beseech you to

[5] A fragment of this *Dhâraṇî* from the Sanskrit has been published with translation by Dr Hoernle from a Stein MS. in *J. R. A. S.* 1911, 461, etc., and a full translation of another Stein MS. is I understand to be published in the final Report on the Expedition Results. An Uigur version of the same is translated into German by F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* II. 1911, 50.

[6] For further descriptions of this bird-god from Buddhist sources with illustrations, see my article on "the Dhâraṇî Cult" above cited, pp. 187-191.

[7] "The Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita and Tara," *J. R. A. S.* 1894, 83, No. 4..

[8] *Indra-saila-guhâ* in the Râjgir Hills.

capture the heart[9] of the Nâgas to disperse their thunderbolts so that the malignant Nâgas may not destroy the harvest, with manifold despoilation. Turn them aside, the wind and hail of the clouds, that they do not destroy everything, that the flowers and fruits and the harvests be preserved from injury. We beseech you to utter the spell called "The Iron Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky." We beseech The Blessed One for the welfare of all beings to bestow upon us this gift!

The Blessed One [then] spoke thus to Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Indra, and the Four Great Kings [of the Quarters], Honourable Sirs! for the welfare of all beings I shall utter it as a blessing [like one ?] of the noble truths. Then Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Indra and the four great kings heard the *mantras* of the *dhâraṇî* [as follows]:

Salutation to the Three Holy Ones!

Salutation to Buddha Sâkya-muni, to all the completely perfect Tathâgata Arhants.

Salutation to all the great Magical powers[10] for compelling the calm of the glorious hereafter.[11]

Salutation to the highest in the three worlds.

Matha matha pramathâ (twice). *jvalita bhikrita vajra jvaya jvaya ; Mahâvaya viryaparakrama. koṭara jaya, pramabhavavuma, pramasare! Bho bho nâga dipa dipa! Bhiswaramadha pramadhane namur bhanan sphotayana huṁ huṁ phaṭ phaṭ! . . . &c. &c. Hantu sarvadushtana bhasvodâya hridaya mahyeśare jiladitri śudaradura hanahana hūṁ phaṭ . . .&c.*

This what you have just now heard is "The glowing[12] Iron Thunderbolt-Beak of the Sky." It will break all the malignant Nâgas, and convert evil things into sweet perfumes. It will madden and destroy [evil] . . . &c.

At the same time, he called forth by name [the following spirits to receive his commands: The *Nâga*-king of the ocean Mâtaṅga, the *Nâga*-king [known as] the 'Hooded One' (*Ch'atra*), the great 'Enchanter.'[13] Ten billions, one thousand millions and one hundred thousand saluted the feet of the Bhagavân who, after those Nâgas had formed an outer assembly [said unto them] "Guard ye all the beings of the world (Jambudvîpa) the flowers and fruit and harvests, the trees, leaves and branches! Free them from wind, hail and excessive drought! Make timely rain to fall! By your own vow, by the vow to your tutelaries and to the Tathâgata, guard these for ever henceforth! Each of you becoming entirely perfect in mind do no injury to man." . . .&c., &c.

2. The Red-copper Beak.

[India Office. Tibetan text (Waddell Colln.) No. K. 17. Vol. Z. (18):
No. 265 in my List].

In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ârya ghadsa prataṅ bhanda-ghâtâ kada britachakhadhayâ ;* in the Tibetan speech *'p'ags-pa zaṅs-gi moh'u dmar-pos gdug-paî phyogs t'ams-chad gnon par byed-pa śes-bya-baî gzuṅs* [i.e. "The Dhâraṇî of the noble Red Beak of Copper, who expels the mischief in all the directions."]

Salutation to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas! Salutation to all the noble ones (*âryas*)! Salutation to all the Buddhas of the directions, to all the Bodhisattvas and hearers! Salutation to the Blessed One. Tathâgatha Arhanta, the completely perfect Buddha, Sugata the fearless one whose words discipline humanity, the most high one, the leader of gods and men!

---

9 Or 'spirit,' 'heart,' or 'essence,' Tib. *sñin-po*. Secondarily it means *vajra* or thunderbolt, also the bluejewel of Indra—*Indranîla*.

10 *Mt'u-po*.

11 Literally "the other side" [of life]—*pa-rol zîb-gyis gnon-pai mt'u-po*. The word which I have translated 'compelling,' namely *gnon-pa*, literally means to suppress to 'overcome by force,' and is frequently used in magical operations (*cf*. Jaeschke, *Tib. Dict.*, 307.)

12 '*Bar-ba*.

13 *Mt'u-ch'e-wa*.

Salutation to the faces of the thousand Buddhas! Salutation to the illustrious Bearer of the Thunderbolt (*Vajrapâṇi*).

This speech was thus heard by me:—The blessed One was seated at the hermitage of the reed-grove[14] by the sheet[15] of lotuses on the bank of the river Ganges,[16] in company with a great retinue of monks and novices.

At that time all the people were overpowered by disease caused by the *nâga* (dragons)[17] and prayed [to Buddha] for the terrific supernatural power of the noble Red-copper Beak, so that the eight plagues of the hot countries should not increase their fury,[18] carry off, upset, suck up the blood and flesh (of the people); that the angry flood of consuming fiery waves might not descend [further]. [Here part of the Shâman's operation in exorcising the Nâgas is indicated.]

By throwing the iron-nail[19] the paralysed limbs will despatch their accumulated stupefaction to the cemeteries. By throwing up the seed[20] the diseases of the eight great Nâgas will be ejected and the stupefying wounds over the earth be purified.

He [' the Beak '] has the head of the *Garuḍa* bird with a body of copper.[21] He feeds overhead. He has a beak of copper 990 fathoms long. He devours anyone of the four races of Nâgas. He craves for blood and hail[22] and water. He stares fiercely with red eyes. He crunches [even] the gods. He laps up the marrow of things. He sends suddenly[23] ulcerous diseases. He subdues the foundations of the three worlds. He scatters the poison of fearsome diseases. Below, he strikes widespread panic into the lower hells; above, he sinks down the highest of beings. He splits down the six thousand kinds of plague. He lays low the thousand kinds of Nâgas of the interior [of the earth]. For these reasons there is [amongst the disease-causing Nâgas] fear of his appearance and re-appearance.

Then Vajrapâṇî besought the Blessed One, the beneficent ascetic, [saying] " O Sugata, pray have compassion on the six classes of beings, pray set them free from their disease and distress! Pray set them free from the disease of passion, pray kill the fire of anger, pulverize the rock of arrogance, clear away the darkness of ignorance, the poison of disease, deliver from the thousands of disease-demons! "

Thus having supplicated, [the Buddha], in compassion seeing [the distress], acted at heart.[24] [Seeing] Vajrapâṇi miserable and the torments of the fierce disease, the state of the bodies of all, the [disease-spirits] breaking [their] promises and vows had tormented by sickness and enfettered with the thread of passion [Buddha-exclaimed], " Come all [diseases spirits]! swiftly come near here! I shall explain. Be advised." Thus he commanded.

Then through Vajrapâṇi's [request ?] there arrived near, distressed at the commands of the Victorious One, to attend the presence of the Victorious one, the eight classes of the Râkṣa-mother fiends[25] [also ? he or they] called " The swift-goer of the depths, the middle and

14 Jam-buhd. =Skt. *nala*. There was a hermitage of this name on the Ganges near Vaiśâli.

15 Or coverlet: *sa-ke'bs*—Skt. *kumba* (?).

16 Literally 'possessed of the eight limbs or arms,' which the *Dictionaries* state is the Ganges.

17 *Mdse-nad*, defined in the *Dictionaries* as 'disease caused by *Nagas*;' also leprosy, *kuṣṭa*.

18 *gnad kr'o-bo*, literally 'furious spirit.'

19 *lchags-kyi gzer* == Skt. *kîla*, a form of Indra's bolt.

20 *t'ig*, also ' lines' or 'spots.'

21 In Jewish mythology Brass is symbolic of irresistible weapons Dan. 2, 39; Mic. 4, 13; Zech. 6, 1.

22 *Chu'-ser*, may also mean 'yellow water' or 'putrid water.'

23 *Bur-du*, which may also read 'by (his) bolts.'

24 The construction here is very involved and obscure; and Buddha is not mentioned, probably intentionally so, in order that the spell of so bloodthirsty a being should not be directly ascribed to the placid Buddha.

25 *Lha-ma-srin*, literally = god or spirit + mother (or not) + fiend *(râkaṣa)*, can read ' the fiends who are not gods *i.e.* (*Asurâ*);' but the eight *mothers râkṣini* form a well-known group.

top," the race of the Brahman Nâga Vasuta.[26] Thus spoke Vajrapâṇi to the [whole] race of the Brahman Vasuta Nâga. "Who am I to . . . make useless speech? I am alone! You do not hear even me! You do not attend me, the mighty one . . possessed of swift energy." Thus he said. Then Vajrapâṇi reflecting in heart [what he should do] said "You who are the lords of the earth, what should I say to you?" [Then the Nâga replied :] "I am the king of the Nâgas, and am called 'Vasuta' the gem of the Brahmans.[27] To me belongs all poison . . . [here follows five leaves describing the various diseases &c. caused by *Nâgas*, and the spell appears to be disclosed by the Nâga king himself in these words :] These were the words commanded :—*Oṁ Hrūṁ Hṛî Hṛî Ah Tathâgatâ nâga-hridaya. tathâgata namah dhamaya. tathâgate raja srî lhanana, budya budhya. raja ilala pari parilira. nagahu yarbada povamdha svaha! Guha râja-la svâhû! hṛuṁ hṛî!* . . (&c. &c.)

By this fortunate talisman[28] of the noble one, the sharp Red Copper Beak, may the [evil] power of the six classes of 'Vasuta' be swept away!..Then straightway the vanquished race of the Brahman [Nâga] is turned aside.

This *Dhâraṇî* of the 'Red Beak of Copper' is translated by the Indian abbot Jñâna Deva and the Tibetan *Bande* Cho's-'grub, and the translator (-interpreter) sKa-ba Bha-po.[29]

3. The Thunderbolt-Beak.

Vajra-tuṇḍa Dhâraṇi.

[From *Ka-gyur-rGyud*, Calc. edn. (also India Office ?), Vol. M. fols. 426-466 : Csoma, *Analysis* p. 540-7 St. Petersburg ed. 754 W., fols. 27-50 : Schmidt, *Index* p. 167, also in *gZuṅ (Dhâraṇi Section)* of latter. 937 W., fols. 38-79].

Oṁ! In the Indian speech [this is called] *Vajra duṇta*[30] *nama nâga samaya*; in the Tibetan speech *rDo-rjeî mch'u zês-bya-ba kluî-dam tšig-go*—[that is The Nâga's vow called 'The Thunder-bolt Beak.']

Salutation to the Omniscient One! At that time The Blessed One[31] was staying at the great city of 'The Striding Servant (?)'[32]

Amongst the great retinue [there] assembled [were] Takshaka [king of the Nâga Serpent-dragons] and the rest of the Nâga retinue, also gods and a great retinue of men assembled for the welfare of living beings. Seeing these, he [The Blessed One] thought that he would completely fulfil the hope of all by explaining the religious means of doing virtuous acts. At this time in that city was a Brahman named Viṣṇu a rich man enjoying great wealth. Proud in the possession of fine clothes and many goods and chattels [yet] was he not blessed. The sacred *Vedas* and the Brahmans were [his] means of crossing to the other shore [of existence] These began and ended merely with *mantras* (spells). By respecting these spells the Nâgas were summoned : by burnt offerings [was summoned] the Fire [? god]. When the harvest of this Brahman ripened it began to be destroyed by exasperating rain. He said I forgot for

26 This title suggests Kubêra, who was lord of the Vasu spirits, and the *râkṣasî* were latterly placed under him; but he is not usually described as a Nâga himself, yet in the Jatakas he is given control over *nâgas*. In later Brahmanism the chief of all the Nâga kings is Vasuki.

27 *Bram-ze-rin-poche*'.

28 *Cha's-pa* literally 'implement,' or weapon.

29 The last-named, who is called in one copy of this text, Ka-ba, appears to me to be the same as the Ka-ba Palbotsegs (or Srî-Kûta), who was a pupil of Padma Sambhava, *circa* 748-802 A. D.; see my *Buddhism of Tibet* p. 31 fn. 3 No. 17; Also Gründwedel's *Mythologie* 49,55. Several of his works are in the Great Commentary, *Tangyur*, *mdo Section*, Vols. 117-124.

30 This is obviously a corruption of the copyist—the *Dictionaries* give *tunda* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan *mch'u*, a beak; and the correct form is given in the colophons.

31 Bhagavân.

32 Gyog-'dor, literally servant + thrown off or forsaken or striding; a possible restoration by the *Sanskrit-Tibetan* lexicons is *Urana* + *dâsa*.

obtaining victory over this to utter the excellent spell and therefore the rain has begun to fall; so remembering the astrological formula he summoned the *Nâga* [and] performed the burnt offering of fire—mixing together sessamum and fruits, and the mustard grain, butter, salt, he made the burnt offering. Thereupon the *Nâgas* merely appeared [but] were not subjected. He praised the bolt [of Indra][33] and struck the head of the Nâga, and splitting it he enjoyed the pleasure of weakening the downpour. Thereupon the *Nâga* quivering with great rage and fury, instantly by the swift power of a *Nâga* forsook his [former] body and changed temporarily in a vapour of dazzling light to destroy [his assailant]. When this great spirit was descending like a shroud to destroy the body of the Brahman, the latter unassisted by his men was unable to make the burnt offering of fire. Helpless, in order to escape, he besought The Blessed One as a protecting mother to save him. Falling at the feet of the Blessed One he prayed saying: 'O Bhagavân, save my life I beseech you from destruction by the enraged *Nâga*! Will you not save! Save, O Bhagavan, Save, O Tathâgata!' Then The Blessed One spake unto that great breathless Brahmin: 'Fear not great Brahmin, I shall be your protector, and saviour and friend,' and having thus spoken and saying no more, he sat down.

Then Vajrapâṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas besought The blessed One, saying :—'Grant this prayer O Bhagavân, so that the harvest be not destroyed by wild[34] *Nâgas*, also for the sake of [our] complete happiness.[35] in the future. Your instructions are necessary for all living beings. In what way should we act in such an alarming emergency? O Bhagavân what is to be done to benefit the harvests, to protect them perfectly, to increase them to the utmost, for the complete protection of the fields against the hostile *Nâgas*—we beseech you tell us!'

Then, the Bhagavân answered Vajrapâṇi the lord of esoterism and said :—"Vajrapâṇi, the angry heart of the *Nâga* causes it to do angry deeds. The *Dhâraṇî* called the 'Thunderbolt Beak', the heart of the Tathâgata, the Arhant and most perfect Buddha, is the remedy. That I now declare [unto you]. By this speech the injury will be swiftly stayed and all the harvest be completely protected &c., &c."

Thereupon Vajrapâṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas spake thus: 'The Blessed One is the healer of all living beings. We beseech him in kindness to utter the words of the *mantras* of this great *Dhâraṇî*. Then the Bhagavân in kindness said [the spell]: *Namo Bhagavate sarvâ Buddhana namo Bhagavate Śâkyarâjava! Oṁ jala jala giri giri bhavana, dipata vega mahâchaṇḍanata hridaya jalani. huru huru. hana hana. daha daha. patsa patsa. sarvasasana nâga-kula paśana, &c. &c. &c. Nâga dindhârini huṃ phaṭ jalamaṇi phaṭ jalini phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svâhâ!*"

(The subsequent pages go on to enumerate the various specific ills and diseases, demons, and animal pests against which the spell is efficacious, and also details the necessary offerings to be made. The only other reference to 'Beak,' which I have observed is the following, "the owl and the rat and the various kinds of *long-beaks* and swarming pests shall not come forth on the muttering of this spell." It ends by restating the title correctly as *Vajra-tuṇḍa*, and adds that it is the thunderbolt-heart[36] for allaying the harm done by *Nâgas* to the harvest. In the colophon no name of author or translator is mentioned.)

(To be continued.)

33 Tib. *pur-bu.* This is the name of the large nail of wood or metal used to stab demons. My *Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary* gives its equivalent as *kîli* and '*śaṁku*' and the former manifestly is intended for *kîla* 'bolt, pin or lance,' from *kil* to bind (Wilson's *Skt Dict.* 232); and the latter is obviously corrupt for *śaṁba* = the thunderbolt of Indra, Wilson *S. D.* 848.

34 Literally 'untamed.'

35 Or *nirvâṇa.*

36 Or 'essence' *sñiṅ-po.*

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 36.)

SECTION VI 1500-1530.

The Empire under the Tuluvas.

We have already seen how the great Tuluva regent Narasa Nâik deposed the Emperor Sâḷuva Immudi Narasimha and established a new dynasty on the throne of Vijayanagar. Men of great capacity and industry, the monarchs of the Tuluva line took prompt steps to bring the various provinces and feudatory states under the control of the central authority. It is true that Narasa Nâik died within a year or two[19] after his exaltation to the imperial dignity; but even within this short space of time, he made his name a real power throughout the Empire. His eldest son and successor, Vîra Narasimha, the Busbal Rao of Nuniz, ruled till 1509 A.D. According to copper plates and inscriptions, he was a virtuous emperor who made gifts at various places, such as Râmêśvaram, and Srîrangam; but according to travellers and chroniclers, a weak and incompetent sovereign, whose repose was constantly invaded by either external or internal enemies. Free from the dominance of the strong personality of Narasa, the feudatories of the various provinces shewed signs of disaffection and independance, and defied the central authority. Many of the Kanarese chiefs of upper Karnata or Mysore, for example, became overbearing. The Musalmân governor of Goa openly made war with his suzerain.[20] The chief of the small, but strategically well situated, feudatory state of Ummathûr in Mysore rebelled, and after a victory over the Emperor, made himself independent[21] at Terkanambi and the surrounding country. Taking advantage of these troubles, the Gajapati king carried his arms into the empire, and seized the fortresses of Kondavîdu and Udayagiri. The sultâns of the Trans-Tungabadra region naturally exulted in their immunity from chastisement and opportunity for aggression.

The Empire under Krishna Deva Raya 1509—1530.

It was under such circumstances that the great Krishna Dêva Râya[22] came to the throne. It is beyond our province to give a detailed account of the greatness, the magnificence and the achievements of this remarkable man. Nowhere in the world's history do we find a more striking example of a king who deserved to be king not because of his inheritance, but because of his kingly qualities. Soldier and statesman, administrator and conqueror, poet[23] and patron of arts and letters, Krishna Dêva was undoubtedly the greatest monarch that ever sat on the Vijayanagar throne. The works of Akbar seem to fade into insignificance before the glories of this monarch. Numerous are the romances that have

---

19 In the latter part of S. 1424 *i. e.*, 1502 A. D.: See *Arch. Sur.* 1908-09, p. 171.

20 *Ep. Carna.* VI; *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09.

21 Terkanambi is Gundlupet Taluk of Mysore. The *Kongudêsa Râjâkaḷ* also mentions the growth of the power of this chief at the expense of the Empire See *Ep. Car.* III, 95, which says that a chief named Malla Râja was so aggressive as to extend his territory as far as Penukonda. Inscriptions 578 and 579 of 1908 point out that Narasa Râja Udayâr held territory as far as Tirumuranjampûndi in Coimbatore in 1499 A. D.: (see also *Ep. Rep.* 1900).

22 He was about 20 when he came to the throne. Being the son of Nâgala, a queen of inferior status, Krishna Dêva was considered by many wrongly to be illegitimate. His predecessor had tried to deprive him of his eyes and, according to one version, to kill him; but Śâḷuva Timma saved him. For details see *Ibid*, 174-186. Mr. Krishna Sâstri bases his account on Sewell's *antiquities*; Virêsalingam. *lives of Telugu Poets*; Poet Venkatarâya's *Krishnarâja Vijayamu*, the *account of Nuniz*; *Forgotten Empire* and *Ep. Reports*.

23 *Eg.* Krishna Dêva himself composed the poem *Âmuktamâlyâda*, besides some Sanskrit works. He also patronised many writers and came to be known as the 2nd or Ândhra Bhôja. (See *lives of Telugu Poets*, *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 185-186. also *Ep. Ind.* I, 370-1; *Ibid* 398-402.)

gathered round his magic name. Numerous are the tales, embodying facts as well as fictions, with which poets and writers have, for centuries, loved to associate his beloved person. Poets have praised his poetic genius, scholars have admired his scholarship, kings his kingcraft, priests his piety, artists his taste, and the historian his towering personality in the history of Hindu civilization. Even to children his name possesses a charm. The hero of a hundred nursery tales, he is, with his friend and "father," Sâḷuva Timma[21] Appâji, their friend, their companion and their hero. Even to-day when the round of tales goes around the domestic hearth of the Hindu home, when the children, old or young, gather around the smiling old man and cry for the good old stories, heard perhaps scores of times, of the beloved "Râya", and of the more beloved "Appâji," what a sunshine is there in their faces! how poignant their grief when the son of Nâgala was condemned by his cruel brother to be deprived of his eyes! What joy when he was saved by Appâji and the eyes of sheep were presented to the tyrant! How interested when the great emperor's personal habits, his gymnastic exercises, and his morning pursuits are narrated! Krishna Dêva Râya, in short, is the national hero of the Ândhras, and more than any other sovereign, made the Telugu sovereignty over south India a reality. Immediately after his accession, he adopted effectual measures to reimpose the yoke of the empire on those who had defied[25] its standard. He first reduced the powerful Ummathûr chiefs of the Mysore-Kongu marches, who, as we have already seen, had grown turbulent in the time of Vîra Narasiṁha. The pride of the Gajapati[26] was then humbled; not only were the fortresses of Udayagiri and Kondavîdu once again brought under Vijayanagar, but the Gajapati dominions invaded, and the Gajapati king had to humbly acknowledge the supremacy of Vijayanagar. The king of Orissa then felt the puissant arms of the great emperor, and a pillar of victory in the heart of the Kalinga country remained, ever after, a melancholy reminder of the military aggression of the Telugu over the Uriya; and when the defeated chieftain was compelled to give his daughter[27] in marriage to the conqueror, he had to rue the proud and indiscriminate contempt in which he had held the family and powers of his adversary.

Krishna Deva Raya's foreign Policy.

An even more successful exploit of Krishna Dêva was the conquest of the Raichûr *duab*[28] from the Muhammadan, and the invasion and occupation of Bîjâpûr itself. The country of the 'Adil Shâh was overrun, the fortress of Kalbarga[29] was destroyed, and the Vijayanagar emperor found himself the arbitrator in the internal politics of Bîjâpûr and Ahmadnagar. Never before had the enemies of Vijayanagar trembled so much as in the days of Krishna Dêva and never had Vijayanagar ruled over such an extensive territory.[30] While the emperor was engaged in these exploits in the north almost throughout his reign, he did not forget the comparatively tranquil South.

His power strongly felt throughout the empire.

Here, there was no corner of the extensive land which stretched from sea to sea and from the Krishna to the Cape which escaped his vigilant control. The large number

[24] For a connected account of this celebrated man, based on epigraphical records, see *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 183. The literature concerning him and his activities is legion.

[25] *Ep. Ind.* III p. 17-22, Mukku Timmanna *Pârijâtâpaharana* refers to this campaign a which ended in the capture of Sivasamudram; the Muhammadan historians, also refer to it.

[26] All the epigraphical and other authorities in connexion with this have been ably cited by Mr. Krishna Śâstri in *Arch. Surv. Rep.* 1908-09, pp. 176-179.

[27] *Arch. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 179 based on inscription and Telugu and Tamil literature.

[28] See Sewell's *Forgotten Empire* for an elaborate discussion of the date of the Raichûr siege and capture. (1520 A. D.); Insc. 47 of 1906; *Ep. Rep.* 1907; Nuniz account; Scott's *Dekkan* I, 239-40.

[29] The poem *Âmukta Mâlyâda*.

[30] See Wilson's *Des. Catal. of Mack. MSS.*, 1882, p. 87.

and the wide range of inscriptions[31] go to prove this. In the districts north of Madras, in the region covered by modern Mysore, in Salem, Coimbatore, Malabar, the Arcots, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly,—in the whole of South India, in fact, including Mysore and South Bombay, the marks of his sovereignty are apparent. In South India he distinguished himself chiefly by his temple architecture and by his religious endowments to almost every Vishṇu and Śiva temple. The temples of Chidambaram, Tiruvaṇṇâmalai, were especially benefited by his magnificent labours. The thousand-pillared *mantapam*, the sacred tank, the eleven-storeyed *gôpura*, the car of Vinâyaka, the central shrine, the gold and silver jewels, the gold pinnacle, cornice and doorways, and the other glories of the Tiruvaṇṇâmalai temple were due to Krishna Dêva's liberality[32]. The lofty and imposing northern tower of the Chidambaram temple, again, was his work.[33] "The high towers of most of the temples of the south," says Mr. Krishna Sâstri, "must have been built in the time of Krishna Râya, as also the picturesque and extended addition known generally as 100-pillared and 1000-pillared *manṭapâs*. We frequently hear of a Râya-gôpuram, which means the tower of Râyar (*i.e.*, perhaps Krishna Râya). It is not possible at this stage of epigraphical research to say how many temples were benefited by Krishna Râya's charities. It may be presumed that his liberal hand was practically extended to the whole of the Empire."[34] In 1517 he remitted[35] 10,000 *varahâs* of the imperial revenue to the Śiva and Vishṇu temples of the Chôḷa country.[36] An inscription of 1528 at Piramalai says that the Emperor's power was felt in the island of Ceylon.

The Southern Viceroys between 1500 and 1530.

A word may be said about the viceroys of Vijayanagar in the south and the indigenous Pâṇdyan dynasty during the period of thirty years covered by the reigns of Narasa Nâik, Vîra Narasimha, and Krishna Dêva. It has been already pointed out, how, after the usurpation of Narasa Nâik, the Sâḷuva Emperor, Immadi Narasiṁha, sank into the position of a subordinate viceroy, and ruled in the basin of the Kâvêri and Vaigai—S.Arcot,Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Immadi Narasiṁha had the mortification to observe himself relegated to oblivion by Narasa's son, Vîra Narasiṁha, in 1502. The relations between the two are unknown, but there is clear evidence to prove that the former lived at least till 1505.[37] In the years which followed, the Sâḷuvas continued to rule over the Kâvêri and part at least of the Vaigai regions. From his headquarters at Tiruvâdi, one Sellappa Vîra Narasiṁha Nâyakar, who has been styled in a Chingleput record,[38] "Ubaya Pradhâni," and occupied a very prominent place in the counsels of the Empire, gave various grants from 1515 to 1530. "In S. 1444 Sellappa Vîra Narasiṁha Nâyakar restored, apparently on his own responsibility, a grant to a temple at Tirumaiyam in the

[31] In Salem *E. g.* an insc. of Karpûram Udaya Nâyanâr temple at Uttamachôḷapuram (near Salem) shews that Sela Nadu was under him (see. *Ep. Rep.* 1888). The Sendamangalam inscn. 1903 also proves it. In S. Arcot he built the N. Gôpura of the Chidambaram temple (*Ep. Rep.* 1888). His insc. are also found at Viḷipuram (116, 117, and 118 of 1897); Acharapâkam (233 of 1901) S. 1400; at Tiruvannâmalai (*Ep. Rep.* 1904 p. 13); at Tiruppâlathurai (228 of 1903); at Piranmalai (146 of 1903); 35 of 1905 says that the governor of Tindivanam Sîmai gave a gift of land. In 1522 an insc. at Tâdikombu near Dindigul (4 of 1894) mentions a gift in his name by a tributary Kondaiya Dêva Mahâ Râja, son of Senna Râjaiya.

[32] *Arch. Surv.* 1908-9, p. 181; *Ep. Rep.* 1900, p. 27, (574 of 1902), etc.

[33] Insc. 175 and 174 of 1892.

[34] *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 186 (footnote).

[35] *Ibid.* p. 182.

[36] This gift has been recorded in the temples of Tiruvaṇṇâmalai (S. Arcot), Sendamangalam (S. Arcot), Kannanûr (Trichi), Trichi, etc.

[37] *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 172.

[38] Insc. 233 of 1909, of S. 1450 records a gift for the merit of Krishna Dêva at Acharapâkam.

Pudhukôttai state[39] " Two inscriptions from Tirupattûr, dated S. 1432, refer to the same chief.[40] From these we understand that Sâluva Nâik was a very powerful and conspicuous magnate of Krishna Dêva Râya. So powerful was he, that he seems to have entertained ideas of treason, and to have been looking anxiously for the death of Krishna Dêva, so that he could declare himself independent; and when Krishna Dêva died in 1530, he actually declared himself independent, and excited, thereby, one of the most formidable rebellions in Vijayanagar history, a rebellion which had important effects on the history of S. India, and which indirectly led, as we shall see in the next chapter, to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty in Madura.

The Karnâtaka Râjâs' *Savistâracharitra*[41] gives a different account of the southern part of the Empire under Krishna Dêva Râya. It says that the affairs of the Karnataka were very much unsettled, that the chiefs were turbulent, and that an imperial army of 100,000 men had to be sent to conquer and compel the payment of tribute and allegiance. The imperial forces commanded by the Sirdârs Vyappa Nâik, Tuppâkki Krishnappa Nâik, Vijaya Râghava Nâik and Venkatappa Nâik, proceeded to Seringapatam and enforced tribute from all the chiefs of that region. Vyappa then descended into the lower Carnatic and arrived at Vêlur by way of Ambûr. Here the numerous chiefs of Chittûr and Tondamandalam met him and saluted the imperial flag. Making one Pennurutti Venkata Reddi, the Faujdar of this region, in accordance with the Râjâ's orders, Vyappa then resumed his march and arrived at Jinji. Here the kings of the land between that place and Jayankondachôḷâpuram saluted him and paid obeisance. Vyappa then despatched his colleagues Vijaya Râghava Nâik and Venkatappa Nâik to the south to collect tribute from the Chôla, Pâṅdya, and the Chêra realms. These generals visited, in the course of their triumphant career, the cities of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tirunagiri, and excited so much fear in the minds of the local chiefs and governors that they hastened to acknowledge the Emperor. The whole of the lower Carnatic now formed part of the Râya's Samasthâna, and brought in an aggregate revenue of three crores to the imperial treasury. Vyappa divided the whole country into three divisions, each of which brought in a crore, and was ruled by a viceroy. He himself stayed at Jinji. To Vijaya Râghava he gave Tanjore, and to Venkatappa, Madura and Tirunagiri. Vyappa, and his lieutenant Tuppâkki Krishnappa Nâik had the country north of the Coleroon under them, Vijaya Râghava had the Kâvêri region, and Venkatappa, the Vaigai and the Tâmbraparni basins. Each looked after his province, and collected tribute from the local rulers. The *Chronicle* then goes on to describe the actions and achievements of the viceroys of Jinji in detail.

We cannot say how far this account is correct. But there is no reason to make us think that it is not correct. The division of the Empire for purposes of good administration is not unnatural, and Krishna Dêva might have authorised such a procedure.

The Governors of Madura.

But if Venkatappa was the general Viceroy of Madura and Tinnevelly, what was the relation between him and Śâḷuva Narasiṁha Nâikan? Was he his subordinate, or was he subject to Vijaya Râghava Nâik? It is difficult to say. Again, one

[39] Inscription 399 of 1906.

[40] Insc. 91 and 92 of 1908. Krishna Śâstri identified him first with Vîra Narasiṁha, Krishna Deva's father, (*Ep. Rep.* 1908-09), but has since rightly given up that theory. This Vîra Narasiṁha was a Śâḷuva, probably the " Saluvanay " of Nuniz, who held large territories which bordered on Ceylon.

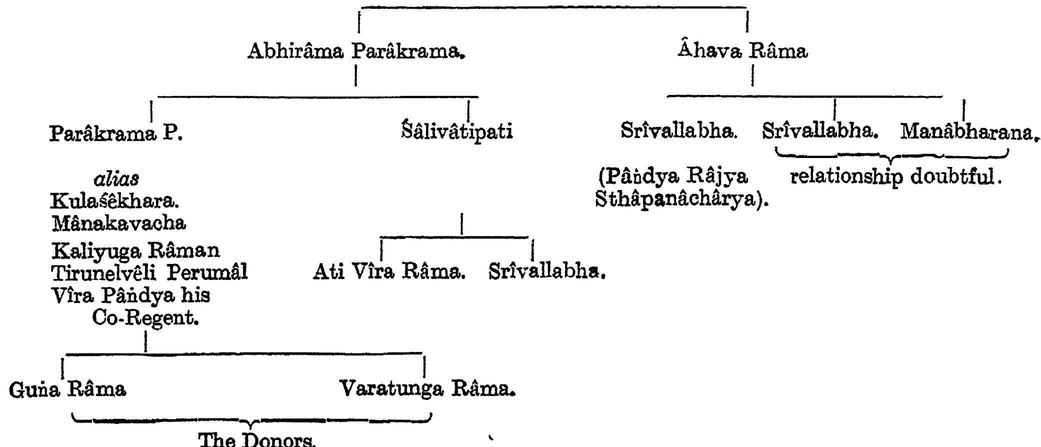
[41] There are three copies of this work in the Oriental MSS. Library. The best is in Taylor's *Res. Mack. MSS. Vol. I.*

of the Mackenzie[42] MSS. says that between 1500 and 1535 there were a number of Nâik governors in Madura. These were Tenna Nâik who ruled from 1500 to 1515; Narasa Pillai,[43] 1515-1519; Timmappa Nâikar, 1519-1524; Kottiyam Kâmaiya Nâik. 1524-1526; Chinnappa Nâikar, 1526-1530; Vijaya Nâika,[44] 1530-1535; and Viśvanâtha Nâik, 1535-1545. What was the relation between these governors and Venkatappa Nâik? Was he superior to them all? If so, how long was he in that position. All these questions are difficult to answer. Further epigraphical discoveries alone can enlighten us.

The local kings in the same Period.

It is certain that while Sâḷuva Nâik, or Venkatappa Nâik, was representing the imperial interests in the districts of Trichinopoly and Madura, the indigenous rulers continued to rule as his subordinates. In Trichinopoly, for instance, one Channaiya Bâliya Dêva ruled about 1530 and acknowledged the supremacy of Krishna Dêva, and gained distinction[45] by his gifts to the god and goddess at Uraiyûr. It seems that this chief looked on Sâḷuva Nâik with suspicion, if not hatred, and proved himself, as we shall see later on, a no mean enemy of his. Coming to the south, the region around Madura was under the immediate rule of the Vânada Râyars. Still further south were the Pâṅdyan rulers of Tenkâsi, who claimed a nominal supremacy over the Vânada Râyars, but readily paid allegiance to Vijayanagar and its representatives. We have already seen how, at the time of the usurpation of Narasa Nâik, Alagan Perumâl Parâkrama was ruling in Tinnevelly. He continued to govern during the reigns of Vîra Narasiṁha and Krishnadêva. He died in 1516 and was followed by the joint kings Abhirâma Parâkrama and Âhavarâma, the first sovereigns of the Pudhukôttai plates.[46] These held power till 1533 when one of the most remarkable kings of the dynasty, Jâtilavarman Srîvallabha, ascended the throne.

[42] The *Pand. Chron.*; see also *Mad. Manual*; Sewell's *Antiq.* II, p. 223.
[43] Pillai, Nâikan, and Aiyar seem to have been used interchangeably.
[44] Also called Aiyakarai Vyappa. Is he the same as Krishna Dêva's general mentioned in the Karnâtaka Râjâ's *Savistâra Charitra*?
[4]4 See. *Ep. Rep.* 1892, (aug).
[45] See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1908.
[46] *Trav. Arch. Series.* The genealogy as given in these plates is as follows :—



Mr. Venkaiyah thinks that Abhirâma Parâkrama was the same as the Parâkrama Pâṅdya of Caldwell who ascended the throne in 1516 A.D. The relationship of Srîvallabha and Mânâbharaṅa who are said to be the brothers of Srîvallabha Pâṅdya Râjyasthâpanâ chârya by Mr. Venkaiyah is disputed by Mr. Gopinâtha Rao who believes that there is nothing to shew in the original that they are his brothers. The actual donor is a certain Tirumal Nâik of Chintalapalle, minister of Vîra Mahipati, (*i.e*, Vîrappa Nâik). He is said to have fought in the battle of Vallaprâkara wherein the army of Vîrabhûpa was annihilated and the troops of Achyuta were completely routed. For an explanation of the latter part *see* Chapt. III.

The Death of Krishna Deva

In the year 1530 Krishna Dêva Râya joined his fathers, leaving a void in South Indian history which could hardly be filled by any other statesman. His death was a blow to the Empire from which it never recovered. His brother and successor, Achyuta Râya, was not wanting in capacity, but the moment the eyes of Krishna Dêva closed, there was a universal rebellion in the Empire, and Achyuta Râya had to go to the south and quell it. It was this formidable rebellion that indirectly led to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty in Madura; but in order that the condition of Madura and the south in general may at the time of the establishment of the Nâik dynasty be well understood, it is necessary that the civilization of South India in the period of Vijayanagar supremacy must be described. I shall therefore proceed to sketch the features of South Indian civilization in the next section, and then describe, in the next chapter, the events of Achyuta Râya's administration, which ultimately led to the Nâik Râj in Madura.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE GARDENS OF THE GREAT MUGHALS. By C. M. VILLIERS STUART. London, Black, 1913.

THIS is a notable work for two reasons. It breaks new ground and has been written by the wife of a young officer of a British Regiment serving temporarily in India. In the latter respect it supplies a welcome answer to the complaint that English ladies obliged to reside in India for a while take no interest in the country.

This is no butterfly book, but a serious attempt at the history of modern Indian gardening as introduced from further North and West by Babar and his successors, and at comprehending the symbolism in which the Indian lady of to-day enshrines her garden. There are minor mistakes in it, of course, for the writer is young and has had perforce to look for information and guidance to more experienced persons, who have not always guided her aright. But this fact need not trouble the reader. If he is experienced, he can put the errors straight for himself. If he is not, they will not affect him. The main fact for both classes of readers is that this book seriously starts a line of enquiry well worth following up by those who would know what is in the minds of the natives of India, while they live out their daily lives.

The fact of the author being a woman gives her an advantage that no man, however experienced and learned in things Indian, could have. Gardens are everywhere naturally attached to dwellings in such a way that the women occupying the houses can have ready and continuous access to them. So she has been able to make friends with the wives and other female belongings of the owners, and find out at first hand from them what their gardens mean to them, and how their contents and forms have come to be preserved. All this enables her readers to get at the inner life of the people: always valuable information.

The author is rather severe on modern British taste in gardening as being inapplicable to India, whereas the formal Mughal garden and its successors are fully suited to situation and climate. The present writer cannot agree with this view altogether. India is a vast country and there are conditions in places to which the modern English system seems to be admirably suited, while in others, especially in the arid, dusty plains, the formal walled system seems to specially succeed. What does appear to be faulty taste is to mix up the modern British system with the Mughal, and to attempt, as is sometimes done, to combine both within the same four walls. The irresistible tendency in all Oriental countries is to follow the governing powers, and there is no doubt a danger under British rule of all the formal Indian gardens becoming Anglicised to their damage. If the author succeeds in giving native ladies a pride in their form of gardening and in thus checking a mischievous tendencing towards indiscriminate Anglicising, she will have performed a work of permanent usefulness.

In view of the severe controversy bound to arise over the ordering of the new Delhi this book is most opportune. Gardens on a great scale will be necessary and both British and native sentiment will have to be considered. This book will supply much necessary information on the latter point, which would not otherwise be forthcoming. I must, however, point out that the Mughal System to be beautiful and successful is "millionaire" gardening, and if followed on a cheap scale is bound to be the unpleasant failure that the modern Indian *mâlî* achieves when left to himself.

R. C. TEMPLE.

"DHARANI," OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

(*Continued from p.* 42).

4. The Black Iron-Beak.

Loha Kala-tuṇḍa.[37] Tib. *1 Chags mch'u nag-po.*

[*Ka-gyur Gyud.* Calcutta (& I. O. ?) Hodgson Coll. Vol. M: I. O., *Tib. texts.* (Waddell Coll.) No. K. 17. Vol. Y. (21), No. 264 in my list: Csoma, *As. Res.* XX. 540 (8).]

This purports to have been recited by Ananda in order to procure rain, etc. It is to coerce a large number of 'great *Nâga*-kings,' who are specified by name.

5. The Thunderbolt-Claw.

Vajra-Ratiru. Tib. *rDorje sder-mo.*

[I. O., *Tib. Texts* (Waddell Coll.) No. K. 17 vol. Ji. (31), No. 260 in my list].

It is addressed to several 'Mothers,' and other she-devils who are specified by name. No translator is named.

6. The White Umbrella-one of Buddha's Diadem.

Uṣṇiṣa Sitâtapatra Aparajita.

The great Turner-away (of Evil).

[Tibetan: *Ka-gyur rGyud, Calc.* (& I. O. ?) Hodgson Coll. Vol. P. (13) fol. 181-188 224-229; Csoma *As. Res.* XX. 519 (18); St. Petersb. Vol. Ph. (14) fol. 212-224. *Dhâraṇî Sect.* W. 133-138: J. Schmidt *Cat.* 162; I. O., *Tib. Texts* (Waddell Col.), *Kâ-gyur* as above. Sanskrit:—Raj. L. Mitra, *Nep. Budd. Lit.* 227; Stein, *Turkestan MSS.*, Hoernle, *J.R.A.S.* 1911, 461 ff: *R.A.S.* Hodgs. Coll. No. 77—Uigur; F.W.K. Muller *Uigurica* II., 50 ff.—Chinese; Bun. Nanjio, Cat. *Tripitaka*, No. 1016 (?)]

"In the Indian Speech [it is called] *Ârya tathâgatosṇiṣa sitâtapatre aparâjita*[38] *mahâ-pratyaṅgira paramsiddha nama dhâraṇî*: in the Tibetan *P'ag-s-pa de-bz'in gśegs-paî gtsug-tor-nas byuṅ-baî gdugs-dkar-po-chan gz'an-gyis mi-t'ub-pa p'yir-zlog-pa che'n-po mch'og-tu grub-po z'es-byas baî gzuṅs i.e.*, "*The Dhâraṇî* called The Noble White Umbrella One, invincible against others who sprang from the diadem of the Tathâgata to accomplish[39] perfectly the great turning away [of evil.]"

Salutation to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and Noble Hearers and Pratyeka Buddhas! Salutation to the Blessed One, (Bhagavân),[40] the invincible queen of the diadem!

This word was thus heard by me. The Blessed One was seated in the storeyed temple of the gods of 'The Thirty Three' with a great congregation of monks, a great congregation of the Bodhisattvas together with Śakra, the ruler of the gods. At that time, the Blessed One seated himself on a low cushion, and at that low level entered into the deep meditation called 'the perfect Vision of the Diadem' (*Uṣṇîsa vidarśana*).[41]

---

[37] One version reads '*duṣṭa.*'

[38] The masculine gender here, as well as in the Tibetan translation of the title, presumes, I think, a form antecedent to the deification of this spell as a female goddess.

[39] *grub-pa*, the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit *siddha* means to accomplish by *yoga*-methods.

[40] This is masculine.

[41] In the list of 'religious stages' (*dharmapayaraya*) enumerated in the *Mahâvyutpatti* (No. 244, 82 St. Petersb. edn. p. 81) is mentioned *Uṣṇîṣa-vivarmurdhnah samadhi praveça.*

Not long after he was seated in that meditation these words of an esoteric spell issued from the middle of the diadem of the Blessed One.[42]

'Salutation to the Buddha, the Law,[43] the Congregation! Salutation to the series of the seven All-perfect Buddhas, the congregation of Bodhisattvas and the hearers (*srâvaka*), Salutation to the great embodied Bodhisattvas, Maitreya and the rest!

Salutation to the saints (*arhanta*) of the world, to those who have 'entered the stream' (of saintship, *srautâpanna*), to the saints who will transmigrate only once (*sakṛidâgâmin*)!

Salutation to the perfectly enlightened ones of the present age!

Salutation to the saints of the gods (*Devaṛiṣi*) to the useful power of the saints who hold the spells (*vidyadhâra-ṛiṣi*), to the saints (*siddhi*) who hold the spells!

Salutation to Brahmâ, to Indra, to the blessed Rudra,[44] the lord of Umâ (the turner away of, or from, difficulties),[45] also to herself!

Salutation to the blessed Nârâyaṇa in his forms doing great deeds!

Salutation to the blessed Mahâkâla dwelling in the fearsome three-tiered city in the cemeteries and the troops of Mothers doing energetic deeds, the adored ones!

Salutation to the line of the blessed Tathâgata!

Salutation to the line of the blessed Thunderbolt, the blessed Jewel, the blessed Elephant[46] the blessed Virgins (*Kumârâ*), the blessed Nâgas!

Salutation to the blessed king holding hero-destroying weapons, the completely perfect Saint the Tathâgata, Buddha!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect saint Tathâgata Buddha Amitabha!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha Akṣobhya!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha of medicine, Baiṣaj-ya Guru, the king of beryl[47] light!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint Tathâgata Buddha, the vast flowery lord of the *Sâl-tree*[-grove ?]!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha the 'king of the top-most jewel' (*ratna-sambhava ?*)!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha Sâmantabhadra!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha Vairoćana!

Salutation to the blessed completely perfect Saint, Tathâgata Buddha, the vast-eyed king of the scented top of the *utpal*-lotus flower!'

Having saluted all these, the Blessed Mother,[48] the Invincible White Umbrella-One, the Great Turner-aside of Evil, issued from the diadem of the Tathâgata, to cut asunder completely all the malignant dæmons;[49]

[42] The Stein MS. does not contain the foregoing important matter, which locates the origin of the spell and explains its name from its mode of origin. The Hodgson *Sanskrit MS.* (No. 77) omits the last sentence from 'at' to 'diadem.'

[43] To avoid needless reiteration I omit several of the phrases 'Salutation to.'

[44] *Legs-ldan drag-po*; my *MSS. Dictionary* restores *Legs-ldan* to '*Bhâgavati*.'

[45] *Dkâ-t'ub-zlog.* This Tibetan etymology for Umâ, differing from the current Brahmanical one namely 'light,' is in keeping with the Brahmanist legend of the prohibition addressed to Durgâ by her mother, *Umâ, i. e.*, 'practise not austerities.'

[46] In the Stein MS., Dr. Hoernle reads here *râja* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1911, 463) for which the Tibetan would suggest *gaju.*

[47] *Vaiḍurya.*

[48] *Bchom-ldan-'das-ma*, here the feminine form appears for the first time.

[49] *Gdon.*

To cut asunder all the [hostile] spells[50] of others ;
To turn aside all untimely[51] environments ;[52]
To save[53] the animated beings from all fetters[54] and from accidental death ;
To turn aside all hostilities[55] and evil dreams and evil spectres (*bhûṭu*) ;
To frighten away the injuries of *yakṣas* and *rakṣas* ;
To frighten away the hosts of 80,000 malignant demons ; [56]
To cause happiness throughout the 28 lunar constellations ;
To turn aside all enemies and dangers and hatred ;
To frighten away all evil demons, all poisons and weapons ;
To turn aside fire and flood.
She is the saviour (Târâ)[57] from all fear of harmful things !
The great terrible destroyer (Ugrâ)[58] is she, invincible against others (aparâjita) !
Very fierce (Chaṇḍâ)[59] is she, with great might !
Very fiery, with great shining brightness(*Marîcî*) *!*
Of great whiteness, a white one is she, clad in a garland of flames ! [60]
The noble Târâ, with the frowning brows (*Bhṛikuṭi* (?)) !
The renowned one known as ' The garlanded with thunderbolts of victory.' !
Her outward mark of the lotus is the mark of the thunderbolt !
The garlanded one, invincible against others (Aparâjitâ) !
With thunderbolt-beak (*Vajra-tuṇḍî*) [yet] the shape of a beauteous damsel [61] is she !
Placid (*Sivâ*) is she, adored by all the gods !
The placid one garlanded with gold !
The great White One in a white robe of fire !
Noble Târâ great in might, the thunder-bolt enchaining others.
The thunderbolt maid, the upholder of the race !
Be jewelled with the juice of the saffron flower !
The famous thunderbolt diadem of Vairoçana !
May all this troop of thy mystic forms, protect our own circle and the [Buddhist] doctrine and all living beings !

[Here follows the especial incantation or spell, the *Dhâraṇî* proper, in crude Sanskrit. It is a shorter form of the above prayer for protection with some additional cabalistic words.]

Oṁ sarva tathâgatoṣṇîṣa sitatapatre hûṁ hruṁ hrî sṭoṁ.
Jambhanakari hûṁ hruṁ hrî sṭoṁ.
Mohanakari hûṁ hrûṁ hrî sṭoṁ.
Lambhanakari hûṁ hrûṁ hrî sṭoṁ.
Bhanakari hûṁ hrûṁ hrî sṭoṁ.

---

50 *Sṅags.* 51 *Dus-ma-yin-par.*
52 *Ch'ib.* 53 *'Grol-pa.*
54 *Bchiṅs.* 55 *Sdaṅ.*
56 *Gdon.* 57 *Sgrol.*
58 *Drag śul*, restored by my *MS. Dictionary* to Ugrâ. Ugrâ Târâ is one of the Nepalese series of the 'Fine Târâs' (Hodgson's *Essays*, reprint 94). See my *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 436 for several of these fierce forms of Târâ.
59 *Gtum-ch'en-mo.*
60 *Rnam sgeg-mo*, literary 'shape' + dancing damsel.
61 Most of these epithets in this hymn of praise have been found by Dr. Hoernle in a Sanskrit text of this *Dhâraṇî* in the Stein collection, though in a different order.

Para pisabhaksanakari &c.
Sarva dustana pradustana, &c.
Sarva yaksa raksa grahâ nâm vidhvaṁ sanakari, &c.
Sarva para vidya che'danakari, &c.
Chatura-śitînâṁ graha sahasrâ naṁ vidhvaṁ, &c.
Astavi-śitînâṁ naksatra naṁ prasâdhanakari, &c.
Astavi naṁ mahâgrahâ nâṁ Vidhvaṁ, &c.
Raksa raksa nâm sarva satvaṁśça.

O White umbrella-one who issued from the diadem of the Tathâgata, the Blessed One!
The greater averter [of harm] the diadem-thunderbolt,
The great mother possessing a thousand hands,
The great mother with a thousand heads, with millions of eyes of unchanging fire,
The great vast thunderbolt by whom, in the cycles of the three worlds, we ourselves and all living things will become blessed.
The thunderbolt always gaping, possessed of eyes like glittering gold.
The white one with the gait of the thunderbolt [and] eyes like the Buddha.
The thunderbolt like the light of the sun, holding a thunderbolt like the moon.
Learned in all these various [mystic] forms and spells!
We beseech thee to protect us and all living beings!

Oṁ risigana praśâsta sarva tathâ jatosnisa sitâtapatre hûṁ druṁ, Stâṁbhanakari, &c. . . . raksa maṁ svâhâ.

O great averter, the thunderbolt diadem, the White Umbrella-one who issued from the diadem of the blessed Tathâgata!

O great owner of a thousand heads and a hundred thousand eyes! thy distinctive name of the 'Fiery-one' is never changed!

Thy great vast thunderbolt is the terror of the three retinues of kings, of ourselves and the [other] beings!

It is the terror of everyone, the terror of water, of poison, of destructive weapons, of the hosts of foreign armies outside the frontier, of the famine, enemies, descending tongues, of untimely death, earthquakes, meteors!

It is a terror more than the punishment of kings!

It is a terror to the gods and *nâgas*, to lightning, to the Garuḍa of the skies, to ferocious beasts of prey, the harmful spirits of the gods, the devils of the *nâgas* and *asuras*, the wind-dust-devils, *gandharva* [. . &c. several other classes of spirits are named].

Instead of the pricks of these demons let us obtain happiness.

Feed [us] with wholesome fresh food, with plenteous food, with red *amalaka* fruit,[62] and meat and the fat of the land!

Feed us with harvests of lifeless animals! . . [here various foods are specified].

Arrange for us the spells for doing all these things!

Bestow on us by the thunderbolt-dagger[63] [favourable conditions] for our grain! Arrange we beseech thee for this on a vast scale!

Bestow on us by the thunderbolt-dagger the spells necessary for performing these works by the sky-going fairies [*dâkini*], by Brâhma, Indra, Nârâyaṇ, the Garuḍa and its associates, Mahâkâla, the troops of [divine] mothers, human skeletons [spectres ?] and vanquishers of dreams, [also] for performing the deeds of a naked ascetic,[64] [Jaina] the deeds of a Buddhist

62 *Myrobalan emblica.* 63 *P'ur-bus gdab-po.* 64 *Dge-sbyoṅ gćar-bus.*

monk,[65] of an *arhanta* freed from sensuous desire, of the followers of 'the creator of living beings' [*i.e.* Brâhmans], of the following Vajrapâṇi, of the male and female angels, of all the Saints, of all the gods!

Bestow by the thunderbolt-dagger the power of the Gandharvas (?)[66]

Salutation to the White Umbrella-One who emerged from the diadem of the Tathâgata. The Blessed One [who is] the means of performing deeds like those of the Buddha and all the Bodhisattvas.

We beseech you to protect us and all living things . . [Here follows an invocation to the goddess as 'the terror of . . .' [67] 'To destroy (evil)'].

Oṁ a sitâna lârka prabhâ sphuṭa-vika Sitâtapatre! Oṁ jvala jvala, khada khada, hana-hana, daha daha, dhara dhara, vidhara vidhara, ts'inda ts'inda, bhindabhinda, huṁ huṁ, phaṭ phaṭ, svâhâ! He he phaṭ, Ho-ho phaṭ, Amoghâya phaṭ, Apratihatâya phaṭ. Varadâya[68] *varapradâya, pratyaṁgirâ ya, asuravidrâ-vaṇakarâya, Varavidra-vanakaraya, Sarva devibhayah Sarva nâge-bhayah.*[69]

[Here follows the series of Spirits good and evil to each of which *sarvas* is prefixed and *bhayah phaṭ* is affixed, namely rakṣe, bhute, prete, piśatse, kuṣmaṇḍe, pûtane, kaṭpûtane, skande,unmâde, c'ch'aye, apasmâre, ostarâke, dâkinî, revatî, yamâya,śakuni, mâtigane, skambu kâmmaṁ, apalaṁavake, kantrane, gandharve, asure, kinnara, garude, mahorage, yakṣe, durlaṁghite, duṣprakṣite, jâre, bhaye, upadrave, upasarve, krityakarmaṇika-khorda, kiraṇa vetâde, cicchapreśaka-sarvadaścchardita, durbhugte, tirthike(naked Jains)Śrar'mane, patake].

Sarva Vidyâdhara phaṭ! Jiyakara madhukara sarva arthasâdhaye bhyo vidyâćarye bhyaḥ phaṭ! Chaturbhyobhaginîye [The four fear-causing sisters ?] *phaṭ!*

Sarva Kaumârî vajra, Kulandhari, vidyacarye bhayah phaṭ!

Sarva Mahâpartyaṁgirâ[70] *bhayah phaṭ, Vajra Śaṁkhala pratyaṁgirâyai phaṭ*[71]*! Mahâkâlâya mâtri gaṇa namaskritâya, Prahmaṇaye, Viṣṇavaye, Maheśvaraye, Randaraye, Mahâkâlyê, Çâmundyê,*[72] *Kumâryê, Vârâhyyê, Indraya, Agnaya, Yasmâya, Varuṇâya, Marutya, Saumâye, Iśanâ, Kâladaṇḍya, Kâlarâtrê, Yamadaṇḍê, Râtrê, Kâpâlyêe, phaṭ!*

Adhimukti śmaśâna vasidyê!

Oṁ stoṁ, bandha bandha, rakṣa, rakṣa, mâṁ svâhâ!

We beseech you to protect us all, the sinful as well as the worthy . . . May we become the first born for a hundred years, may we see a hundred thousand lives free from trouble by *yakṣas*[73] and other demons may we obtain wholesome food in plenty . . .

If the White Umbrella-One [be invoked] then the Thunderbolt-Diadem, the great turner-away [of Evil], will save from death, wild beasts, accident. . . .

O White Umbrella-one [the product] of all the Tathâgatas and Buddhas destroy [all evil]! Cause all the kings of the Nâgas, Ananta and Saṅkapâla and the great Mahâkâla to shed sea-

[65] *Mgo-reg.*

[66] Literally 'the eaters of human offerings.'

[67] It appears to read *bhyib*, which is not intelligible; possibly it is intended for a derivative of the Sanskrit *bhaya* 'fear.'

[68] After each of these titles comes *phaṭ*, which I omit for brevity.

[69] This is *bhayah* and not *bhyah* and clearly shows the word = 'fear' and that the latter form, which occurs in several places, is presumably an error.

[70] This implies that there are several forms of Mahâpratyaṁgîrâ.

[71] From the following titles I omit *phaṭ* for brevity.

[72] It is interesting to find that Çâmundâ is identified with Sitâtapatra (*i. e.*, Târâ), for this avenging form of Durgâ was, like Sitâtapatra herself, sent forth as an emanation from the head.

[73] This prominence given to *yakṣas* suggests an early date.

sonable rain, to yield seasonable masses of cloud, seasonable loud-voiced thunder! Be near to us in all dangers. Help us to perform the duties of a follower of the Buddha during the ages!

May the contents of this [book] through [the grace of] Buddha and all the Bodhisattvas be of use to gods, men, titans, (*asuras*) and angels (*gândharvas*), to ourselves and fellow beings!

Praised be the word of the Blessed One, and may its meaning become fully manifest!

The *Dhâraṇî* here contained is named The Noble Invincible White Umbrella-One, which issued from the diadem of the Tathâgata to accomplish perfectly the great turning-away ' " [of Evil]."

[End of the Dhâraṇî]

As a postscript there are five pages containing a further list of Indian demons and diseases and other evils for which the spell is efficacious, including the following :—

' Tongues of fire, itching and ulcers, emaciation, cough, difficulty of breathing, insanity, poisonous drugs, curses, fire-water, fever, death by enemies, untimely (accidental) death, ' unworthy ' beggary, scorpions, worms, leopards, lions, tigers, the black bear (*dom*), the red bear (*dred*), wild *yak* [possibly buffalo], water-devil.' It concludes with this prayer :—

" Against all these evil swarms we beseech you to protect us " !

Against all these may you be pleased to perform the binding spells (*mantras*).

O brilliantly shining one be pleased to bind evil! Be pleased to perform the *vidyâmantra* spells against all others [counter-spells ?] !

Be pleased to fix their bounds! :—

Tadyathâ oṁ anale khasame . . . vaire, Some śânti, dânte viṣade vîre, Devi-Vajradharî, Vandhani, Vajrapâṇi phaṭ . . . .

May it protect us! *Svâhâ!*

Oṁ Vajrapâṇi bandha Vajrapâṇenamama sarva duṣtam vinâyakaṁ phaṭ svâhâ! "

Keep it near your heart!

Whoever having written this overpowering queen of magic spells (*vidya-mantra*) named ' The White Umbrella-One,' the great averter [of Evil], which issued from the diadem of the Tathâgata,' on birch bark, or cloth, or on tree bark,[74] and fixes it on his body[75] or on his neck or causes it to be read [then] throughout his whole life he shall not be harmed by poisons, by fire, by water, poisonous drugs, curses . . . &c. &c.

(To be continued.)

---

74 *Śiṅ-śun* or tree + bark. It is restored by the Tibetan lexicons to the Skt. *valkal*, which in Wilson's *Sanskt. Dict.* (p. 766) is defined as ' the bark of a tree, garment made from bark. ' In the Sanskrt. scripts in Stein and Hodgson collections, the word is *kalke*, which Dr. Hoernle translates as ' paste ' *(loc. cit.* p. 476*)*, though he suggests it may be in error for *valka*, which the Tibetan version I find shows (and as Dr. Hoernle admits) is the correct form. See text in following note.

75 *Lus-du.* The Sanskrit versions have *kâyagate*, which Dr. Hoernle has translated as ' paper,' but the Tibetan text indicates clearly that this should be *kâya*, the body.

The Sanskrit text as given by Dr. Hoernle is :—

bhûja-patre vâ vastra vâ

Kalke vâ kâyagate vâ kaṇṭhagata vâ likhitvâ dhârîyeṣyata.

The Tibetan text with its literal translation is :—

gro-ga sam, ras sam, śiṅ śuṅ la bris-te,
i. e., birch-bark, or cloth, or tree *valka*-bark upon having written
lus sam mgul-du btags sam klog-par-byed ta,
body or neck on fixed or caused to be read it

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(Continued from p. 26.)

CHAPTER II.

PHONETICS.

§1. Old Western Râjasthânî possesses the same phonetical system as Apabhraṃça, with the exception of initial ṇ and medial ṇṇ, which in the former are dentalized much as in Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî. Possibly Old Western Râjasthânî had also the ḷ-sound, which is common to both Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî, though in the MSS. there is no particular character for it. Other sounds, which are not distinguished from one another in writing, are : ĕ and ê, ŏ and ô, *anusvâra* and *anunâsika*, *kh* and ṣ. *Anusvâra* and *anunâsika* are both represented by a dot over the *akṣara*, and *kh* by the same character ष, which is used to render the ṣ sibilant of Sanskrit. In *tatsamas*, of course, all Sanskrit sounds may occur. The consonant *y* was generally pronounced as *j* both in *tatsamas*, especially when initial, and in *tadbhavas*, when not euphonic. Occasionally *y* is written for *j*, as in : *yamaṇa* (Çâl. 16) for *jamaṇa* < *jimaṇa*, *yovâ yogya* (Indr. 43) for *jovâ yogya*, *yugaliâ* (Âdi C.) for *jugaliâ*, etc.

(*a*) Single vowels.

§2. An *a* of the Apabhraṃça is generally preserved in Old Western Râjasthânî, except in the cases following :

(1) In initial syllables or in medial syllables, mostly when preceded or followed by a syllable having a long vowel, *a* is frequently turned to *i*. In Prakrit this was the case only when *a* fell before the accent of the word (cf. Pischel, *Op. cit.*, §§ 101-103). Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

îḍaũ (P. 504, 506, 508) < *iṇḍaũ* (F. 783, 74) < Ap. *aṇḍaũ* <Skt. *aṇḍakam* ;
kâchivaü (Dd. 8) < *kâchavaü* (ibid.) < Ap. *kacchavaü* < Skt. *kacchapakaḥ* ;
kimâḍa (ÂdiC.) <Ap. *kaṽâḍa-* < Skt. *kapâṭa-* ;
kimha-ĩ (Daç.) <Ap.* *kahã-i* < Skt. *katham-api* ;
giu (Çâl. 9, 96, Kal. 44) < Ap. *gaü* < Skt. *gatáḥ* ;
jiṇiu (Bh. 23, Âdi. 35, 36) < Ap. *jaṇiu* < Skt.* *janitaḥ* (=*jâtaḥ*) ;
jihã, *tihã*, etc. < Ap. *jahã*, *tahã* < Pkt. *jamhâ*, *tamhâ* < Skt. *yásmât*, *tásmât* ;
tijaĩ (P., passim) < Ap. *tajaĩ* (Piṅgala, i, 104 ; ii, 64[15]) < Skt. *tyajati* ;
dohila (Dd.) <**dûlaha* < Ap. *dullaha-* < Skt. *durlabha-* ;
sâvija (P., passim) < **sâvaya* < Ap. *sâvaa-* < Skt. *çvâpada-* ;
siũ (see §70, (5)) < Ap. *sahũ* < Skt. *sâkám*.

Other sporadic examples are : *Ilakâ* < *Alakâ* (F. 659), *iti* < *ati* (Vi., Çâl.), *kaütiga* < *kautuka* (P. 125, 126, 158), *kũiri* < *kumârî* (Vi. 38, 48, 50, etc.), *kṣitrî* < *kṣatriya* (Kânh. 23), *khiṇa* < *kṣaṇa* (ÂdiC., Vi.), *giṇaî* < *gaṇaî* (Indr. 64), *pâtika* < *pâtaka* (F. 783, 75), *silâma* < Arabic *salâm* (Kânh. 20).[16]

In Modern Gujarâtî *i* has become *a* again, ex. : *kamâḍa*, *sâvaja*, *taje*, etc., but in Mârwâṛî the tendency to substitute *i* for *a* has been preserved.

[15] Pischel corrects *t* to *c*-See *Op. cit.*. § 454.

[16] In examples like : *dhina* < *dhanya* (Ṛṣ. 65, 126, 167), *Câṇika*<*Câṇakya* (Dd. 2), etc., *i* is to be explained as the result of epenthesis.

(2) When falling before or after a labial consonant, *a* is often turned to *u*. For an analogy in the Prakrit see Pischel, § 104. Ex. :

Ubhayakumâra (Çâl. 96) < *Abhayakumâra* ;

purăhuṇaü (P. 680) < *prâhuṇaü* < Ap. *pâhuṇaü* < Skt. *prâghurṇakaḥ* ;

puhara, puhura (P.) < Ap. *pahara-* < Skt. *prahara-* ;

puhutaü (P. 165, 168, 684) < Ap. **pahuttaü* < Skt.* *prabhûtakaḥ*, p.p. from *pra+bhû* ;

buhatari, buhutari (see § 80) < Pkt. *bâhattari* < Skt. *dvâsaptati* ;

musâṇa (Up. 55) < Ap. *masāṇa-* < Skt. *çmaçâna-*;

mũhataü (Âdi C.) < Ap. *mahantaü* < Skt.* *mahantakaḥ* ;

muhurî (Vi. 20) < Ap. *mahurî* < Skt. *madhurî* ;

saũpaï < Ap. *samappaï, samappei* < Skt. *samarpayati.*

Rarely *a* is changed to *u* under the influence of another *u* in the syllable immediately preceding or following. Ex. : *Guruḍa* < *Garuḍa* (P. 340 ff.) ; *durdura* < *dardura* (P. 539, 542), *puuḍhiu* < *paüḍhiu* (P. 432).

(3) Rarely *a* is amplified to *aï* and this mostly when two or more syllables ending in *a* follow each other. Ex. : *karaïtu* < *karatu* (F 602), *kaïhatā* < *kahatā* (F 783, 24), *gahaïgah,* < *gahagahî* (F 783, 27), *gaïhaïgaṇa* < *gahagaṇa* (F 722, 10), *sahaïsa chaïhaïtâlîsa* < *sahasa chahatâlîsa* (F 722, 41), *maïri* < *mari* (Yog. ii, 26), *païri* < *pari* (=*paraï*, see § 75) (Yog. iv, 36, 47, etc.).

In Modern Gujarâtî we have *e*, ex. : *sahevũ, sehevũ* < *sahavũ*, and in Mârwâṛî *ai*, ex. : *saihaisa* < *sahasa, raihaitî* < *rahatî*. The two latter examples are from the *Nâsaketa-rî kathâ* for which see *Rivista degli Studî Orientali*, Vol. vi (1913), pp. 113-130.

(4) Initial *a* is very frequently dropped. Ex. :

chaï < *achaï* (see § 114) < Ap. *acchaï* < Skt. *ṛcchati* (Pischel, §§ 57, 480) ;

jhâjhaũ (P. 615) < Ap. **ajjhajjhaũ* < Skt.* *adhyadhyakam* ;

taṇaü (see § 73, (4)) < **paṇaü* < Ap. *appaṇaü* < Skt. **âtmanakaḥ* ;

tâlîsa (Âdi C.) < Ap. *attâlîsa-* < Pkt. *cattâlîsaṃ* < Skt. *catvâriṃçat* ;

naï < *anaï* (see § 106) < Ap. *aṇṇaï* < Skt. *anyâni* ;

bâcaũ (P. 374) < Ap. *avaccaũ* < Skt. *apatyakam* ;

rahaï (see § 71, (6)) < *arahaï* < *urahaï* < Ap. **ora-* < **avăra-* < Skt. *apârá-* ;

rāna (P. 58) < Ap. *araṇṇa-* < Skt. *araṇya-* .

For the Prakrit cf. Pischel, *Op. cit.*, § 141 ff.

(5) Medial *a*, when falling between two consonants of which one is *h*, is sometimes dropped. Ex. : *ehvaü* (Up.) < *ehavaü, deṇhâra* (Ibid.) < *deṇahâna, timhî-ja* (Âdi C.) < *tima-hî-ja, kihvâraï* (Daç.) < **keha-vârahî* (see §98, (2)).

(6) Euphonic *a* is inserted in the following cases : (*a*) between conjuncts, (*b*) before conjuncts in which the first element is *s*, (*c*) after terminal *î*. Ex. : *garabha* < *garbha* (F 783, 72, 77), *janama* < *janma* (Ṛṣ. 34), *paradhâna* < *pradhâna* (F. 783, 36), *mugati* < *mukti* (Ṛṣ. 35, *astrî* < *strî* (F 795, i, 23) ; *ghoḍâ-taṇîa* < *ghoḍâ-taṇî* (Kânh. 46), *jâgîa* < *jâgî* (Ṛṣ. 60), *paṇamevîa* 226) ; < *paṇamevi* (Ṛṣ. 1), *matîa* < *matî* (Ṛṣ. 7), *milîa-ni* < *milî-ni* (Ṛṣ. 63).

(7) *a* preceded by *âh* or followed by *hâ* is lengthened. Ex. :

vâchanâhâra (Yog. ii, 9) < *vāchanahâra* < *vāchanhâra* < **vāchaṇhâra* < *vāchaṇahâra* (see § 135) ;

mâhâraü (F 580, F 722) < *mâharaü* (see § 83) < Ap. *mahâraü* (see Pischel, § 434).

§3. Medial *â* of the Apabhraṃça is occasionally shortened. In Prakrit this was the case only when *â* fell before or after the accent of the word (see Pischel, §§ 79 ff.), but in Old Western Râjasthânî the shortening of *â* takes also place when a long vowel occurs in the syllable preceding or following. Examples are :

ăjī (Âdi C.) < *âja-i* < Ap. *ajja-ī* < Skt. *adyá'pi*,
jămâī (P. 354, 357) < Ap. **jâmâia-* < Skt. *jâmâtṛka-*,
părai (see § 75) < Ap. *paârae* < Skt. **prakârakeṇa*,
bimăṇaũ (P. 576, 578) < Ap. **bimâṇaũ* < Skt. **dvimânakam*[17],
vînăvai (P. 348) < Ap. **viṇṇâvaï* < Skt. **vijñâpayati*,
săī (Ṣaṣṭ. 85) < Ap. *saâī* < Skt. *çatâni*.

For *a* in substitution for *â* before a double consonant simplified, see § 43.

§ 4. Apabhraṃça *i* is liable to the following changes in Old Western Râjasthânî :

(1) *i* is weakened to *a*. Ex. :
Andra (F 722, 13) < Skt. *Indra*,
asaü < *isaü* (see § 94, (1)) < Ap. *aïsaü* < Skt. *yâdṛçakaḥ* (Pischel, § 81, 121),
âgali (see § 101, (3).)
< **âgili* (see § 145) < Ap. **aggille* < Skt. *agrile*,
etaü, *ketaü* (see § 93, (1) < Ap. *ettiu*, *kettiu* < Skt.*
ayattyaḥ,* *kayattyaḥ* (Pischel, § 153),
karavaũ < *karivaũ* (see § 134) < Ap. *karevvaũ* < Skt.* *kareyyakam* (Pischel, §§ 254, 570),
kuhaṇî (Çrâ.) < Pkt. *kuhiṇî* (=*kûrparaḥ*, Deçî°, ii, 62),
ja < *ji* (see §104) < Ap. *ji* < Pkt. *je*, *jeva* < Skt. *eva*,
traṇṇi (Ṛṣ., F 602) < *triṇṇi* < Ap. *tiṇṇi* < Skt. *trîṇi*,
paraṇaï (Dd.) < Ap. **pariṇaï*, °*ṇei* > Skt. *pariṇayati*,
pharasaï (Çrâ.) < Pkt. *pharisaï* (Hc. iv, 182) < Skt. *spṛçáti*,
mâṭaī (see §71, (5)) < Ap. **ṇimattaē*, *ṇimittaē* < Skt.* *nimittakena*,
Rukamaṇî (F 783, passim) < Skt. *Rukmiṇî*.

(2) *i* is amplified to *aï*. Ex. :
gaïu (Çâl. 10) < *giu* (see § 2, (1)) < Ap. *gaü* < Skt. *gatáḥ*,
prataï (Dd. 1) < Skt. *prati*,
baïtâlîsa (F 602, Âdi C.) < *bitâlîsa* (see § 80).

The case here is analogous with § 2, (3). Modern Gujarâtî has *e*, as in : *betâḷîsa*, and Mârwâṛî *ai* as in : *paitâ* < *pitâ*, *vaiṣai* < *viṣai* (Nâsaketa-rî kathâ).

(3) *i* is amplified to *iï*. Ex. :
rahiïta (Daç. viii) < Skt. *rahita-*,
sahiïta (ibid.) < Skt. *sahita-*.

The two examples above are the only I have met with. An instance of an analogous case, in which *a* is amplified to *aï*, is : *raïcitâ* < Skt. *racitam* (F 588).

(4) *i* is lengthened to *î*. Ex. :
ârîsaü (Daç. iii, 3) < Pkt. *âarisa-* < Skt. *âdarça-*,
kahî-i (Bh., Yog., Ṣaṣṭ.) < Ap. **kahĩ-i*, °*-vi* < Skt. *kasminn-api*,
ahī̃ (see § 98 (2)) < Ap. *âahĩ* < Skt. **adakasmin* or **ayakasmin* (cf. Pischel §429),
kîhã (Âdi. 13, 47) < *kihã* (see § 98, (1)) < Ap. *kahã* < Pkt. *kamhâ* < Skt. *kasmât*,
nathî (see § 115) < Pkt. *ṇatthi* < Skt. *nâ'sti*.

In the last three examples the lengthening of *i* is to be explained as having been brought about by a metathesis of quantity (see § 48).

(5) *i* is changed to *ya*. The cases, in which this change may take place, are : *a*) when a medial *i* is preceded by *a*, as in :
payasâra (P. 246) < *païsâra*, abstract noun from O.W.R., Ap. *païsaï* < Skt. *praviçati*,
vayara (P. 503) < Ap. *vaïra-* < Skt. *vaira-*,

[17] Another explanation of *bimaṇaũ*, which had previously occurred to me, is Ap. **bimuṇaũ* (cf. Pischel, § 231) Skt. *dviguṇakam*.

vayarâgî (F 616, 126) < Ap. *vairâgî* < Skt. *vairâgin*.

and *b*) when a terminal *i* is preceded by a long vowel. This is especially common in poetry, when the terminal *i* falls at the end of a word. Ex.:

doya (P. 57) < Ap. **do-i* < Pkt. *do-vi* < Skt. *dvav-api*,

kahivâya (P. 123) < *kahivâi* (see § 140).

Rarely *ya* is written for *i* when the latter falls after a consonant and before a vowel and still more rarely when it falls between two consonants. Examples of the latter case are chiefly confined to the MS. *F 722*, where they are very common and it is thereby clear that they are to be looked upon as a mere writing peculiarity of the MS. Examples of both cases are:

dyaï (Âdi C.) < *dii* < Ap. *dei* < Skt. **dayati* (=*dadâti*),

lyaï (ibid.) < *lii* < Ap. *lei* < Skt. **layati* (=*lâti*),

vyahâṇaü (Vi. 73, P. 522, 627) < *vihâṇaü* (P. 323) < Ap. *vihâṇaü* < Skt. **vibhânakam*,

yama, kyama, tyama (F 722) < *ima, kima, tima* (see § 98, (3)),

vyarûu (F 722, 63) < *virûu* < Ap. *virûaü* < Skt. *virûpakaḥ*,

vyanâ (F 722,64) < Skt. *vinâ*,

suṇya (F 722, 60) < *suṇi*, imperative 2nd sing. (see § 119).

§5. Apabhraṃça *u* is retained except in the cases following:

(1) *u* is frequently weakened to *a*, mostly when another *u* (*û*, *aü*) occurs in the syllable following or a long vowel in the syllable preceding. The former case is also common in Prakrit (see Pischel, § 123). Ex.:

arahaï (P. 479) < *urahaï* (Âdi C.) < Ap. **avăra-* < Skt. *apârá-*,

alûka (P. 675, 685,) < Skt. *ulûka*,

asûra (P., Ratn. 234) < Ap. *ussûra-* < Skt. *utsûra-*,

olagu (P. 105) < Pkt. *oluggo* (Deçî°, i, 164 = *sevaka*),

karîsa (see §121) < Ap. *karîsu* (Hc., iv, 396, 4) < Skt. **kariṣyam* (Pischel, §§ 63, 351),

jetalaü, tetalaü, etc. (see § 93, (2)) < Ap. *jettulaü, tettulaü* (cf. Hc., iv, 435),

taũ (see § 86) < Ap. *tuhũ* < Skt. * *tvakam* (Pischel, § 421),

tâharaü (see § 86) < Ap. *tuhâraü* (see § 48) < * *tuha-kâraü* (Pischel, § 434),

raṇajhaṇavaũ, verbal infinitive (P. 34, 197) < Ap. *ruṇujhuṇi*, onomatopoetic substantive (Hc., iv, 368),

sâhamaũ (P. 594) < Ap. *saṃmuhaũ* < Skt. *saṃmukhakam*,

hataü (see § 113) < *hutaü* (Mu.) < *hũtaü* < Ap. *hontaü* < Skt. **bhavantakaḥ*,

haü (see § 113) < *huu* < Ap. *hou* < Skt. *bhavatu*.

(2) *u* is amplified to *aü*. Ex.:

haüâ (Rṣ. 71) < *hûâ* < Ap. *hûâ* < Skt. *bhûtâḥ*.

(3) initial *u* is dropped. Ex.:

baïsaï (Dd. 2) < Ap. *uvaïsaï* < Skt. *upaviçati*.

In the following example, *u* previously to being dropped was weakened to *a*:

rahaî (see §71, (6)) < *arahaî* (Mu.) < *urahaî* < Ap. * *avăra-* < Skt. *apârâ-*.

§6. Old Western Râjasthânî û is occasionally changed to *o*. Ex.:

toha-i (Bh. 78) < *tũha-i* (P., Kal., Bh.) (see § 86),

dohila (Dd., F 576 < **dûlaha* < Ap. *dullaha-* < Skt. *durlabha-*.

After the analogy of the latter is formed *sohila* (F 576) < Ap. *sulaha-* < Skt. *sulabha-*. The equivalence of *û* with *o* is incidentally evidenced by Hemacandra, sûtra i, 173 of his Prakrit grammar, where it is stated that Sanskrit *upa-*may contract either to *û* or to *o* in Prakrit. The same interchange of *û* and *o* occurs in Jaipurî (see L.S.I., Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 33). Cf. the analogous case of *î* = *e*, § 7, (2).

§7. Old Western Râjasthânî has both a long and a short *e*, as Apabhraṃça and Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî. As in writing no distinction is made between *ê* and *ĕ*, I shall transliterate both by *e*, save in a few particular cases, where it is important to know whether *e* is long or short. Generally *e* is long in *tatsamas* and short in *tadbhavas*, but there are many exceptions to this rule as shown by Old Western Râjasthânî poetry as well as by the evidence of the modern dialects. Cf. the list of words containing a short *e* given by Sir George Grierson, p. 344 of *L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii. In Old Western Râjasthânî poetry *e* in one and the same word may be accounted short or long only to suit the exigencies of prosody. Thus in *P.* we find: *jêha* (100), *têha* (25,100), *jê* (21), *tê* (69), *jāṇê* (270) and *jĕha* (25), *tĕha* (23, 38, 59), *jĕ* (100), *tĕ* (100) *jāṇĕ* (62).

Apabhraṃça *e* undergoes the following changes in Old Western Râjasthânî:

(1) *e* is changed to *i*. This process had already begun in the Apabhraṃça stage, but was chiefly restricted to the case of terminal *e* (Cf. Pischel, § 85), Ex.:

amhi (see § 84) < Ap. *amhe* < Skt. *asme* (=*vayam*),

ima, kima, jima, tima (see § 98, (3)) —Ap. *eṽa, keṽa, jeṽa, teṽa*, (Pischel, § 261),

karijyo (Bh. 44) < Ap. **karejjahu* (see § 120),

karivaũ (Kal. 5) (see § 134) < Ap. *karevvaũ* < Skt. **kareyyakam*,

dii (Rṣ. 13) < Ap. *dei* < Skt. * *dayati* (=*dadâti*),

lii (Âdi. 11) < Ap. *lei* < Skt. **layati* (=*lâti*),

bi (see § 80) < Ap. *be* < Skt. *dve*,

hoije (Kal. 42) < Ap. * *hoejjahi* (see § 120).

In Gujarâtî *i* is further weakened to *a*, ex.: *karajo, karavũ*, or brought back to *e*, ex.: *ĕma, kĕma, amhê, bĕ*. It is therefore probable that in some of the cases, in which Old Western Râjasthânî has *i* for Apabhraṃça and Gujarâtî *e*, the former vowel stands simply to indicate *ĕ*. In Old Western Râjasthânî poetry, original *e* is often preserved, mostly when a long *mâtra* is required. Thus: *karê* (P. 250, 255) for *kari* (see § 119) < Ap. *kari, karĕ* (Pischel, § 461), *karêvũ* (P. 96) for *karivũ* (see § 134), *bê* for *bi*, *êma* for *ima*, etc.

(2) *e* is changed to *î*. This was already the case in Apabhraṃça, as is evidenced by the two examples: *viṇa* < Skt. *veṇî* and *lîha* < Skt. *lekhâ*, cited by Hemacandra, sûtra iv, 329 of his Prakrit grammar. In Old Western Râjasthânî *î* appears to be often written for *ê*, in the same way as *i* is written for *ĕ*.—Thus: *valê* (Âdi C.) for *valî*,-*ê* (Up.) for-*î*, an emphatic particle (see § 104). Similarly in poetry we find *îma, kîma*, for *êma, kêma* < *ima, kima, jîha, tîha* for *jêha, têha*, etc. In the following prose-passage a form with *î* is used by the side of a form with *ê*, which clearly means that the two vowels are easily interchangeable: *jiṇaĩ prakâraĩ koi gṛhastha pîḍâ na pâmaĩ, têṇaĩ prakâraĩ....* (Daç. i, 4). "In which way no householder suffers, in that way...." Cf. the common interchange of *î* and *ê* in Northern colloquial Gujarâtî (L. S. I., Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 329).

(3) Initial *e* is dropped. Ex.:

havaĩ (VI. 18, P. 590,) < *ehavaĩ* (see § 94, (3)),

hivaḍã (Çrâ.) < *havaḍã* < *ehavaḍã* (see § 94, (4)).

§8. The case of *o* is very similar to that of *e*. Though Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî do not possess a short *o*, yet Old Western Râjasthânî possessed it much in the same way as Apabhraṃça. Take the following examples from *P.*: *kŏ* (171), *jŏ* (138), *jŏĩ* (125), *jŏgî* (131), *tumhŏ* (465). Examples of Apabhraṃça *o* having become *u* in Old Western Râjasthânî are:

hui (see § 113) < Ap. *hoi* < Skt. *bhavati*,

hũtaü (see *ibid.*) < Ap. *hontaü* < Skt. * *bhavantakaḥ*.

(b) Vowels in Contact.

§**9.** Apabhraṃça *aa* is never allowed to remain in hiatus in Old Western Râjasthânî, but is either contracted to *â*, as in the oblique of nominal bases in *-aa* (see § 62), or euphonic *y* is inserted between the two *a*, as in: *rayaṇa* < Ap. *raaṇa-* < Skt. *ratna-*, *vayaṇa* < Ap. *vaaṇa-* < Skt. *vacana-*.

The only case, in which *aa* is suffered in Old Western Râjasthânî, is formed by the *-aũ* termination of the second person present indicative, where *aa*, however, is not original, but derived from Old Western Râjasthânî *aü* (see § 117).

Apabhraṃça *aâ* and *âa* are as a rule contracted, ex.:

ûnhâlaü (Âdi C.) < Ap. *uṇhaâlaü* < Skt. *uṣṇakâlakaḥ*,

paraĩ (see § 75) < **pâraĩ* < Ap. *paâraẽ* < Skt. * *prakârakeṇa*,

râ (Çâl. 110, 124,) < Ap. *râa-* < Skt. *râja-*,

but in the case of *âa* contraction may be as well avoided, euphonic *y* or *v* (see §§ 28, 34) being inserted between the two vowels. Ex.: *râya*, *pâya*, *jâvaï*, etc.

§**10.** Old Western Râjasthânî *aï* remains as a rule in hiatus, both when original and when resultant from Apabhraṃça *-ahi*. Ex.:

païsaï (Yog. iii, 123) < Ap. *païsaï* < Skt. *praviçati*,

kanhaĩ (see § 74, (1)) < Ap. *kaṇṇahĩ* < Skt. * *karṇasmin* (*karṇe*).

Notice, however, the following exceptions:

(1) *aï* is simplified to *i*. Ex.:

anĩ (Dd. 5) < *anaĩ* (see § 106) < Ap. *aṇṇaĩ* < Skt. *anyâni*,

iṇi (Çrâ.) < *iṇaï* (see § 89) < Ap. * *eṇahĩ* < Skt. * *enasmin*,

kari chi (Pr. 3) < *karaï chaï* (see § 118) < Ap. * *karaï acchaï* < Skt. * *karati ṛcchati*,

jisaü, *tisaü*, etc. (see § 94, (1)) < Ap. *jaïsaü*, *taïsaü* < Skt. *yâdṛçakaḥ*, *tâdṛçakaḥ* (Pischel, §§ 81, 121),

hosi (Çâl. 61) < Ap. *hosaï* (Hc., iv, 388, 418, (4)) < Skt. * *bhoṣyati* (=*bhaviṣyati*).

(2) *aï* is assimilated to *ii*. Ex.:

eki-i (P. 496) < *eka-i*,

kaüṇiĩ (Kal. 4) < *kaüṇaĩ* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇaẽ*,

kahisii (Çrâ.) < *kahisaï* (see § 121),

tiĩ (Kânh. 101, 102) < *taĩ* (see § 86) < Ap. *taĩ* < Skt. *tvayâ*,

pariĩ (Çrâ., Kal. 32) < *paraĩ* (see § 75) < Ap. *paârae͂* < Skt. * *prakârakeṇa*,

biiṭhaü (Vi. 130) < *baïṭhaü* < Ap. *uvaïṭṭhaü* < Skt. *upaviṣṭakaḥ*,

bĩhantiĩ (Vi. 8) < *bĩhantaĩ* < Ap. *bĩhantaẽ* < Skt. * *bhĩṣantakena* (cf. Pischel, § 501),

mâhii (P. 410) < *mâhaï* (see § 74 (7)) < Ap. *majjhahĩ* < Skt. * *madhyasmin* (= *madhye*),

husii (F 663) < *husaï* (see § 121) < Ap. *hosaï* < Skt. * *bhoṣyati*.

(3) *aï* is contracted to *î*. This change seems to have taken place through the intermediate step *ii* described in the foregoing paragraph. (Cf. § 16). Ex.:

ajî (Âdi C.) < **âji-i* < *âja-ï* < Ap. *ajja-ï* < Skt. *adyâ 'pi*,

trîjaü (see § 82) < **triijaü* < **traïjaü* or **traîjaü* < Ap. *taïjjaü* < Skt. *tṛtîyakaḥ*,

lagî (see § 72, (9)) < * *lagii* < *lagaï* < Ap. *laggahĩ* < Skt. **lagnasmin* (=*lagne*),

hũtî (see § 72, (11)) < **hũtii* < *hũtaï* < Ap. *hontahĩ* < Skt. * *bhavantasmin*.

(Cf. the case of Marâṭhî, in Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar*, § 79).

(4) *aï* is contracted to *e*. This change is already met with in Prakrit and Apabhraṃça (cf. Pischel, § 166), and in Old Western Râjasthânî it occurs only in the termination of the

instrumental plural (see § 60) and of the precative singular(see § 120), where it is no doubt very old. Ex.:

core (Kal. 9) < Ap. *corahĩ* < Skt. **corabhis* (=*corais*),

jâṇije (Bh. 21, P. 564) < Ap. **jâṇejjahi.*

§11. Old Western Râjasthânî *aï* remains in hiatus, except in the cases following :

(1) *aü* is simplified to *u*. Ex.:

karu (Ṛṣ. 10, 13) < *karaü* (see § 119) < Ap. *karahu* < Skt. * *karatha.*

kuṇa (Âdi., Indr., Yog., etc.) < *kaüṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa*-(Pischel, § 428),

cuthu (Yog. iv, 137, Çâl. 25) < *caüthaü* (see § 82) < Ap. *caütthaü* < Skt. *caturthakaḥ,*

sũpaï (F 783, 53) < *saũpaï* < Ap. *samappaï* < Skt. *samarpayati.*

(2) *aü* is changed to *iu*. Ex.:

boliũ (Daç. ix) < *bolaũ* (see § 117).

(3) *aü* is assimilated to *uu*. Ex.:

kũũṇa (Up. 215) < *kaũṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa-*,

puuḍhiu (P. 432) < *paüḍhiu,*

in which latter example *a* has possibly passed into *u* under the influence of *p*. See § 2, (2).

(4) *aü* is contracted to *û*. Whether the reason of the contraction lies in the *aü* being first assimilated to *uu* (as in the analogous case of *aï* > *ii* > *î*) or in the *u* being accented, I am not able to say. Possibly, in some cases prevailed the former reason and in some other cases prevailed the latter. Thus in the example :

mũ (Vi. 77) (see § 83) < Ap. *mahu* < Skt. *máhyam* (Pischel,§ 418),

the passing of *aü* to *û* might be assumed to have been effected through *uu*, and all the more so as there is a labial, whereas in the example :

hũ (see § 83) < Ap. *haũ* < Skt. *ahakám* (Pischel, § 417),

the contraction of *aü* to *û* seems to have been brought about by the *u* being accented. Other examples are :

âpaṇapũ (Daç. i, 2) < *âpaṇapaũ* (see § 92),

kûṇa (Âdi. 3) < *kaüṇa* (see § 91) < Ap. *kavaṇa-* (Pischel,§ 428),

bolũ (F 715, i, 3) < *bolaũ* (see § 117),

sũ < *saũ* (see § 70, (5) < Ap. *sahũ* < Skt. *sâkám.*

(5) *aü* is contracted to *â*. The intermediate step may be supposed to have been *aa*, the weakening of *aü* to *aa* being evidenced by the MS. *Kal.*, where the *-aũ* termination of the second person present indicative is often substituted by *-aã*. Ex.:

kanhã (Âdi C.) (see § 61) < **kanhaũ* < Ap. *kaṇṇahũ,*

karã (Âdi C., Ṣaṣṭ.) < *karaũ* (see § 117) < Ap. *karahũ* < Skt. **karamas* (=*kurmas*).

This contraction is amongst the peculiarities of Mârwâṛî and Eastern Râjasthânî and it is utterly foreign to Gujarâtî proper.

(6) *aü* is contracted to *o*. The case here is exactly identical with that of *aï* > *e*, see § 10, (4). The only example available is formed by the termination of the second person plural of the precative, which is :*-ijo, -ijyo* < Ap. *-ejjahu* (see § 120).

§12. *aê* is contracted to *ê*. Ex.:

anêru (Yog. ii, 88) < Ap. *aṇṇaêru* < Skt. **anyakâryaḥ,*

beṭê (Daç., X) < **beṭaê* < Ap. * *biṭṭaahĩ*, plural instrumental from *biṭṭaa-* (see § 60).

§13. *aô* is contracted to *ô*. Ex.:

pôli (Ratn. 5, 111) < Ap. *paôli* < Skt. *pratolî.*

In the example above, however, *o* might likewise be explained as a contraction from *aü* < *ao*, and all the more so as *P*. 100 we have *paüliâ* for *poliâ.*

MISCELLANEA.

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF TAMRALIPTI.

SINCE the time of Lassen it has been accepted by Indianists that 'Tâmralipti' is a Sanskrit word, that it is connected with *tâmra* (ताम्र)[1]. As a matter of fact the word has nothing to do with *tâmra* or any other Sanskrit word.

A form nearer to the original I find in the *Daśa-kumâra-charita*, viz., *Dâmalipta.*[2] In *Dâmalipta* the principal member *Dâmal'* is only a little removed from the original (Tâmil) *Dramiḍa.*[3] The variations of *Dramiḍa* are the Skr. *Draviḍa*, and the Pali *Damiḷo* as in the *Mahâvaṃsa*. Târânâtha drawing as usual on some old authority gives *Dramila.*

The second member *-ipta* or *-ipti* is clearly non-Sanskritic. Its original form is best preserved in the Pâli *-itti* of its *Tâmal-itti.* In Tâmil *atti* or *-tti* is a neuter-feminine ending.[4] Hindu writers applied the rules of Prakrit philology and restored *tti* into *-pti* !

The classical form of *Dramiḍa* in Tâmil is *Tiramiḍa.*[5] The Skr. *Tâmral'*—(*e. g., Tâmral-ipti* of the *Mahâ-Bhârata*), and *Tâmal'* (*e. g. Tâmalipti* of the *Bṛihat-Saṃhitâ*) are derived from the classical *Tiramiḍa.*

The original forms of *Tâmralipti* and *Dâmalipta* would thus have been : **Tiramiḍatti* and **Dramiḍa-tti,* Both forms seem to have been current, the former being classical and the latter, popular.[6] The expression rendered into Skr. would be **Dravaḍikâ* or **Drâviḍikâ.*

Both members of the expression, the base *Dâmal'* or *Tâmal'* and the ending *-itti* or *-tti,* are Dravidian. This is sufficient to establish that Tâmalitti was originally a Dravidian town, founded by the Dravidians before the Gangetic delta and Orissa were colonised by the Aryans.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

Calcutta.

BOOK NOTICE.

MUDRÂRÂKSASA by VISAKHADATTA edited by ALFRED HILLEBRANDT, BRESLAU 1912. Indische Forschungen in Zwanglosen Heften herausgeg. etc., von ALFRED HILLEBRANDT. H.

THE Mudrârâkshasa is one of the best Indian plays, and it occupies a somewhat peculiar position within the dramatic literature of India. It is a Nâṭaka and conforms to the rules laid down by the authors on rhetorics. The main interest, however, centres about the dramatical conflict in the minds of the acting persons and in the intrigues spun by the leading actors. The principal plot is, as prescribed by Bharata and his successors, *prakhyâta*. According to the Daśarûpâvaloka (I, 68) it has been taken from the Bṛihatkathâ. In support of this statement Dhanika quotes a stanza from the Bṛihatkathâ, which actually occurs in Kshemendra's Bṛihatkathâmañjarî I, ii, 216. There is however some difficulty about this statement, which is not found in all manuscripts[1]. Kshemendra's time was the 11th century, and the author of the Daśarûpâvaloka lived under king Muñja in the 10th. Moreover, there is not much in the Mudrârâkshasa which is taken from the Bṛihatkathâ. The events narrated there form the frame into which the plot of the play has been woven. So far as we can judge, the main intrigue is the work of the poet himself. It is not, however, possible to judge with confidence about this matter. We know that various tales about the downfall of the Nandas and the rise of the dynasty of the Mauryas were popular in India. Some of them have been preserved in the Kathâsaritsâgara and the Bṛihatkathâmañjarî, others by Hemachandra in his Pariśishṭa-parvan, and others by Dhuṇḍhirâja in his commentary on the Mudrârâkshasa, published in Telang's edition of the play. That these traditional tales have been largely circulated can also be inferred from the fact that they have been incorporated in the Aṭṭhakathâs of the Mahâvihâra and the Uttaravihâra in Ceylon,[2] and some of them have even influenced the folklore of Europe.[3] So far as we can see, however, the

---

1 Lassen, Alt. I. 145.

2 Ch. VI,

2 Caldwell, Gr. of. Dra ; Langs., 2nd ed., Introduction, p. 13.

4 Caldwell, p. 125. cf. the Canarese neuter-feminine *-iti* (p. 125), and the Telugu *-ti,* an infectional increment of neuter singular nouns (p. 160.)

5 Caldwell, Intro. p. 13.

6 Its present-day survival *Tâmaluka* would prove that the pronunciation with *T* was more popular amongst the Aryans.

1 See Hall, *Vasavadatta,* Introduction, p. 55.

2 Cf. Geiger, *Dîpavaṃsa und Mahâvaṃsa,* pp. 42 ff. ; Turnour, *The Mahâwanso,* pp. xxxviii ff.

3 See my paper in the Norvegian journal *Maal og Minne,* 1913, pp. 1 ff.

events which form the principal contents of the Mudrârâkshasa, Chânakya's intrigues with a view of bringing Râkshasa, the minister of the last Nanda king, over to the side of Chandragupta, are not dealt with in these popular sources, and even the name of Râkshasa seems to be a free invention by the author.

We have accordingly to acknowledge that Viśâkhadatta has freely invented the principal plot. He was possessed of great dramatic skill and the intrigue is extremely cleverly thought out. In itself the Mudrârâkshasa comes nearer to the idea of a tragedy than any other Indian play. Our sympathy is, the whole time, with Râkshasa in his fight against Chânakya's intrigues, and our interest in the development of the action ceases when the former is defeated. According to our ideas the natural end to the whole would have been that Râkshasa should become a victim of the misunderstandings created by Chânakya, or that he should have rushed against the enemy or committed suicide, or something of the sort. Then we should have had a real tragedy in Indian literature, and, I may add, a tragedy according to modern European notions. The struggle of the central figure, the honest and faithful Râkshasa, is not broken in vain attempts to brave the blind forces of fate, as in the Greek tragedy, but the fight is fought between the devoted servant of a fallen dynasty, who trusts his friends and is beloved by them, against the traditional master of political intrigue. Râkshasa is of course also intriguing. He could not have been an eminent minister of state according to Indian ideas without that. But he does not live and breathe in intrigue as his adversary. On the contrary, we have the impression of an honest and straightforward man, who only occasionally takes to intriguing in order to satisfy the requirements of the *Nîtiśâstra*. The conflict in the Mudrârâkshasa is therefore the same as in the tales of the Pañchatantra and similar collections which aim at teaching the advantages of shrewdness and versatility in all walks of life, even against honesty. It is therefore quite in keeping with the general tendency of the play that Chânakya achieves his aim in every respect.

The Mudrârâkshasa is accordingly a *nîti* drama, evidently intended to show the advantages of political training according to the *Nîtiśâstra*. Though it in many respects impresses the European critic as different from other Indian plays, and almost as a modern European play in its development of the plot, it is therefore entirely Indian in its general notions. This is of interest. Those scholars who maintain that the Indian drama is borrowed from the Greeks have paid considerable attentions to such points in which the Mṛichchhakaṭikâ, which has often been supposed to be the oldest Indian drama, agrees with Greek plays. The Mudrârâkshasa, where the agreement in general ideas with later European plays is, to my mind, much greater, warns us to be very careful in such comparisons. It not seldom happens that we are more struck by the similarity between India and Europe than by the difference, and in such cases we are apt to suppose that one of the two has been influenced by the other. But often we find that there are rather two different lines of development which have led to similar results, and I think we are usually on the safe side if we carefully examine whether such details which we would like to explain as due to foreign influence, cannot be the result of an independent development. In the case of the Mudrârâkshasa there cannot, I think, be any doubt. The whole atmosphere is entirely Indian and not European, though we are constantly reminded of European ideas. The whole question about the possible connexion between the Indian and the Greek play cannot be decided at the hand of such considerations. The oldest Indian plays we know, the Aśvaghosha fragments published by Professor Lüders, do not remind us of the Greek stage at all. To judge from the Prâkṛit, the Mṛichchhakaṭikâ is considerably later. The dropping of single stops between vowels is already taught by Bharata. We do not however know how old Bharata is, and we do not know how far we can rely on the printed text of his treatise on Prâkṛit phonology. It seems however impossible to assume that the dropping of such consonants became the rule before the third or perhaps the fourth century. In Pali and in Paiśâchî they are retained, and this is, I think, a sign of the priority of these dialects as compared with the ordinary Prâkṛits. Bhâsa, on the other hand, uses a Prâkṛit which has already reached the secondary stage, and he is older than the Mṛichchhakaṭikâ,[4] and than Kâlidâsa. It is impossible as yet to arrive at certain chronological results. It seems to me, from the point of view of the Prâkrit, that we can only fix the chronological order between these works. The Bṛihatkathâ of Guṇâdhya is probably at least one century older than Bhâsa, and so are the plays of Aśvaghosha. If Professor Lüders[5] and Dr. Marshall[6] are right that Kanishka and Aśvaghosha belong to the second century A. D., it is hardly possible to

[4] See Ganapati Sâstri, *Svapnavâsavadatta*, pp. xxxviii, ff.
[5] *Epigraphische Beiträge*, Berliner Sitzungsberichte, 1912, p. 830.
[6] *Archæological Discoveries at Taxila.* Lecture before the Panjab Historical Society, Sept. 4th 1913, p. 12.

date Bhâsa before the third or fourth, and consequently the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ* cannot well be older than the fourth. At all events, the *Mṛichchhakaṭikâ* cannot any more be considered as the oldest Indian play, and the arguments in favour of the Greek hypothesis which have been drawn from its supposed similarity with the Greek comedy can no more be maintained.

This hypothetical dating would of course have to be changed if Dr. Fleet were right in assuming that Kanishka belongs to the first century B. C. I have myself long held this view, but I have found it necessary to give it up after Professor Lüders' and Dr. Marshall's discoveries. I also think that it is necessary to assume that Kanishka is later than the Kadphises kings in order to explain a statement in the Chinese sources, which seems to have been hitherto overlooked. We hear[7] that after the conquest of India by Kadphises II, the Yue-chi became exceedingly rich and flourishing and were everywhere designated as "Kings of Kuei-shuang." Now this title "King of Kuei-shuang" is nothing else than the well known *Shaonano shao Koshano*, which title begins to be used by Kanishka. When the Chinese inform us that this designation only came in use after Kadphises, and when Kanishka is the first to use it, the only possible inference is that Kanishka is later than Kadphises.

I therefore think it probable that Bhâsa is not earlier than the third century. I should even be inclined to think that the fourth century is a still more likely date. The wish in the *bharatavâkya* of the Bâlacharita, the Dûtavâkya and the Svapnavâsavadatta that the King may become the sole ruler from sea to sea between the Himâlaya and the Vindhya, leads us to think of a state of affairs in India which was not brought about before Samudragupta's conquests. If this theory proves to be right it constitutes a land-mark in the history of the Indian drama. Now the late Professor Speyer in his excellent *Studies about the Kathâsaritsâgara*[8] has tried to show that also the Mudrârâkshasa belongs to the fourth century A. D. The stanza Mudrârâkshasa II, 13 also occurs in the Tantrâkhyâyikâ I, 46. Now, the Tantrâkhyâyikâ was used by the author or compiler whose work was the source of the Kathâsaritsâgara and the Bṛihatkathâmañjarî, and the stanza in question must have formed part of that work. Professor Speyer infers that it also formed part of the Bṛihatkathâ of Guṇâḍhya. I do not think that this conclusion can be adopted. For I agree with M. Lacôte[9] that the source of the two Kashmir recensions of the Bṛihatkathâ was not the old work of Guṇâḍhya, but a later work, compiled in Kashmir, probably about the seventh century A. D. The fact that the stanza occurred in the Kashmir Bṛihatkathâ which was made use of by Somadeva and Kshemendra does not accordingly carry us back to a very ancient time. If it belongs to the original Tantrâkhyâyika, it is of course much older. But then it will hardly be possible to assume, as does Professor Speyer, that its author was Viśâkhadatta. It must then have been borrowed by him from the Tantrâkhyâyika, or from the floating stock of *nîti* verses which have been current in India from the most ancient times. I agree with Mr. Keith[10] that it is impossible to draw any chronological inference from the occurrence of the stanza in the Mudrârâkshasa and the Tantrâkhyâyika. Nothing would be more natural than that the author of a *nîti* drama like the Mudrârâkshasa was indebted to the *nîti* literature proper.

Professor Speyer is inclined to suppose that the Chandragupta named in the *bharatavâkya* of Mudrârâkshasa may be some prince of that name who belonged to the dynasty of the Guptas. He who is eulogized in that final stanza as a successful protector against the threatening Mlechchhas may be Chandragupta I, the founder of the new and national dynasty, who lived in the beginning, or his glorious descendant Chandragupta II at the end of the fourth century. It would be no matter of wondering at, if the brilliant exploits, especially of the first Chandragupta who subverted a secular domination of "barbarians" in the N. and N. W. parts of India, had prompted the unkown poet Viśâkhadatta to "glorify a similar establishment of a mighty national monarchy by the namesake of his king and by his famous minister."

I have myself thought of a similar solution of the chronological question. And in this connexion I have noted the curious fact that the beginning of the Mudrârâkshasa in the excellent manuscript M is *nândy-ante tataḥ praviśati sûtradhâraḥ* just as is the case in Bhâsa's plays, while in other plays and in the remaining manuscripts of the Mudrârâkshasa the remark *tataḥ praviśati sûtradhâraḥ* comes after the introductory stanzas. The arrangements wherewith the Sûtradhâra recited the introductory stanzas was clearly a peculiarity of Bhâsa's. Compare Harshacharita v. 15.

sûtradhârakṛitârambhair nâṭakair bahubhûmikaiḥ
sapatâkair yaśo lebhe Bhâso devakulair iva.

[7] See O. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen-Zur Kenntnis der Türkvölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, p. 66.

[8] *Verhandelingen, der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen ta Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Nisuwe Ruke Dul* VIII, No. 5, pp. 51 ff.

[9] *Essai sur Guṇâḍhya et la Bṛhatkathâ*, Paris 1908, pp. 143 ff. and passim.

[10] *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 145 ff.

Other authors however did not in this respect follow Bhâsa If now the reading of M is the original one that would tend to show that Viśâkhadatta was probably one of the immediate successors of Bhâsa, and that he stuck to his arrangement with the introductory stanzas.

There cannot, moreover, be any doubt that Viśâkhadatta has, to a not inconsiderable extent, imitated Bhâsa, and more especially his Pratijñâyangandharâyaṇa. The solemn vow made by Yangandharâyaṇa, his use of spies and persons in disguise, the curious use of a kind of argot in order to convey a hidden meaning in act III, and even minor details such as the comparison of dependents without affection to a wife (*Kalatra*) in I, 4 [cf. Mudrâr. I, 14], and many other details in Bhâsâ's play constantly recall similar features in the Mudrârâkshasa and add strength to the supposition that Viśâkhadatta was an immediate successor of Bhâsa. But then the king alluded to in the *bharatavâkya* cannot have been Chandragupta I, must have been Chandragupta II.

It may be objected that the whole tendency of the Mudrârâkshasa militates against the assumption that it was written in praise of a king Chandragupta. Our sympathy is the whole time not with Chandragupta and Châṇakya, though we admire the latter, but with Râkshasa and the defeated dynasty. It is only by the force of circumstances that Râkshasa is brought to adopt the case of the Mauryas. If we were to think that the Mudrârâkshasa is written at the hand of actual events it would be more natural to assume that the author's patron had fought the king of Magadha. Now this would suit the hypothesis based on the reading *Rantivarmâ* instead of *Chandraguptaḥ* in the *bharatavâkya*, occurring in some manuscripts, advanced by Mr. Telang in his edition of the play, and adopted by most scholars that the author's patron was the Maukhari king Avantivarman whose son married the sister of king Harsha of Kanauj. Their contemporary was the Gupta King Mâdhavagupta, whose father Mahâsenagupta defeated Susthitavarman, who was probably a contemporary of Avantivarman, and there must have been frequent wars between the Maukharis and the Guptas of Magadha[11]. On the other hand there was also more peaceful relations between the two families, and two Maukhari queens wear names which show that they belonged to the family of the Guptas, viz., Harshaguptâ, the queen of Âdityavarman, and Upaguptâ the queen of Îśvaravarman. If we assume that Âdityavarman was an ally of Susthitavarman, who was defeated by Mahâsenagupta, it is conceivable that Âdityavarman was conciliated in some way by Mahâsenagupta, just as Malayaketu in the play is reinstated in his kingdom by Chandragupta. Hillebrandt[12] has also drawn attention to the fact that Grahavarman, the son of Avantivarman, was killed in Râjyavardhana's expedition against the Hûṇas, and he agrees with Dhruva and others in assuming that the *Mlechchhas* mentioned in the *bharatavâkya* were the Hûṇas. Attention has also been drawn to the fact that the Mudrârâkshasa must have been written before the destruction of Pâtaliputra, because that town plays such a great rôle in the play. Now this argument would naturally lead to the conclusion that Professor Speyer's dating of the play is the right one, because Pâtaliputra ceased to be the Magadha capital at a comparatively early date, and in the *Mudrârâkshasa* it is throughout treated as the natural capital. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to follow the late Professor Speyer with regard to the date of the play. The reading *Rantivarmâ* was perhaps introduced on the occasion of a later representation

Professor Jacobi has advocated[13] another dating of Viśâkhadatta. He is of opinion that the Mudrârâkshasa shows traces of imitation of the poet Ratnâkara, who lived under king Avantivarman of Kashmir in the 7th century. He also draws attention to some striking parallels between details in the *Mudrârâkshasa* and Kalhaṇa's description of Avantivarman, and at the hand of the astronomical data mentioned in the introduction of the play he calculates that it was acted the 2nd December 860 A. D. Dhruva, on the other hand,[14] maintains that Ratnâkara has imitated Viśâkhadatta, and he also draws attention to such cases, where the Mudrârâkshasa seems to have been imitated by authors older than Ratnâkara. It is almost impossible to judge about such cases. We never know whether there are direct loans or common loans from a third source. The direct allusions to the Mudrârâkshasa in Indian literature mentioned by Dhruva are still less decisive. The stanza *Pañchatantra* (ed., Bühler), III, 138 cannot be dated. Nor is it possible to come to a decision about the date of the Chaṇḍakauśika, in which there is an allusion to the Mudrârâkshasa. Of greater importance is the fact drawn attention to by Dhruva that there did not, in the days of Avantivarman of Kashmir, exist an independent king of Sindh, while the Sindh king is mentioned as a mighty ally in the play, and further the way in which Viśâkhadatta mentions the Kashmir king. Against such a late dating as suggested by Professor Jacobi it is also possible to draw attention to the high respect with which the Buddhas are mentioned, V, 6 ; to the recurrence of the stanza II, 18 in Bhartṛihari's *Nîtiśataka* 27, in the Pañchatantra, and in the Vetâlapañchaviṁśati, where it is probably borrowed from the Mudrârâkshasa, and to other

[11] Cf. *Gupta Inscriptions*. pp. 14 f.

[12] *ZDMG.*, xxxix, 131.

[13] *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff.

[14] *Ibidem*, Vol. V, pp. 25 ff.

[15] *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, p. 251 foot note.

minor details. Wilson's view[15] that the Mudrârâkshasa was written in the eleventh or twelfth century has now only historical interest. It was based on the assumption that the Mlechchhas mentioned in the *bharatavâkya* were the Musalmâns.

Who the author of the Mudrârâkshasa was, we know not. His name was Viśâkhadatta, and he was the son of the Mahârâja Bhâskaradatta, or, according to most manuscripts, Pṛithu, and the grandson of the feudatory (Sâmanta) Vaṭeśvaradatta.

We do not know any of these persons. Wilson[16] thought it possible that Pṛithu was identical with the Châhamâna Prithvîrâja of Ajmer (12th century), but that is of course excluded. Hillebrandt[17] seems inclined to identify Bhâskaradatta with Harsha's friend king Bhâskaravarman of Kâmarûpa. According to the Harshacharita, however, Bhâskara varman was the son of Susthiravarman Mṛigâṅka and the grandson of Sthiravarman. Now this agrees with the information derived from the newly discovered copper-plate grant of Bhâskaravarman which has been brought to light by Padmanâtha Bhattâcharya.[18] We only here learn that Sthiravarman and Susthiravarman are misreadings instead of Sthitavarman and Susthitavarman. It is then probable that Susthitavarman, the father of Bhâskara varman, was the king defeated by Mahâsenagupta. Dr. Fleet's supposition[19] that Susthitavarman was a Maukhari has hitherto been generally adopted. Now that we know of a Susthitavarman whose time suits the case, it will be necessary to change our opinion. We know that Bhâskaravarman was the contemporary of Harsha, who again was a contemporary of Mâdhavagupta. Now it was Mâdhavagupta's father who defeated Susthitavarman, and the Kâmarûpa king Susthitavarman was the father of Bhâskaravarman. There is then a perfect accord in the chronology, and there cannot be much doubt that Mahâsenagupta's adversary was the Kâmarûpa king Susthitavarman Srî-Mrigâṅka. Now it is tempting to assume some connection between the Maukharis and the Kâmarûpa kings. Both dynasties use names formed in the same way. It has already been suggested that Avantivarman may have sided with Susthitavarman in his war against Mahâsenagupta, and the chronology is in favour of such a supposition. On the other hand it seems impossible to reconcile the genealogy of Viśâkhadatta with that of the Kâmarûpa kings.

We cannot therefore say who the author of the Mudrârâkshasa was though it is highly probable that he belongs to the Ganges country and lived in the fourth century. We know of no other work by him, but the Mudrârâkshasa itself has long been known and admired. It has also been published several times. Professor Hillebrandt however is the first to give us a really critical edition, with full materials. To judge from his review of Telangs edition[20], his edition was planned more than thirty years ago, and the Mudrârâkshasa has evidently been in his mind during all these years. In 1905 he published an edition of all the Prâkṛit verses,[21] and now follows the complete edition, with exhaustive apparatus criticus and an index of Prâkṛit words.

It is an exceedingly careful work Professor Hillebrandt has given us. It would have made the book still more useful if he had added an index of *pratîkas*. It very often happens that we have to identify verses, and such indexes are extremely useful. This is however a minor consideration, and I prefer to think of all we have got in this new edition.

There are of course many minor details where it is possible to have different opinions. Thus I am very doubtful about the restoration of the Prâkṛit forms required by the rules of the grammarians. This is more especially the case with the Mâgadhî. The Prâkrit grammarians are all comparatively late, and their rules about Mâgadhî are probably to some extent artificial. Professor Hillebrandt has corrected throughout so as to bring the Prâkṛits into agreement with the grammarians, and he has done so in an excellent way. It is perhaps the only possible thing to do, and in the case of Śaurasenî and Mahârâshṭrî our knowledge is so far advanced that we can do so with some confidence. But it is more difficult to be confident in the case of Mâgadhî, about which dialect we are still very unsatisfactorily informed. The use of a comparatively correct Mâgadhî in the fragments of plays preserved in later inscriptions does not prove much for the older plays, now that we know that the Prâkṛit grammarians cannot be so old as some of us were once inclined to think. It is also possible to find individual cases where one is inclined to disagree with the editor. Thus I would read *jâṇâdi* and not *jâṇadi* in the Śaurasenî, or else I would also read *jâṇasi* instead of *jâṇâsi*. I would substitute *ã* and not *a* for *aṁ* when it is short; I would not allow Śaurasenî in verses, at least not if the Mahârâshṭri forms occur in some of the manuscripts; I would read *suṇiduṁ* instead of *suṇâduṁ*, p. 13, l. 10; *tissâ* or *tâê* for *tissâê*, p. 18, l. 5, and so on. It is possible to disagree about such questions, and to think that the editor has erred. But the principal thing is that he has given the full materials so that we can judge for ourselves in every case. And his methods are so sound that we usually feel convinced that he is right. Of misprints which have not been corrected I have only noted *Sindhushênô* for *Sindhusênô*, p. 140, l. 6, and *karaṇê* for *karêṇa*, p. 177, l. 5.

STEN KONOW.

16 *l. c.*; p. 128.

17 *ZDMG.*, Vol. xxxiv, p. 131.

18 See *Bijoya*, Vol. I, Calcutta 1320, pp. 625 ff., and Radha Govinda Basak, *Dacca Review*, 1913, June.

19 *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15.

20 *ZDMG.*, Vol. xxxiv, pp. 107 ff.

21 *Zur Kritik des Mudrârâkṣasa*, Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.-hist. Klasse 1905, Heft 4.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FIRST ENGLISH COMMERCIAL MISSION TO PATNA, 1620—1621.

EDITED BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

Prefatory note.

[I have recently edited volume II. of the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, 1608-1667, for the Hakluyt Society. This volume covers the years 1628-1634 while Peter Mundy was travelling to and from India in the interests of the English East India Company of that date.

He spent part of the year 1632 in a commercial expedition to Patna, and as he made several references to the previous commercial mission of Messrs. Robert Hughes and John Parker to that place in 1620-1621, I had reason to examine the whole of the proceedings of those two men while there.

In Appendix D of my volume on Peter Mundy's Journals, I have given a brief account of the work of Hughes and Parker and in Foster's *English Factories* (1618-1621) there is a concise account of their doings. But in the course of my enquiries I had to collect together and edit all the original documents left behind, relating to the time spent by Hughes and Parker in Patna. They are of considerable value, as illustrating the kind of work the pioneers of British enterprise in India had to do, the manner in which they set about it, the conditions under which they lived, and the qualities required of such men. It is therefore worth while to reproduce the original correspondence in this *Journal.*

Hughes and Parker are exhibited to us as typical commercial pioneers, level-headed bargainers, quick to perceive where trading possibilities lay; brave, imperturbable, venturesome men, loyal to their employers ; men whom neither difficulties nor dangers daunted.

Incidentally, the interesting fact came to light that even in those days the value of the subsequent great trade in Bengal (*tasar*, tussore) silks was foreseen and that much trouble was taken to introduce them into European markets. Among other things, Hughes tried to send talking *mainâs* to England in 1620. In a letter to his superiors at Agra he writes of " a cupell of pratlinge birds called mynnas, which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company and intreate you carre may bee taken for theire convayence to Surratt."]

I.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna 12 July 1620. Lovinge Frends, Mr. Kerridge etts. After longe expectation and no cirtayne newes of Mr. Younge[1] and his companies aproche neare Agra (the yeare spendinge so fast), it was thought needfull to dispeede mee for Puttana, and havinge accorded upon a computed some of monnyes for some presant investment, with bills of exchange for 4,000 ru[pees], I departed Agra the 5th June and (thankes bee to God) arived here in safitye the 3rd presant, havinge bine on the waye 29 dayes, in which I outran 300 Jehanger courses [Jahângîrî *kos.*] Presantlye upon my arivall I procured acceptance of my exchanges, and hope of good payment, theire date beinge expiered ; of whose currant performance, when received, I shall advise to Agra.

I have since my comeinge vizited the Governor Muckrob Con [Mukarrab Khân], whoe seemes wonderous plesant for our arivall here, and was as inquisitive to knowe what goods I had brought with mee ; wherunto I as exactlye answared that at presant I had nothinge, but that what futurlye should come fitinge his circare [*sarkâr*, government, establishment]

[1] At a Consultation held in Surat on the 22nd Jan. 1620, it was decided that John Young should " assist Mr. Hughes in Hogreporepatamia [Hâjîpur Patna] or where else the ambertees are made." Foster' *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, pp. 182, 191.

hee should have the first sight of, wherwith hee seemed well contented, and hath given order to serche out for a house for mee, but as yet cannot finde anye convenyent enoughe, yet hope shortlye to bee well seated, thoughe I feare not rent free. The Nabobe is desierous of some cloth and hydes, for which I have advized to Agra for what theye can spare, or maye lye there unvendable; also tapestrye, clothe of tishoo [tissue], velvetts, embrodares, fethers, or anye other rich commodities to bee gotten, and hath desiered me to write you to procure him some from the expected fleete, of which if you may spayer anye, doubtlese theye wilbe well sould, and your selves knowe him to bee as free in payinge as in buyinge.

I have made some enquirye into the commoditye here to bee procured and by you required from England. And first for clothinge (as I have bine enformed, for I have not had tyme yet to make anye experiences), the usiall custome of buyinge the amberty[2] calicoes at Lackhoure [Lakhâwar] (which is the pente [*peth*, *penth*, market-town] or fayer for that commoditye, and is a towne 14 course from this place) is as follows: theye are dalye brought in from the neighboringe gonges [*ganj*, a village] by the weavers, from whome they are bought rawe, of length 13 coveds Jehangery (which is one-fourth longer then the elahye [*ilâhî gaz*, 33 in.] of Agra), from which the buyer, of an antient custome, teares of 1½ or 2 coveds, and soe deliverse them marked to the whitster, whoe detaynes them in whitinge and starchinge about three mounthes, the charge whereof is neare upon 3 ru[pees] per courge [score], and the abatements and disturyes [*dastûrî*, commission] in buyinge them rawe from the weaveres * per rupye or 25 per cent. In this maner, by reporte, dalye maye there bee bought 50,60, and some dayes 100 peeces. Almost in the like nature are theye sould here in Puttanna, beinge likewise brought thence by the weaveres, but readye whited and cured, and the same customes and abatements as in the cuntrye; and by computation here maye bee provided within the space of three or four mounthes, soe bought, and of the broadest sizes, called zeferconyes [*zafar-khânî*], two or three hundred corge.

Of sahannes [*sahan*, fine sheeting] and hammomes [*hammâm*, towelling] theire are but fewe at presant in towne. Theye are brought from the lower partes of Bengalla in smalle parcells by Puttanes [Pathâns]. Other sortes of choutare[3] cloth are not here to bee gotten, unlesse some fewe rahmoutes.[4] What of theise sortes shall come to towne, I shall not slip anye oportunitye for theire procuringe, for the yeare is allreadye so farr spent that it will not permite anye convenyent investments to bee made at Lackhoure in th'ambertyes rawe, the tyme beinge soe shorte for theire dispeed hence, and theye soe tedious in whittinge.

Of rawe silke of Bengalla I have sent musteres [samples] to Agra, and have entreated, after perusiall [inspection], to send them you joyntlye with this my leter. In the paper No. 1 are two skeynes of the first and second sortes, which is the sortes cheflye by the Companye required, and by us provided [at] Agra, which at presant is here to bee bought (wounde of into skeynes of a coved longe) for 5½ rupees gross the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare, from which is abated 17 per cent. kessure [*kasar*, diminution, discount] and disturye, and will falle out net not above 4¼ rup[ees] the seare of 34½ pices weight. In the paper No. 2 is two skeynes of the third and fourth sortes wee usialye buye in Agra, not wound of aparte,

[2] Amberty, ambertee ambartree (Hindî, *amritî, imratî, amirtî imartî*), a name applied to a stout cloth of N. India, See *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple, II. 141 *n*.

[3] The word is *chautâh, chautâhâ, chautâhî, chautâî*, lit., four folds, a coarse double-width cotton cloth of two lengths.

[4] This word clearly means a kind of *chautâh* or wide, coarse cotton cloth, but I am unable to trace it in any vernacular, unless it is a mistranscription for *râwat, râot, râwatî râotî*.

for want of tyme, and is here worth at presant, to bee wound of as the former, 4¼ rup[ees] gross per seare, out of which the prementioned disturye abated, will cost 3 rup[ees] 9 annyes [*âna*, anna] net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare. Theise are theire presant prizes, betwene which and that wee buye in Agra you will perceave a great diferance in price for theise four sortes, to saye, one-third of the sorte No. 1 and two-thirds of the sorte No. 2 hathe cost us together in Agra neare upon 5¾ rup [ees] net the seare of 30 pices, which here halfe on[e] half th'other maye bee bought for about 4 rup[ee]s net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare; and I am promised at about theise rates to have delivered in from the silkwynderes 10 or 15 m [aun]ds per mounth, and doubtles a greater quantitye therof maye bee procured, but then wee must venture out some monye before hande, which I resolve upon, findinge sufitient securitye for performance; and herupon have advised them at Agra to desist farther in its investment there, which per computation is at least 35 per cent. derer then here it maye bee bought. Serbandy[5] silke, the best of Mucksoude [Maksûdâbâd Murshidâbâd] and Sideabaude [Saidâbâd], from whence theise sortes are wounde of, is at presant here worthe 100 rup[ees] gross per maunde of 40 seres per maunde and 34½ pices per seare, from which is abated the savoye [*sawâî*, an excess of a fourth] or 25 per cent.; soe it rests net worth about 75 rupees per m[au]nde net. The brokeridge as well on this as on all other sortes of silke is, by the Nabobes comande, but 5 annes of a rupye per cent. from the buyer and 10 annyes from the seller; but the brokeres doe usialye take one-half per cent. from the buyer and one per cent. from the seller. For brokeridge of clothe theye can clayme nothinge as deue from the buyer, onlye his curtizeye; but from the seller theire right is half a pice per rupye.

I shall here provide some quiltes of Sutgonge [Satgâon], wrought with yellowe silke, at reasonable rates; and have already halfe a score in possession, and am promised more dalye as theye come to towne.

There are some Portingalls at presant in towne, and more are latlye gon for theire portes in Bengala; into whose trafiqe I have made enquirye, and gather that theye usialye bringe vendable here all sortes of spices and silke stufes of Chyna, tyne, and some jewelleres ware; in lewe wherof theye transporte course carpets of Junapoore [Jaunpur], ambertyes, cassaes [*khâssa*] and some silke. The Mogoles [Merchants from Upper India or Persia] and Praychaes[6] are here like bees, whose cheefest provisiones are mandyles [*mandîl*, turban-cloth], girdells [*kamarband*], layches [*alâcha*, *ilâcha*, silk cloth] and doupattas [*dopattâ*] of Malda; also a sorte of thine cloth called caymeconyes [*kâim-khânî*][7] of Beyhare [Bihâr], and are much like unto course cassaes, 14 coveds longe and four-fifths of a coved broade, of 40, 50, and 60 rup[ee]s per courge. Theise are bought for transporte to Lahore, and thence for Persia; samples wherof, and of all other commodityes here to be provided fittinge that trade, I purpose to buye some smalle quantityes of eatch for a tryall. And also ambertyes is a principall of theire investments, for the compasinge wherof theye bringe hether either redy spetya [specie] or exchanges.

I praye adviz whether th' ambertyes you mention to bee provided rawe are ment as from the loome, without washinge and starchinge, or to bee whited onlye without starche.

[5] *Sirbandî*, head-winding, evidently a cocoon, the ordinary words for which are *koya*, *pîlah*.

[6] Mr. Foster conjectures that this word is the Sanskrit *prâchya*, used like *pûrbiya* to indicate an inhabitant of countries to the eastward. See *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, p. 195 *n*.

[7] See Mr. Foster's note on this kind of cloth, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

The generall transporte of goods from hence to Agra is by Carte, but now in the seasone of the raynes the wayes are soe deepe that no Cartes Can passe, and therfore for necesitye whatever goeth hence is laden on oxen. It wilbe the prime October at soonest before the Carts can stir hence, whose freight to Agra is Commonlye 1¼ and 1½ rups. per maund and goeth not under lese then 35 dayes. What goods maye here bee provided betwixt this and the begininge October shall, God willinge, bee dispeeded hence about that tyme, which wilbe the soonest.

I have written to Agra to dispeed John Banggam with some goods advised for which lye unvendable there with the first opertunitye, for that this place will requier an assistant or two, for that it promiseth plentye of Commoditye and doubtles will to good purpose bee established a factorye. I have also advized for 5 or 6000 rups. more to bee forthwith remitted hether, for th' exchange here is cheaper by 1½ or 2 per Cent. then there, for th' intrime I am promised at intrest for ¾ per Cent.

At the foote of this my letter you will perceave the presant prizes of sondry Commodites as well vendable here, as that here maye bee provided, which with the prescribed I entreate you acepte untill future experyence maye Imboulden mee to enlarge. Untill when with hartye Commends and prayers for prosperitye in our Joynt affayeres, I take leave and rest, &c.[8]

The present valleues of sondry Commodities as well Vendable as to bee provided in Puttana, advized to Surat and Agra.

Broade Clothe good redd, worthe 15 rups. the Jehangir Coved
Elyphants teeth, the best worth 80 rups. per md. of 40 sers per md. and 33 pices per sr.
Seamorse [walrus] teeth, worth 10 rups. per seare 37 pices
Bulgare hydes, worth 18 rups. per payer
Quick silver, worth 3½ rup. per seare
Vermilion, worth 3¾ rup. per seare
Lead, worth 9 rup. per maunde
Tyne, worth 38 rup. per maunde
Amber beads, worth 2, 3 and 4 tankes [*tânkâ*] per rup.
Corrall, no setled price, but accordinge to its goodnese
Saffron, worth 16 rup. per seare
Swords, knives, fine wares, etc., no price Currant

[The remainder of this list is illegible]

The Nabobe would faine have 3 or 4 Cases of emptie bottels. He was impertinent [importunate] with me and would not bee satisfied but that I had brought some with mee, soe that I was Constrayned to give him the 3 small bottels out of my standishe [inkstand, bottle-stand]. Hee required many other thinges, which in regard theye are not to bee had I here omite, and not havinge elce at presant rest &c.[9]

II.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 6 *August* 1620. Good Frends, Mr. Kerridge etts. My last of the 12th last month by waye of Agra advized you of my arivall here, and what elce the then poore experience of this place encouradged mee, a Coppye wherof (to avoyde repitition) I send you herewith,

[8] *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 2-4.

[9] *Factory Records*, Patna, I. 1, 4.

referringe you, and havinge now made some experience of what my formeres gave you hopes of, it rests that I advize you therof.

I have bine dealinge with the weaveres of Lackhoure (Lakhâwar) which bringe th' Ambertyes to towne, from whence in smale parcells I have bought about 16 Courge [*korî*. score] from 1 to 6 rups. net the peece, and allmost all of the broadest sizes. The raynes is some impediment to theire provision, for that the weavers by reson therof Com not to towne, as wontedlye, and there are greate store of buyers abroade, which hath somwhat inhansed the Commoditye. Also there are latlye Come up diverse frigitts of Portingalls from Sutgonge [Satgâon] whose merchants buye up all theye can laye hand of. If tyme would have permited some investments to have bine made in the Country, it had bine the best and Cheapest Course to have bought them rawe [undressed] from the weaveres and have put them fourthe to whitinge, but the season for theire dispeed hence to Come to you tymlye to send this yeare for England is soe neare at hand that this yeare it was impossible to get them ready. For the future, if you resolve that quantityes therof be provided it wilbe needfull that this place bee furnished with monnye in such season that no tyme bee lost, for that theye are teadious in whittinge ; as also it is requisite that for what provisions shall heare bee made bee at Agra before the raynes to take the first oppertunitye for Conveyance with theire goods, which will bothe save Charges and regayne tyme.

Lackhower afords greate quantityes of fyne clothe, to saye of four, five, six, eight to ten rupes per peece, and by bespeakinge them and deliveringe monyes out before hand the weaveres will make them a full Jehanger coved [Jahângîrî *covado*, cubit] broade, which is yeard, halfe quarter [*i. e.*, about forty inches] English (which breadth, as theye saye, they cannot exceed, to have them close wrought), but of what reasonable lengths wee shall desier them.

For your list of goods required this yeare from Agra, you specifie th'ambertyes to bee all Course at or under 2 rups. per peece. Wherefore in your first praye advize how you stand afected to the fyne. Theire breadth are generallye neare upon an elahy [*ilâhî*], coved and broader then your narowe baftas of Baroche [Broach].

Of Sahannes theire come none to towne. Diverse boates are shortlye expected from the lower partes of Bengalla, which by reporte bringe quantitye. I have bought for 400 rupes in tusser stufes of Bengalla,[10] of halfe silke, halfe cotten ; and of Bicuntpoore layches [Baikanthpur *alâchah* about 16 courge at 12, 10 and 16 rupes per courge. Theye are $5\frac{1}{4}$ coveds longe and somwhat more then $\frac{3}{4}$ broade, some patternes wherof I send you herwith. Theye are fitt lenghets for petticotes, cheape, and doubtles will sell in England to good profitt. Theye are made five course hence, infinite quantityes, and are generallye bought up by the Mogolles for Persia ; by bespekinge them (if theye give Content) wee maye have them made of what lenghets and breadthes wee shall desier.

With my former I sent you musteres [samples] of Bengalla silke and theire prices, since which I have made further serche therinto and herwith send you other samples by mee wounde of from the Serbandy [cocoon], of which I bought a maunde for a triall, and wound it of into seavene severall sortes, wherby I finde that theise 4, to saye the second, third, fourth and fifthe will stand us in about $4\frac{1}{4}$ rups. net the seare of $34\frac{1}{2}$ pice with all Charges of wyndinge it of defrayed ; and the 3 other sortes, to saye the first, sixth and seaventh, rated at worthe here at present to bee sould for readye monnye, the first at $4\frac{9}{16}$ rup. per seare, the 6th at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rups. per seare, and the 7th at $\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{2}$ rups. per seare ; soe that the Chea-

10 *Tasar*, a coarse silk. See *ante*, vol. xxix. pp. 339 f.

pest and surest dealinge is to buye the serbundye and wynde it of my selfe and theron have resolved, havinge bought about 6 mds. more, And at present have thirty men at worke theron, purposinge to increase them to a hundred, and if you aprove therof and the price (which is $\frac{1}{8}$ cheaper then in Agra) I may have two or three hundred silkwinderes to worke in the house all the yeare, wherof I praye advize your oppiniones, for to buye it from the Cottewalle [*kotwâl, nawâb's* agent] it will cost $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$ of a rupy dearer, and yet not soe good stufe ; and the first 6th and 7th sortes, beinge sent hence to Agra, will sell here for 20 per Cent. more then it is worthe heare, which Course will much ease the price of the rest. And I purpose also to dye and drese some of the Course sortes into sleave [floss][11] silke and send you to bee sent for England as samples. It will wast the $\frac{1}{4}$ in the dresinge, and the Charge herof be about $\frac{5}{16}$ of a rupye the seare and will not stand in above $2\frac{1}{8}$ rup. per sere readye drest.

I have taken a house in the greate bazare, neare unto the Cutwalls choutrye [choultry, *chabûtrâ*, office]; the rent $6\frac{3}{4}$ rupes per month. I have not herde from Agra since my departure thence, but expect John Banggam with some goods and monneyes formerlye advized for. Halfe my former exchange are runn out, And I hope to have the remaynder speedilye invested in Ambertyes, of which commoditye the partes about Lackhoure afords such quantitye that (by the weaveres reportes) daly 1,000 peeces are taken from their loomes ; and without question you maye have 50,000 rupes yearlye invested therin if you aprove of the said sortes. Your order wherin and in the silke provisions for the aprochinge yeare I shall expecte. And not havinge elce at present, &c. &c.

	rup.	an.
The Verourd [*bardward*] or proportion wound of from a sere of serbandy raw silke, containing $34\frac{1}{2}$ pices weight the sere : wounde of into seven severall sortes, and Cost net	2	00
more for the Charge of wyndinge it of		$\frac{5}{16}$
	2 :	$\frac{5}{16}$

	rup.	an.
$8\frac{1}{2}$ pices wt. waste or losse in the wyndinge it of rated at	00	00
$6\frac{1}{2}$ pices wt. shekesty[12] or the 7th sorte at $14\frac{1}{2}$ anns. per sere is	00	$03\frac{3}{4}$
4 pice wt. Cattaway[13] or the 6th sorte at $1\frac{1}{2}$ rups. per sere is	00	$02\frac{1}{2}$
$2\frac{3}{4}$ pice wt. Gird[14] or the first sorte at $4\frac{9}{16}$ rup. the sere is...	00	$06\frac{1}{4}$
$12\frac{3}{4}$ pice wt. of the 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th sorts (of which this inclosed is the sample) rated at $4\frac{1}{4}$ rup. net per sere	01	$09\frac{1}{2}$
$34\frac{1}{2}$ pice wt. rated together and costs rup. net	02	$0\frac{5}{16}$

and is as it is worth here at presant, about which price, within $\frac{1}{16}$ more or lesse the seare, quantityes maye bee provided wound of acordinge to this sample and of the lenghths of theise skeynes.[15]

[11] The *O. E. D.* defines sleave-silk as silk thread capable of being separated into smaller filaments for use in embroidery; floss silk.

[12] *Shikasta*, broken, irregular (threads).

[13] *Katwâi*, imperfect, discoloured.

[14] *Gird*, round, *i. e.*, even quality.

[15] *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 4-6.

III

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 3 September 1620. Kinde Frends, Mr. Fettiplace, etts. After longe expectation and desier to here from you, Yesterdaye I received yours of the 9th August... ...

I perceave that you take notice of what I writt Concerninge the provision of Amberty Callicoes and your opyniones jump with what I have bine latlye large unto you Concerninge that Commoditye in theire future investments to bee made at Lackhoure. I once thought, and indeed fullye purposed to have made some small tryall there this yeare, but meanes and menes promises faylinge kept mee from them spight of my teethe [in spite of my efforts]. Howsoever, I doubt not but to have the monnyes you now sent Imployed therin here in Puttana tyme enough to bee dispeeded hence by the begininge of th'ensuinge mounthe and these with the cost of my provision to bee with you in Agra by the prime November, whereof more hereafter.

You have discouraged mee in the silke provisions of which I had and yet have [great] hopes to doe much good therin, of which I sent you second samples [hence the] 6th August, and therin was large of the setled Course I have taken for providing in the Condition required by the Companye, and I am suer at Cheaper rates then theye aprove of, to send fourthwith what quantitye possiblye maye bee procured, which imbouldned mee the rather therin, so that I have encreased my Cor Conna [*kârkhâna*, workshop] to almost a hundred workmen, but here will stop untill I here further from Surrat. I have delivered them mony out beforehand, which now can hardly bee recalled, and therfore they must worke it out; 10 or 12 mds. serbandyes wilbe the most I shall wynde of for this yeare, which will not bee much, yet I hope such a sample as shall Confirme its future provision, its price beinge Considered; neither(I am sure) were theye at Surrat Ignorant of its price in Agra when in their letter, which arrived a litell before my departure, theye desiered what quantitye possible might be procured this yeare. I have bine large unto them therof, and expecte theire order for the future. My last samples I hope you have sent them.

For quilts of Sutgonge I have not exceeded above a dozen, nor shall not ad therunto manye more, unlesse such as promise good Content. Th [ose] alreadye bought I have trymed up with silke fringe, tassells, etts. and lyned them parte with tafetye, parte with Tessur [*tasar*, tussore]. what goods I have in a redinesse I am packinge to regayne tyme. I perceave at what rates your exchange runns, which is much lower then here. I ofered 4 per Cent. to have taken up some smalle matter of Byrumdas Chebill Sansye [Bhairon Dâs Chibillâ Shâh], but could not procure it, soe that you maye thanke Shame [Shyâm, Shâm] for his Cassmana [*khâsnama*, letter of introduction], thoughe his letter of Creditt was of no Validitye. I have not to doe with Pragdas [Prâg Dâs] his sonne, havinge long since cleared with him. He is almost Crackte [bankrupt], theire havinge latlye Come hondyes [*hundi*, bill of exchange, cheque] on him for a lack of rupes, and reporte of his fathers troubles in Agra. In your occasiones to remitt monyes by exchange, you maye bee bould to deale with Châmseyes [Châmdsahai Shâh's[16]] sonne, whose father is the Currant dealler [generally accepted agent] of Puttana.

The Ambertyes you mention to bee provided browne [unbleached] must of necessitye bee refered until the next yeare, and then (as you saye) theye must bee washt out of theire

16 See *infra*, letter of 3 March 1621 where this name is given in full as "Chaunseyshaw", Chândsahai Shâh.

mandye;[17] or elce hapilye theye will rott before they arive in England, which Course I all waise endevored to take and shall endevor my utmost therin, and in all other sortes of that clothe accordinge to your direction, bothe for its length, breadth, starch and close workinge.

It seemes Mr. Younge and his Companye arived with you in safitye, and since have bine dispatched for Lahore. I expected Mr. Banggam to my assistance, in whose roome you mention Mr. Parker to bee longe since dispeeded and with him the goods I advized for, of whose aproche I yet here no newes. When hee cometh I shall take notice of the partikulers, which wilbe wellcome to our Governor, whoe hath bine and is in expecte of some toyes aswell as rich Commodityes. After Mr. Parkers arivall and receypte of your Invoyce and examination of the goods, I shall give you Creddit, as well for them as for the 200 rups. delivered for theire expence on the waye, and shall expecte more monnyes forthwith to bee remitted to keepe us still in action, wherof I praye consider and what it is to gayne oportunitye. And so much in answer to the perticulers of your letter now received, wherof I may conclud for ought I have done since my last. Upon the arivall of Mr. Parker I shall enlarge, or in th'intryme, if necessitye requier. Untill when, with a hartye Commend &c. I have enquired after spicknard, but at present here is none for our turnes. It comes out of the Northe Cuntry in the could wether and will not bee here to be gottene this 2 or 3 mounthes at the soonest.[18]

IV.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna 4 September 1620. [Identical in substance with the letter of 3 Sept. to Agra. The following are additions]. I yet here no newes [of Mr. Parker] althoughe hee hath bine a mounth on the waye, nor shall not expecte him yet this 10 dayes for that the countryes are so overflowne that I feare his Carte with much dificultye will finde passadge. What goods hee bringes will come to late for theire proceed to bee this yeare invested.

I praye remember our governor with what fyne goods and toyes you maye spare of what you expecte in this fleete. Hee is verye ernest with mee to procure him some, And I. have promised to write you in his behalfe. Hee groweth rich, and no feare but that he will paye well and a good price.[19]

V.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna 14 September 1620. Mr. Fettiplace etts. My last was of the 3d presant by a sherafes [*sarrâf*, money-changer] convayence which advized you of the receypt of yours of the 9th August and therwith the second bills of exchange for 2500 rups. of theire acceptance and what elce that instant required, since when, I praye take notice. This your expresse came hether the 10th presant by whome I received yours of the 23th August, and therwith bills for 2500 rups. more, and the second bill for parte of the 3000 sent before, all which are well accepted and no feare but of Current payment. About 2000 rups. of the first exchange I have already received, as having occasion therof before it was dewe. The remaynder within this daye or two wilbe also received, of which ther is no feare.

I take notice of Pragdas his breakinge [bankruptcy], thoughe I hope it's no damadge to us. I am suer I have sondrye tymes advized you of my clearinge with his sonne here for those exchanges I brought on him, which I hope is sufitient to cleare that doubte and assure your selves I shall not bee backward in receavinge in the monye of theise exchanges when dewe

[17] *Mând, mânr, mândâ, mânrâ, mândî, mânrî,* any greasy dirt, also used for starch.

[18] *Factory Records, Patna,* I., 6-7.

[19] *Factory Records, Patna,* I, 8-9.

Two dayes since came hether one of Mr. Parkers servants, whoe brought mee a letter from him dated in Aughmull surraye [Amwâkanthâ][20] 2 dayes Journye shorte of Bannarse [Benares]. Hee writt mee littell save his troubles on the waye, and the damadge the goods have susteynde by the raynes etts., which in 2 or 3 dayes more I shall expecte him with his letter. Hee sent mee the first bills (which nowe are of no Importe) as also the Invoyce of what goods you have sent by him, for which when received (and what moneyes elce received from you) I shall give your Account Credditt.

I take notice of the clause in the Surratt letter, and doe endeavor my utmost for provision of Ambertrees and what elce maye give content, and doubt not but to have what monyes you have remitted mee wholye invested by the fyne [end] of this presant mounthe, neither shall I omitt the first opertunitye for theire dispatche hence to bee with you with what expedition possible. I have detayned your bearer the longer in hope Mr. Parker would have arived, that therby I mought have had wherwith to have bine larger, but therof now uncirtayne, I thought best to dispeed him, for that you earnestlie requier advice of the Exchanges receypte and acceptance which is as prescribed, wherunto I have not aughte elce materiall to add save my hartye commend &c.[21]

VI.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to The Agra Factory.

Patna, the 6th October 1620.[22] Very good Frends Mr. Fetiplace etts. Our last unto you was of the 14th September by retorne of your expresse which brought your last bills of exchange. Therin wee advized you of theire acceptance and now intreate you take notice that wee have founde satisfaction bothe for those and all your formers, save only a rest of Champseyes [Chândsahai Shâh] which as yet is scarce dewe, and may bee about 600 rups. In a postscripte of our last [23] wee also advized you of the then presant arivall here of John Parker with the goods mentioned in your Invoyce sent therwith, which havinge examined, wee finde to fall out Just in quantitye, thoughe in quality they were somwhat damnified on the waye by reason of th'extremitye of fowle wether theye met in theire passadge. Yet the most parte therof, to saye the broadcloth, kersyes, hydes, swords, and small wares wee have delivered into the Nabobs Circare [*sarkâr*, court, establishment] and theye have past his view, but as yet wee have not founde leasure to come to a price for them. Our quicksilver wee have sould (but not delivered) for 4⅛ rups. per seare of 37½ pice weight but have not bine offered for our Amber beads above 10 rups. the seare of 14 pice the seare, wherefore detayne it in hope of a better market.

Wee have finished our provisiones for this yeare, which consist of 1975 peeces Ambertyes, 60 pcs. sahannes and hammomes, 12 courge of Tussres 22 quilts of Sutgonge [16 Courge 14 pcs. Bicuntpore Layches (Baikunthpur *alâchah*, silk cloth)[24]] 270½ seres Bengall silke [600 rupes in Malda wares for Persia], besides diverse other goods for samples, of all which wee have sent you an ampell Invoyce hereinclosed, wherunto for theire pertickuler cost refer you. The totall wherof Amounts to 7500 rups., and our remaynes in Cashe, silke wrought, etts. may bee about 1200 rups. The rest of your monye remitted is disbursed in Charges etts.

[20] The "Ahumohol ca Sara" of Mundy (*Travels*, ed. Temple II. 115) and the "Aoomal-serai" of Rennell (*Bengal Atlas*) now represented by Amwâkantha (*Indian Atlas*).

[21] *Factory Records, Patna*, I, 9.

[22] A letter of the same purport was also written to Surat on this date. It contains some slight additions. These have been added to the Agra letter and placed between square brackets.

[23] Not extant.

[24] Added from the letter to Surat which is omitted.

The forementioned goods is all packed in 26 balles laden on 4 Cartes and was dispeeded hence under the conduct of 10 servants the 4th presant, whoe by agreement are to bee with you in Agra within 30 dayes, to saye by the second November. The transporte hence of the goods to Agra hathe cost us [somethinge more then the ordinarye freight hence, to saye][25] 2 rups. the Jehanger maund.[26] Theye contayne in all 81 maunds, for which wee have paid the Carters here 153 rups. and have delivered them our bills on you for 8 rups. more, which wee intreate you paye them, if theye arive with you within theire tyme lymited, otherwise detayne it, for theye not acomplishinge with us accordinge to agreement theye are to have but 1½ rups.[27] the maunde, the price now cut [reduced] of the Caravan which goeth in 40 dayes. Of theire performance wee praye advize us, that accordinglye, if theye faile, wee maye have redresse here from the owners and theire suertyes.

The balle of silke no. G. consisteth of Girde, Cattawaye and shekesty, which wee send you purposlye to sell in Agra. The rest is all for England, of which ther is a small bale of sleave silke [packed up with the cannister of Lignome alloes],[28] drest from the Cuttaway and shekestye and dyed into severall Colleres, a sample wherof wee send you by this bearer and is all Cuttaway, save the skeyne of watchet [pale blue] which is shekestye. The crimson is died in Lack and all the rest of the Colleres Carrarye [*karârî*, fast, ingrain]. After your perusiall, if you please, you maye send it with the goods to Surrat for theire view.

Wee have delivered into the hand of our servant Dyalla [Dyâlâ] 15 rups. to defraye the charge of the goods on the waye, wherof wee charge you. Wee had sent Abdel Caryme ['Abdu'l-Karîm] with the Cartes but that hee is lefte sicke at Lackhoure, where Mr. Parker hath bine since his cominge and invested about 1000 rups. there amongst the weavers in white clothe; also 25 ps. browne (as from the loome) wee have sent to Surrat for samples. [Packt up with the rawe Ambertyes have wee sent 8 peeces Camsukes [*kam-sûkhâ*, unfinished cloth] whited onlye without starch and 10 ps. with starch, all provided at Lackhoure].[28]

Wee have paid our servants which went with the goods 4¼ rups. per pce. [?apiece] for theire Journye. Wee entreat you retorne Dyalla with the newes of theire arivall, and when you conceave them to aproche neare, send out one to meete them... ...

Wee expecte no more monye for this yeare past, for a tymlye dispatche hath left us somthinge in Cash which, with the proceed of our goods, wee purpose to begine our provisone in the rawe clothe of Lackhoure in the ensuinge yeare ... The silke wound of [off] you will perceave to falle out in price as formerlye advized and by us expected, For its future provision wee shall not bee over hastye, onlye worke out our monye delivered the silkewinders, wherin their can bee no losse but gayne in its present sayle here ...Here hath bine nothinge as yet efected save investments ... Wee intreate you deliver Abdell Carymes wyfe 4 rups. more ... With our goods wee have sent a cupell of pratlinge birds called mynnas [*mainâ*], which wee have bought to bee sent to the Company, and intreate you carre maye bee taken for theire convayence to Surratt. At the foote of our Invoyce you will perceave theire cost, [also a muster (sample) of Lignome alloes of which here is quantitye, and cost 1⅝ rups. the seare of 33 pices weight].[28]

25 added from the letter to Surat.

26 The Jahângîrî *man*, the royal *man*, was rather heavier than the commercial 'maund', and weighed 62½lbs. in Mundy's time. See *Travels*, ed. Temple, II. 237.

27 The letter to Surat says they were to forfeit ¼ of their freight if they exceeded the limited time.

28 added from the letter to Surat.

For what goods lye by you ded, if you send them hether, doubtless theye will finde good sayle. The bone lace[29] is so well licked that the Nabobe requieres all the rest, which wee entreate you send by the first conveyence, with what sword blades, knives, etts. you can spare[30].

VII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 31 *October* 1620. Mr. Kerridge, etts. Our last unto you was of the 6th presant . . . Since the dispeed hence of our goods wee have sould into the Nabobs Circare allmost all the goods sent to us from Agra, *viz.*, . . . brocade cloth . . redds . . . greene . . . yellowe . . . Bulgare hydes . . . Cerseyes . , besides diverse other brayed [damaged, tarnished] wares to good profitt, in all for 2400 rups. for which wee have got out a Berate [*barât,* order for payment], and are in speedye expectation for our monyes, which once received I purpose for Lackhoure, whether Mr. Parker is gon before with 900 rups. to make enterance into the rawe Ambertyes, the tyme beinge now principall good for theire provision and no buyers alreade. We intend provision of none but the broadest sizes and are promised of a full Coved broade which comes littell shorte of an Englishe elle. Wee shall expecte your order what sortes and quantityes therof to bee provided for th' ensuinge yeare as also for other Commodities this place may aforde. And for that tyme is pretious and the whitinge of th'Ambertyes teadious, wee purpose out of hand to invest all the monnyes wee have in that Commoditye, and for the future will expecte from you or Agra. Our provisions of silke wee have almost let falle, untill wee here how you aprove therof. Diverse letters have wee written you since our Comminge into theise partes, answare unto none wherof have wee received, but live in hopes.[31]

VIII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 11 *November* 1620. Lovinge Frends, Mr. Kerridge, etts. It is not manye dayes past since I received yours of the 5th September, answere to myne from hence of the 12th July . . . By what I then writt you concirninge provisions of Amberty Callicoes, you rightlye aprehende the quantity to bee but small. I had that information but from reporte, which since hath not proved much contrary. Here in Puttana where buyinge them at the best hand, to saye from the weavers which bringe them readye whited to towne in small parcells, I could not with all my endeavors atayne to above a thousand peeces, wherefore was foursed for the present to make up our Investments of that Commoditye partlye bought in Lackhoure and partlye from other marchants who bought them there rawe and whited them themselves, which Course tyme would not permitt us to take, comming hether soe late in the yeare, and wee perceaved for what the weavers bringe readye to towne is onlye to serve the Bazare. And merchants that make theire provisions abroade will not sell here for halfe a savoye [*sawâî*][32] profitt, but transporte them for Agra, Lahore, etts. where they make a far greater gayne. So that it is the extraordinarye profitt which induceth merchants to furnishe Agra with that Commoditye, from whence doubtles you wilbe this yeare suplyed with a good quantity, in that wee understand theye have

[29] Bobbin lace, usually of linen thread, See *O. E. D.*, *s. v.* Bone-lace.

[30] *Factory Records,* Patna, I., 10-11.

[31] *Factory Records,* Patna, I., 13.

[32] *sawâî* means $1\frac{1}{4}$, *i. e.*, $\frac{1}{4}$ or 25 p. c. profit. So "halfe, a savoye" would mean $\frac{1}{8}$ or $12\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. profit.

bought all came to hand, though question at what rates, as havinge not herde of theire bargayne. Those I provided here, bought from the weaveres, was accordinge to custom of the buzare, bothe for price and allowance, which is a savoye per cent . . . and makes 20 per cent. difference or abaitment, to saye, for 100 rupes gross wee payed 80 net,[33] which is the 4 aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ distury [*dastûrî*, discount]. . . . Now for the future provision of rawe Ambertyes at Lackhoure (which must bee our Course if you intend anye greate investments therin), theye are bought there in Infinite quantityes browne from the weavers, and of all sizes and prizes, of which there is 3 sorts, *viz.*, rasseyes [*razâî*][34] zeffer conyes [*zafar-khânî*] and Jehngeres [*jahângîrî*]. The rasis are generallye course narowe bredthe, of about our halfe Jehanger Coved Broade, and fewe or none above 2 rupees net the peece. The Zefferconyes are $\frac{1}{8}$ or at most $\frac{1}{4}$ broader then those from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 rup. the net peece. And the Jehangers the broadest of the 3 sortes, whereof som are a full Jehanger Coved, but those very fewe, fine, and high prized, from 3 to 12 rups. net per peece. In lengehts these are about 13 coveds and therin litell diference betwene either of the sortes. And theise are all the sortes of Ambertyes Lackhoure yeldeth, of which if you intend provisions in all of them, 20000 peeces maye yearlye bee provided browne, but then wee must have the yeare and meanes beforehand to bee perpeatually dooinge therin for that their whitinge (as formerly advized you) is exceedinge teadious and troublesome, thoughe put forth as bought, and theire charge in cureinge them more or lesse, accordinge to their finenes and breadth, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ some 3, and some $3\frac{1}{2}$ rups. per courge, besides sope etts. But herin maye bee bothe some tyme and charges gayned if you aprove to have some of them caumsoucks [*kam-sûkhâ*, unfinished] and onlye washt out of theire grease or mandye [*mândî*] and no starche; but to send them you rawe as from the loome, wee are cirtaynlye perswaded theire thred will rott before theye come to your hands (and therfore intreate your exprese order therin), and was the principall resone wee sent you so fewe this yeare, which were only 25 peeces for samples; wherby you might judge of the cloth, beinge rawe, and know it's lenghe, breadth and vallue, all which it selfe expresseth. The disturies [*dastûrî*, discount] in buyinge it browne at Lackhoure is as the merchant makes it. Some cut of[f] a savoye [25 p. c.] some halfe a savoye [$12\frac{1}{2}$ p. c.], some a rupeye per peece, and some buye it for nett, which is all to one efecte, for what allowance soever you deducte it is inhaunced in the price, and therfore no setled custom, everye one acordinge to his fansye. The custome of tearinge of the reza [*reza*, scrap or fragment] from the length of the browne amberty is more benifitiall to the merchant here, by its sayle aparte, then the length of the remaynder can advantage by its seeminge fyner, and is at least ten per cent.;[35] which in theire gaynes theye accompt not of, but allot it to the defrayinge theire charges and curinge of the rest; which custom wee neither have nor purpose to follow, but to white the intier pece as bought from the loome. Theye are not all of one exacte length, but some come out shorter then others by a coved, and generalye maye bee 13 coveds Jehanger longe, or of Puttanna, betwene which and the coved of Lackhoure is

[33] They paid, however, Rs. 5 too much. Discount of a *sawâî* would be 25 p. c. not 20 p. c. This is shown by the statement " which is 4 aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$ distury," *i. e.*, 4 annas in the rupee or $\frac{4}{16}$ discount=25 p. c. " Four aneys or $\frac{4}{16}$," is also interesting as showing that the rupee of account in Patna in *c.* 1620 was of 16 annas and not of 12 as usual in Bengal at that period.

[34] *Razâî*, ordinarily a quilt, coverlet; here applied to narrow breadth cloth.

[35] This statement means that the *reza* was usually 10 p. c. of the whole piece and constituted a species of discount, like our own 13 to the baker's dozen.

some small diferance, the country coved beinge the longer by allmost a giery [*girih*, $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *gaz*] or $\frac{1}{16}$. In buying the browne cloth the buyer payeth no brokeridge ; but in the sayle of the clothe the brokeres inhanceth five pices in eatche peece of what price soever ; wherof the brokeres share two pices, two pices the Governor or Shekdare [*shikdâr*, revenue officer] of the prigony [*pargana, district*] and one pice they retorne back to the merchant; which custome is very large, and wee shall endevor if possible to reduce it to lesse. And this is as much as I can advize you bothe for quantitye and Custome for buyinge the Ambertyes either here in Puttana or at Lackhoure.

What I was enformed concerninge the provision here of Bengalla silke, wounde of as our masters requiered, my letter of the 6th August acirtayned you bothe for price and quantitye, with which I sent you [thereof] musteres and advized you of the constant course I had taken for it's provision at the best hand, but our frends at Agra upon your advice unto them not to proceed further in that investment wholye discouraged mee which was th' occasion I almost let f[all my] determined purpose therin, yet with the rest of our goods have sent you a good sampell, which both for goodnes and price you will perceave to exceed what hath bin provided in Agra, the diference of them advized you ; so that it cannot but prove a profitable commoditye in England, and for the future if you shall determine on anye greate provisions to be made therin, I cannot prescribe or advize of a better course to attayne quantitye therof at cheape rates then for our selves to buye the silke rawe, as it comes in serbandy [cocoon] from Bengalla, and wynde it of here in Puttanna into the condition the Companye ayme at ; and in that nature have now sent you from hence but hope at somewhat better ratte then that was, for that the serbandy is latlye much fallene in price, of which sortes fittinge England I can acirtayne you the provision of 30 mds. per mounth, which as yet is the most I dare afirm to, and that will requier a good some of monye to keepe us Continually in Imployment, and if but 300 maunds per Anno at 4 rupes the seare of 33½ pice weight (at which price wee maye without doubt furnishe you from hence) will requier at Leaste 50000 rups. for it's performance, wheron I leave you to conclude and determine. And if you shall desier sleave silke of the best and principall sorte, it will cost us drest and died unto severall Colleres 4 rups. net the seare of 33½ pices weight. What wee now sent for a sample was drest from the coursest sortes of the serbandy silke, which is much inferior in goodnes to what maye here be provided in quantitye. And thuse have you my opynion and advice of the two mayne propes which must uphould this a factory, and theye not to be provided in anye quantityes without a continuall residence.

For other sortes of callico cloth, as sahanes and hammomes, wee perceave them not to bee brought hether in anye greate quantities, but a continuance here maye doubtles provide some, but to what nomber I cannot saye. For tusser stufes, 40 or 50 corge yerlye. And wares for Persia (of which wee have sent you some sampels) greate quantities of all sortes; 100,000 rupes speedilye employed therin. Lignom aloes, also good quantitye, wherof likwise wee sent a sampell of the ordinarye sorte knowne here by the name of simmulye [*samaleh*][36] . . . Of this commoditye there is here of diverse sortes and prizes from 20 rupes per maunde to 40 and 50 rupes per seare.

[36] Watt, *Dict. of Economic Products, s. v.* Aquilaria Agallocha, gives the three kinds of this wood as *gharkî* (the heaviest), *nîm gharkî* or *samaleh-i-a'lâ*, and *samaleh* (the lightest or commonest sort.)

The Caymeconyes [*kâim-khânî*] of Beyhare [Bihâr] I with you acord to bee a commoditye fitter for Persia then England, yet as fit for Barbary or Turkey as anye other place. . . .

Of Sutgonge quilts wee sent you this yeare a pack . . . and all of them bought at such reasonable rates that wee expecte good muzera[37] for them from the Companye. Theye are not made here, but brought from the bottom of Bengala . . . Other sortes of quiltes are not here to bee gotten of any kinde. . . .

The transporte of our goods from hence to Agra at 1½ rups. per maund is no dearer then usialye all men paye for theire goods which goeth in Carravan and are 40 dayes on the waye. . . .

In our last wee advized you of the saile of some goods into the Nabobs Circare and to what vallue theye amounted. Since which wee have received parte of the monyes and hope within 2 or 3 dayes to cleare that busines. The poore rest of our Cash hath since bine invested at Lackhowre in the broadest sorts of raw Ambertyes; and they all delivered out to whittinge. Wee have bought about half a score maunds serbandy silke and are agayne setinge a foote its wyndinge of, and want but means to goe throughe for some good quantitye of that Commoditye and our country provisiones of browne Ambertyes, both which is now to bee efected to good advantage. And therefore if suplye in som good some arive not from Agra the sooner, wee shall endevor what possible on Creddit, beinge sorye for [? to lose] the least opertunitye which promiseth advantage.

If your encouragement from Persia shall induce you to enorder provisiones of Banarse mandiles [*mandîl*] it is from hence but a step thether, where doubtles wee may furnishe you with more varietye and at farr better rattes then Agra can aforde. And so intreatinge your speedye order for what quantitye goods you shall requier from hence and meanes for their accomplishinge &c.[38]

IX.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Honnorable Company.

Patna, 30th November 1620. Right Honnorable: Our humble dewtyes promised etts. Your Worships in your last yeares letters dated the 15th February and 6th March, 1618 [1619], sent by the *Charles*, *Ruby* and *Dyamond*, earnestly requiringe quantity of commodityes fittinge England, and theire provisiones to bee made in such places as give best hopes, as well for attayninge quantitye as also for theire procuringe to best advantage for price, condition ettc., amongst sondrye other newe imployments thought on by the President and Councell in Surratt, after dispeede of the *Lyon* the last yeare for England, theye enordered some experience to bee made in the partes of Bengalla, for that by reporte it promised good store of callico clothinge, rawe silke, ettc., the commodities by your Worships most desiered; for which cause theye appoynted Robert Hughes to bee sent from the Agra factory to Puttanna, the chefest marte towne of all Bengala, apoynting him likewise an assistant then in Surratt, but afterwards sent up for Agra in companye of Robert Younge; whoe beinge longe detayned in Ahmadavad, for want of company wherwith to proceed for Agra, spent a greate parte of the yeare there; wherof wee havinge notice in

[37] The word is apparently P. '*mazra*,' lit. a place of seed produce: hence used mistakenly by this writer in the sense of produce, profit.

[38] *Factory Records*, Patna, I., 13-16.

Agra, the tyme spendinge so fast, and the waye betwene Puttanna and Agra somwhat teadious, it was thought requisite to dispeede Robert Hughes before and th' assistant to followe him upon advice of the necesitye. And havinge acorded upon a computent some of monnyes for some presant trialls, with bills of exchange importinge 4000 ruppes, hee departed Agra the 5th June, and after 29 dayes travell arived here in Puttanna the 3d July, where havinge procured acceptance of his exchanges, and made some inquisition into the hoped good here to bee efected, and upon good information beinge acirtayned that this place to good purpose might bee established a factory, hee fourthwith advized Surrat and Agra therof, and intreted the sendinge his assistant and by him some English goods which in Agra laye unvendable, with more suplye of monyes, to proceede in provision of what goods might posiblye bee compased tymelye to be sent hence this yeare for Surrat and England ; of which advize and information the Agra factors approved, and in place of John Bangam, which was proceeded with Robert Younge for Lahore, theye sent hether John Parker, and by him the goods advized for, whoe came hether about the midst of September; before and since whose arivall what wee have efected in our provisions, ettc., we will preceed to give Your Worships notice. [Here follows a list of the goods provided at Patna for which see previous letters]. All which goods weare dispeeded hence for Agra the 4th October, exceedinge well packed and fenced with wrappers, cotton woll, waxcloth, and what elce requisite for theire preservation both by land and sea. . . .

The severall stufes now sent you . . . if theye give Content and prove vendable in England, greate quantityes therof maye yearlye here bee provided, as likewise the quilts wrought with yellowe silke, fethers, and Lignom Alloes, which are all but for tryall ; and therefore the two mayne propes which must uphould this a factory is Amberty Callicoes and rawe silke, neither wherof are to be provided in anye quantityes without a continuall residence, for that theye requier great tyme, carre, and dilligence, th' one in the procuringe them whitted, and th' other in it's wyndinge of, and maye not be efected to anye purpose under a yeares tyme, wherof wee have bine large to Surratt, and expect theire resolutions how to proceede. . . .

The Portingalls of late yeares have had a trade here in Puttana, cominge up with theire friggitts from the bottom of Bengalla, where theye have two porttes, th' one called Gollye [Hûgli], and th' other Pieppullye [Pîplî], and therin are licenced by this kinge to inhabitt. Gollye is theire cheefest porte, where theye are in greate multitudes, and have yearlye shippinge both from Mallacka and Cochine. The commodities theye usiallye bringe up hether is for the most part tyne, spices, and China wares, in lewe wherof theye transporte ambertye callicoes, carpets, and all sortes of thine cloth, which theye die into redds purposelye for saile to the sothwards. This cittye stands upon the river Ganges, whose swifte currant transportes theire friggitts with such dexteritye that in five or six dayes theye usiallye go hence to theire portes, but in repairinge up agayne spend thrice the tyme.[39] . . .

(To be continued.)

[39] *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 16–18. Certain paragraphs of this letter have been omitted as they contain information previously given.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p. 63.*)

(*d*) Single Consonants.

Apabhraṃça consonants, in passing into Old Western Râjasthânî, undergo the changes following:

§21. *g* is occasionally aspirated to *gh*. Ex.:

saghalaü (P. 329) < *sagalaü* (P. 267) < Ap. * *sagalaü* < Skt. *sakalakaḥ*.

sâgharî (P. 604) < *sûgarî* (P. 598) < Ap. **sûgaria* < Skt. *sûkarikâ*.

In *âghaï* (P. 584), from Apabhraṃça *agga-*, *gh* is possibly the result of *g* having combined with the locative suffix- *haï* (see § 147). The original form would therefore be **âgahaï*. For the analogous case of *p* > *ph* see § 26. For *g* > *gr* see § 31.

§22. *j* is occasionally changed to *y*. In many cases this change is only apparent, for in the writing the two characters *j* and *y* are often interchanged and there is no doubt that they were pronounced much in the same way, *i.e.*, as *j* (see § 1), but in some other cases it would seem that an actual weakening of *j* to *y* took place, *i.e.*, between vowels *j* gradually lost its force as a consonant and came to be used as a mere euphonic element like the *yaçruti* of Jaina Prakrit. Ex.:

kahîi (F 715, i, 10) < *kahîyaï* (Çrâ.) < *kahîjaï* (Âdi C.) < Ap. *kahijjaï* < Skt. *kathyate*,

vâṇîyaü (Dd. 5) < * *vâṇîjaü* < Ap. *vâṇijjaü* < Skt. *vâṇijyakaḥ*.

§23. Initial *ṇ* is always changed to *n*. Cf. the case of the Ardhamâgadhî and the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî, where dental *n* is always substituted for cerebral *ṇ* of Prakrit and Apabhraṃça, both when initial and when doubled in the middle of a word. Thus in Old Western Râjasthânî we have:

navi (Çâl. 45) (see § 103) < Ap. *ṇavi* < Skt. *nâ'pi*,

nâṭhaü (Âdi. 2) < Ap. *ṇaṭṭhaü* < Skt. *naṣṭakaḥ*, etc.

§24. *t* is changed to *ṭ* in the following:

mâṭaï (see § 71, (5)) < * *nimâtaï* < Ap. * ṇimattaĕ < *ṇimittaĕ* < Skt. *nimittakena*,

Modern Gujarâtî *eṭalo* < O.W.R. *etalaü* (see § 93, (2)) < Ap. *ettulaü*.

§25. *t* is occasionally changed to *p* and *vice versa*. Ex.:

jagapeçvara (Ṛṣ. 67) < Skt. *jagateçvara*,

jîpavaü (Ja. 3, Dd. 2) < *jîtavaü* (ibid.), a denominative infinitive from *jîta-* < Ap. **jitta-* (Cf. Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî *jitta*, in Jacobi's *Ausgew. Erz. in Mâh.*, p. 13, 6) < Skt. *jitâ-*,

taṇaü (see § 73, (4)) < * *paṇaü* < Ap. *appaṇaü* < Skt. **âtmanakaḥ*,

potaü < *âpopaü* (see § 92).

Cf. the case of Sanskrit *âtma-*, which in Prakrit appears under the two forms *appa-* and *atta-* (Pischel, §§ 277, 401). For *t* > *tr* see § 31.

§26. *p* is occasionally aspirated to *ph*. The case here is somewhat analogous with § 21, only from the two single examples available it would seem that *ph* has been brought about by *p* combining with an *h* in the subsequent syllable. Ex.:

Mod. Guj. *âphaṇîe* < O.W.R. *âpahaṇî[ya]ï* (Daç. iv.) (see § 92) < Ap. *appaṇa-* < Skt. *âtmana-*,

ûpharaü (Âdi. 55) < *ûpaharaü* (Daç. v, 13) < **ûparahaü* (see § 147) < Ap. *uppara-* < Skt. *upara-*.

See § 38. For *p* > *pr* see § 31.

§27. *m* is changed to *l* in :

lûsaï (Yog. ii, 67, 111, Indr. 1) < Ap. **mussaï* < Skt. **musyati* (= *muṣṇâti*).

§28. Euphonic *y* is inserted before *a*, *â*, when the latter are preceded by another vowel, in much the same function as the *yaçruti* of Jaina Prakrit. Ex. :

kũyara (Kânh. 10) < Ap. * *kũâra-* < Skt. *kumâra-*,
joyaï (P. 158) < Ap. *joaï* < Skt. *dyotate*,
tîyã (Âdi C., passim) < *tîã* (see § 90) < Ap. **tehahã*,
nayara (P. 10) < Ap. *ṇaara-* < Skt. *nagara-*,
rayaṇî (Rş. 52) < Ap. *raaṇî* < Skt. *rajanî*,
hûyâ (Âdi. 37) < Ap. *hûâ* < Skt. *bhûtâḥ*.

In some MSS. it is however omitted, thus :

kũara (Dd. 1), *tîã* (Âdi C.), *bhaviaṇa* (Rş. 1), *hûâ* (Kal. 11), etc.

Euphonic *y* is also inserted, though rather rarely, after *c*, *n*, mostly when these consonants are followed by *a*, *â*, after *j*, when followed by *o*, and after *kh*, *s* to give the sound of Sanskrit *kṣ*, *ç*. Ex. :

cyâri (see § 80) < Ap. *câri* < Skt. *catvâri* (Pischel, § 439),
nyâpita (P., passim) < Skt. *nâpita-*,
karijyo (see § 120) < **karijo* < Ap. * *karejjahu*,
saṃkhyepa (F 585) < Skt. *saṃkṣepa-*,
syâpa (P. 559) < Skt. *çâpa-*.

For other examples of the change *jo* > *jyo* cf. the case of the relative pronoun in the dialects of the Râjasthânî.

§29. *r* is occasionally changed to *ḍ* and *vice versa*. Ex. :

keḍũ (F 715, i. 14) < *kerũ* (*see* § 73, (2)) < Ap. *keraü* < Skt. * *kâryakam*,
baïsâraï (Daç. iv) < *baïsâḍaï* (Âdi C.) (see § 141, (3)) < Ap. **uvaïsâḍaï* < Skt. **upaviçâyati* (= *upaveçayati*).

Cf. the common interchanging of dental *r* and cerebral in colloquial Northern Gujarâtî (*L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 329-330).

§29a. *r* is changed to *l* in the termination-*âlaï* < -*âraï* < *âḍaï* of the causal. See §141, (3).

§30. *r* is occasionally elided, when falling between two vowels of which the second is *i*. Ex. :

oliu (Mu.) < **oilaü* < **orilaü* (see § 144) < Ap. * *orillaü*, **avărillaü* < Skt. *apârilîkaḥ*,
païlaü (Mu.) < **parilaü* (see § 144) < Ap. * *părillaü* < Skt. * *pârilâkaḥ*,
saïra (Çâl. 118, Up. 28, 29, 41, 44, 50 etc.)* < *sarira* < Ap. *sarîra-* < Skt. *çarîra-*.

§31. Euphonic *r* is occasionally inserted between an initial single consonant and the following vowel, much in the same way as euphonic *y* after *c*, *n*, *j* (see § 28). The consonants, to which *r* is more commonly added, are : *g*, *t*, *p*, *bh*, *s*. The same tendency is to be observed in Apabhraṃça (see Pischel, § 268). Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

girohalî (Yog. iii, 67) < **grohalî* < Ap. **gohalî* < Skt. *godha-*,
grahaï (P. 290) < Ap. * *gahaï* < Skt. **grahati* (= *gṛhṇâti*),
trãbũ (Indr. 23) < Ap. **tambũ* < Skt. *tâmram*,
triṇṇi (see § 80) < Ap. *tiṇṇi* < Skt. *trîṇi*,
trîjaü (see § 82) < Ap. *taïjaü* < Skt. *tṛtîyakaḥ*,
trîsa (see § 80) < Ap. *tîsâ*, *tîsaṃ* < Skt. *triṃçat*,
trûṭaï (Bh. 74) < Ap. *tuṭṭaï* < Skt. *trutyati*,
troḍaï (F 783, 77) < Ap. * *toḍaï* < Skt. * *troṭati* (Pischel, § 486),

prâmaï (Mu.) <*pâmaï* <Ap. *pâv̐aï* <Skt. **prâpati* (=*prâpnoti*),

prâhuṇaü (Âdi. 51) <Ap. *pâhuṇaü* <Skt. *prâghuṇakaḥ*,

bhrâsaḍi (Daç. iv) <Ap. Jaina Mâh., Ardhamâg. *bhâsaḍî* <Çauras. *bhassaḍî* <Skt. **bhasmatî*,

Mod. Guj. *sarâṇa* (fem.) <O.W.R. **sarâṇi* <Ap. **sâṇî* <Skt. *çâṇî*.

It will be seen that in many of the examples above *r* is the survival of an original *r* in the Sanskrit. In *etra* (Daç.) <Ap. *etra-* (cf. *etrula-*, Pischel, § 268) we have an instance of euphonic *r* added to a medial consonant.

§32. *l* is occasionally changed to *n* and *vice versa*. Ex.:

nânhaü (Daç.) <Pkt. *laṇhao* ∧ Skt. *çlakṣṇakaḥ*,

nilâḍa <Pkt. *ṇilâḍa-* <Skt. *lalâṭa-*,

lîba (Up. 36) <Ap. *nimbu* < Skt. *nimbû*,

Mod. Guj. *lilũ* <O.W.R. *nîlũ* (Indr. 20) <Ap. *nîlũ* <Skt. *nîlam*.

In the MS. *Up.* we commonly meet with *lãkhaï* instead of ordinary *nãkhaï* (33, 105, 139, 149 etc.) For analogous examples in Prakrit see Pischel, § 260.

§ 33. Medial *v* is hardened to *b*, when by apheresis of a preceding vowel it becomes initial. Ex.:

baïsaï (Dd. 2) <Ap. *uvaïsaï* <Skt. *upaviçati*,

bâcaũ (P. 374) <Ap. *avaccaũ* <Skt. *apatyakam*.

The latter word is the regular form of Gujarâtî *baccũ* (Hindî *baccâ*), the origin whereof had been hitherto wrongly traced to Sanskrit *vatsa*.

§34. Euphonic *v* is inserted before *a* preceded by another vowel, much in the same way as *y* (§ 28), only more rarely. Ex.:

jâvaï (F 722, 254) <*jâaï* (Âdi C.) (see § 116) <Ap. *jâi* <Skt. *yâti*,

jovaṇa (Âdi C.) <Ap. *joaṇa-* <Skt. *yojana-*,

pîvaï (F 535, iv, 3) <*pîaï* (see § 116) <*pîi* (Daç. ix) <Ap. *piaï* <Skt. *pibati*.

§35. Medial *v* falling between two vowels is occasionally elided. Ex.:

suiṇaü (Ṣaṣṭ. 159) <Pkt. *suviṇao* <Skt. *svapnakaḥ*.

When *v* is followed by *a*, the entire syllable *va* is elided. Ex.:

Kânhade (Kânh.) <Ap. *Kaṇhadeva-* <Skt. *Kṛṣṇadeva-*,

Jayasiṃghade (Vi. 59) <Skt. *Jayasiṃhadeva-*,

deharaũ (P. 334) <Ap. *devagharaũ* <Skt. *devagṛhakam*.

Cf. the case of Prakrit in Pischel, § 149.

§ 36. Medial *v* accompanied by *anunâsika* passes into *m* and the *anunâsika* is dropped. Ex:

ima (see § 98, (3)) <Ap. *ev̐a* <Skt. *eva*,

kimâḍa (Âdi C.) <Ap. *kav̐âḍa-* <Skt. *kapâṭa-*.

In the following *v* is retained, *anunâsika* only being dropped. Ex.:

kâdava (Daç. v, 4) <Ap. *kaddav̐a-* <Skt. *kardama-*.

§37. (1) *h* falling between two vowels in the last syllable of a word and forming part of termination, is generally elided and the two vowels are either contracted or remain in hiatus. Ex.:

karahã (P. 582) <Ap. *karahahã* <Skt. * *karabhasâm* (=*karabhânâm*),

kã (Ratn. 18) <Ap. *kahã* <Pkt. *kamhâ* <Skt. *kasmât*,

jâṇaï (Bh. 44) <Ap. *jâṇahi* <Skt. **jânasi* (=*Jânâsi*),

jîvo (Ṣaṣṭ. 93) <* *jîvaü* <Ap. *jîvaho*, vocative plural,

nayaṇe (F 783, 71) <Ap. *ṇaaṇahĩ* <Skt. **nayanabhis* (=*nayanais*),

mũ (see § 83) <Ap. *mahu* <Skt. *mahyam*.

In old poetry, however, *h* in a termination is occasionally retained. Ex.:

gayā̃ha (Vi. 45) < Ap. *gaā̃hā̃* < Skt. **gatâsâm* (=*gatânâm*),
guṇihĩ (Vi. 70) < Ap. *guṇihĩ* < Skt. **guṇebhis* (=*guṇais*),
bâpaha (Vi. 140) < Ap. *bappaha* (see *Deçî°*, vi, 88),
manahĩ (Ṛṣ. 29) < Ap. *maṇahĩ* < Skt. **manasmin.*

In the plural oblique forms *bihũ*, *trihũ*, *cihũ* (see §81) and *savihũ* (see § 96), the *h* in the termination is always retained. In the case of Apabhraṃça *kahā̃*, *jahā̃*, *tahā̃*, *h* may be optionally retained or elided, as in the example *kā̃* quoted above.

(2) *h* falling between two vowels in the last syllable of a word and not forming part of a termination is generally retained. Ex. :

nahĩ (see §§48, 103) < Ap. *ṇâhĩ* < Skt. *na-hi*,
pâhĩ (see § 72, (8)) < Ap. *pakkhe* < Skt. *pakṣe*,
bhamuhi (P. 564) < Pkt. *bhamuhâ* < Skt. **bhruvukâ* (Pischel §§ 124, 206.)

Two exceptions are formed by :

siũ (see § 70, (5)) < Ap. *sahũ* < Skt. *sâkam* (Pischel, § 206),
caûda (see § 80) < Ap. *caüddaha-* < Skt. *caturdaça-*,

in the latter of which, *h* has been dropped along with the following *a*. The same is the case with the other cardinals from 11 to 19.

(3) *h* falling between two vowels in the middle of a word is generally retained, except in the later stage of the language, when it is occasionally elided. The only instance I have noted of the latter case is :

païlaü (Âdi C.) < *pahilaü* (see § 82).

This process, which was but at its start in the later Old Western Râjasthânî stage, is nowadays found to be largely spread in Modern Gujarâtî, especially in the Northern colloquial, and in Mârwâṛî, where elision of medial *h* has become almost a rule.

§**38.** Euphonic *h* is occasionally inserted between two vowels, to avoid hiatus. Ex :

kuṇahaĩ (Daç. iv) < **kuṇaaĩ* < **kaüṇaaĩ* < Ap. **kavaṇaaẽ*,
chehaḍaũ (Daç.) < Ap. *cheaḍaũ* < Skt. **chedaṭakam*,
prâhiĩ (Yog. iii, 130) < **prâhaĩ* < Ap. *prâaẽ* (cf. *prâu*, Hc., iv, 414, (1)) < Skt. **prâyakeṇa* (=*prâyeṇa*),
suhaṇaũ (Yog. ii, 70, Âdi C., Çâl.) < **suaṇaũ* < Ap. *suvaṇaũ* < Skt. *svapnakam.*

Insertion of an entire syllable *ha* seems to have taken place after *pa* in:

âpahaṇî (Daç. i.) (see §§ 26, 92) < Ap. *appaṇa-* < Skt. *âtmana-*.

Prefixing of *h* occurs in :

heva (P. 184) < Ap., Skt. *eva*.

(*e*) Compound Consonants.

§**39.** Apabhraṃça consonantic compounds are of two kinds, to wit : *a*) compounds formed by a consonant doubled, and *b*) compounds formed by a consonant preceded by a nasal. To these might be added *c*) compounds formed by a consonant followed by *r*, but these undergoing no change in Old Western Râjasthânî, we need not take them into account here.

§ **40.** Double consonants of the Apabhraṃça are as a rule simplified in Old Western Râjasthânî and the preceding vowel is generally lengthened. Examples for each class of consonants are :

(1) gutturals :

mā̃kuṇa (P. 422 ff.) < Ap. *makkuṇa-* < Skt. *matkuṇa-*,
lûkhaü (P. 292) < Ap. **lukkhaü* (cf. Ardhamâgadhî *lukkha-*) < Skt. *rûkṣakaḥ*,
ûgamaï (Ṛṣ. 29) < Ap. *uggamaï* < Skt. **udgamati.*

(2) palatals :

sâcavaï (P. 297) < Pkt. *saccavaï* (Hc., iv, 181) < Skt. *satyâpayati* (Pischel, § 559),

Lâchi (Ṛṣ. 55) < Ap. *Lacchi* < Skt. *Lakṣmi*,

âja (Dd. 6) < Ap. *ajja* < Skt. *adya*,

dûjhaï (P. 21) < Ap. *dujjhaï* < Skt. *duhyate*.

In the termination of the precative plural *jj* is optionally simplified to *jy*. See §§ 28, 120.

(3) cerebrals :

vâṭa (Çrâ.) < Ap. *vaṭṭâ* (fem.) < Skt. *vartmâ* (nom. n.),

dîṭhaü (Dd. 6) < Ap. *diṭṭhaü* < Skt. *dṛṣṭakaḥ*,

pachâḍaï (F 783, 55) < Ap. **pacchaḍḍaï* < Skt.* *pracchardati*,

kâḍhaï (P. 303) < Ap. *kaḍḍhaï* < Skt. *karṣati*.

Cerebral double *ṇ* having a peculiar treatment, it will be well treated of separately under § 41.

(4) dentals :

pûtalî (Dd. 7) < Ap. *puttalî* < Skt. *puttalî, puttalikâ*,

ûdega (Daç. V, 90) < Ap. *uddega-* < Skt. *udvega-*,

sîdhaü (F 535) < Ap. *siddhaü* < Skt. *siddhakaḥ*.

(5) labials :

âpaï (Dd. 2) < Ap. *appaï, appei* < Skt. *arpayati*,

râphaḍaü (P. 63) < Ap. *rapphaḍaü* (cf. Pkt. *rappho* = *valmîkaḥ*, Deçî°, vii, 1),

cîbhaḍa (P. 252) < Ap. *cibbhaḍi* < Skt. *cirbhaṭi*.

(6) semivowels :

ghâlaï (Dd. 10) < Ap. *ghallaï* (= *kṣipati*, Hc., iv, 334, 422),

ḍâvaü (Dd. 7) < Ap. *ḍavvaü* (cf. Deçî°, iv, 6).

For *ll* > *lh* see § 42.

(7) sibilants :

vîsâsa (P. 284) < Ap. *vissâsa-* < Skt. *viçvâsa-*.

§ 41. Cerebral double *ṇ* of the Apabhraṃça is simplified into dental *n* in Old Western Râjasthânî. Ex. :

ûnayu (Daç.) < Ap. *uṇṇaü* < Skt. *unnataḥ*,

chânaü (P. 352) < Ap. *chaṇṇaü* < Skt. *channakaḥ*,

sâna (fem.) (P. 146, 172) < Ap. *saṇṇâ* < Skt. *saṃjñâ*.

From this change one might be induced to assume that Apabhraṃça *ṇṇ* was first changed to *nn* and then simplified to *n*, whereof an analogy might be afforded by the Jaina Prakrit, in which initial *ṇ* and medial *ṇṇ* are always dentalized. But there is evidence pointing out that, in some cases at least, the passing of *ṇṇ* to *n* was effected through *ṇh* > *nh*. The differentiating of *ṇṇ* to *ṇh* had already begun in the Piṅgala-Apabhraṃça, where we come across such forms as : *diṇhaü, liṇhaü* (i, 128) for regular *diṇṇaü, *liṇṇaü* (see § 126, (3)). The case here is very analogous to the differentiation of *ll* to *lh*, which is explained below. Old Western Râjasthânî further changed *ṇh* to *nh* and treated the latter as a single consonant. The same did Old Eastern Râjasthânî and Old Western Hindî and out of *diṇhaü, liṇhaü* made *dînhaü*, and *lînhaü*. To the Old Western Râjasthânî tendency to change *ṇh* to *nh* we have a testimony in the termination *-anhâra* of the noun of agency, which is derived from *-aṇahâra* through *-aṇhâra* (see § 135). The nexus *nh* has further survived in the postposition *kanhaï*, for which see § 71, (1), and in :

banhi (Çâl. 15) < Ap. *biṇṇi* < Skt. **dveni*.

§42. Through the same process as *ṇṇ* seems to have gone Apabhraṃça *ll*. Differentiation of *ll* to *lh* is already found in the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî in the examples: *mĕlhiyāĩ*<*melliyāĩ* and *mĕlhevi*<*mellevi* occurring *Bhavavairâgyaçataka*, 47, 56[18], both of which are referable to the verb *mellaï* of the Prakrit (see Hc., iv, 91). Old Western Râjasthânî has likewise *melhaï* (P. 343), whence also *mehalaï* (Bh. 47, P. 504) by metathesis of *h* (see § 51). Another Old Western Râjasthânî example is:

ulhasaï (P. 449)<Ap. *ullasaï*<Skt. *ullasati*.

§43. Double consonants are simplified without compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, when the latter is followed or preceded by a long or accented syllable or comes immediately after another vowel. Ex.:

ăchaï (see § 114)<Ap. *acchaï*<Skt. *ṛccháti* (Pischel, §§ 57, 480),
ănaĩ (see § 106)<Ap. *aṇṇaĩ*<Skt. *anyâni*,
ănerau̯ (Âdi. 27)<Ap. *aṇṇaeraü*<Skt. **anyakâryakaḥ*,
ûpănaü (F 724)<Ap. *uppaṇṇaü*<Skt. *utpannakaḥ*,
olăgu (P. 105)<Pkt. *oluggo* (see Deçî°, i, 164),
caũthaü (Dd.)<Ap. *caütthaü*<Skt. *caturthakaḥ*,
nîpăjaï (F 535)<Ap. *ṇippajjaï*<Skt. *niṣpadyate*,
paĩṭhaü (Âdi. 17)<Ap. *païṭṭhaü*<Skt. *praviṣṭakaḥ*,
măthâlaĩ (see §§ 101, (1), 145)<Ap. **matthaallahĩ*<Skt. **mastakala smin*,
văkhâṇaï (Çrâ.)<Ap. *vakkhâṇaï*<Skt. *vyâkhyânayati*,
hoĭje (see § 120)<Ap. **hoejjahi*.

In some few cases, however, there seems to be no apparent reason for the vowel remaining short, as in:

mŭĩha, *măjha* (see § 83)<Ap. *majjhu*<Skt. *máhyam*.

§ 44. Double consonants are retained in the following cardinals:

3, *triṇṇi* (Yog. i, 15, 34, 50)<Ap. *tiṇṇi*<Skt. *trîṇi*,
27, *sattâvîsa* (F 663, 22)<Ap. *sattâvîsa-*<Skt. *saptaviṃça-*,
28, *aṭṭhâvîsa* (Pr. 29)<Ap. *aṭṭhâvîsa-*<Skt. *aṣṭaviṃça-*,
38, *aṭṭhatrîsa* (ibid.)<Ap. *aṭṭhattîsa-*<Skt. *aṣṭatriṃça-*,
56, *chappana* (Ṛṣ. 63)<Ap. *chappaṇṇa-*<Skt. **ṣaṭpañcat* (Pischel, § 445),
64, *caüsaṭṭhi* (F 758)<Ap. *caüsaṭṭhi*<Skt. *catuḥṣaṣṭi*,
72, *băhattari* (Âdi C.)<Ap. *bâhattari*<Skt. *dvâsaptati*,
98, *aṭṭhâṇû* (ibid.)<Ap. **aṭṭhâṇaüi*<Skt. *aṣṭânavati*,

in the ordinal:

chaṭṭhaü (Ṛṣ. 17, 49, 56, F 602)<Ap. *chaṭṭhaü*<Skt. *ṣaṣṭakaḥ*,

and in the noun:

Mod. Guj. *baccũ* (Belsare's Guj. Dict., p. 825)<Ap. *avaccaũ*<Skt. *apatyakam*.[19]

P. 374, however, the regular form *bûcaũ* is met with.

§45. Consonantic compounds of the Apabhraṃça, formed by a consonant preceded by the corresponding class-nasal, pass into Old Western Râjasthânî by changing the class-nasal to *anunâsika* and at the same time lengthening the preceding vowel. Ex.:

rãka (P. 151)<Ap., Skt. *raṅka-*,
sĩga (P. 63)<Ap. *siṅga*<Skt. *çṛṅga-*,
pãca (see § 80)<Ap., Skt. *pañca-*,

[18] Edited in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, Vol. XXII. (1909), pp. 179-211, and Vol. XXIV, (1911), pp. 405-416.

[19] *Cf.* also Mod. Guj. *vacce*, for common O.W.R. *vicaĩ* (§ 75).

ãtaraũ (Âdi. 73, F 535, ii, 4) < Ap. *antaraũ* < Skt. *antarakam*,

kãpaĩ (P. 310) < Ap. *kampaï* < Skt. *kampate.*

An exception is formed by the *-nta-* termination of the present participle, which drops the nasal altogether and does not lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 122).

§46. In *tatsamas* the conjuncts of Sanskrit are generally kept unchanged. The only exceptions, which I have noted, refer to *kṣ*, which is occasionally represented by *khy* (see § 28), and to *jñ*, *ny*, which are occasionally interchanged as in the two examples following :

jñâsîkṛta (Yog. ii, 66) < Skt. *nyâsîkṛta-*,

nyãna (F 729, 2) < Skt. *jñâna-*,

(*f*) Metathesis.

§ 47. Cases of metathesis, *i.e.*, of transposition of one element or interchange of two elements in the same word, are very frequent in Old Western Râjasthânî, much as they are, indeed, in Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî. I shall group the examples I have collected under four heads, to wit : *a*) metathesis of quantity, *b*) metathesis of *anunâsika*, *c*) metathesis of vowels, and *d*) metathesis of consonants.

§48. Metathesis of quantity occurs in the examples following :

ahĩ (P. 553) (see § 89) < Ap. *âahĩ* < Skt. **adakasmin*,

kũari, *kũiri* (Vi., passim) < Ap. *kuṽâri* < Skt. *kumârî*,

nathî (see § 115) < **nâthi* < Pkt. *ṇatthi* < Skt. *nâ'sti*,

nahĩ (see § 103) < Ap. *ṇâhĩ* < Skt. *nâ-hi*,

mâharaü (see § 83) < Ap. *mahâraü* < Skt. **mahakârakaḥ* (Pischel, § 434),

sahû (see § 96) < Ap. *sâhu* < Skt. *çaçvat* (Pischel, § 64),

sohâmaṇũ < Ap. *sohamâṇũ* < Skt. *çobhamânam.*

From the above it will be seen that in bisyllabic words the long quantity is transferred to the ultimate vowel, and in words having three or four syllables it is transferred to the antipenultimate. The accent seems not to have been of very much account here. It will be further noticed that out of the four examples of bisyllabic words quoted above, three are formed by words, the ultimate syllable whereof was originally *h* followed by a short vowel, a fact which certainly accounts in some part for the metathesis of quantity, *h* generally tending to fall out when followed by a short vowel at the end of a word. An exception, however, is in the form following :

kîhã (Âdi. 13, 47) < *kihã* (see §§91, 98, (1) < Ap. *kahã* < Pkt. *kamhâ* < Skt. *kasmât.*

§ 49. Metathesis of *anunâsika* occurs in :

kãi, *kãî* (see § 91) < Ap. *kâĩ* < Skt. *kâni*,

gayãha (Vi. 45) < Ap. *gaâhã* < Skt. **gatâsâm* (=*gatânâm*),

mãhaï (P. 212) < **mâjhaĩ* < Ap. *majjhahĩ* < Skt. **madhyasmin*,

in all of which examples the *anunâsika* is transferred from a short to a long vowel.

§50. Metathesis of vowels occurs in :

tuhaï (see § 110) < Ap. **taü-hi* < Skt. *tato-hi*,

thikaü (see § 72, (4)) < **thăkiu* < Ap. *thakkiu* < Skt. **sthakyitaḥ* (cf. Pischel, § 488),

piṇa (Âdi C.) < *paṇi* (see § 110) < Ap. *puṇu* < Skt. *punar*,

viṇaja (P. 46) < Skt. *vaṇij*, *vaṇijya-*,

haîḍaü (P 8) < *haïyaḍaü* (F 715) < Ap. *hiaaḍaü* < Skt. * *hṛdayaṭakam*,

haûu (Up. 196) < Ap. *hûaü* < Skt. *bhûtakaḥ*,

hiva (Ṣaṣṭ., passim) < *havi* < *ehavi* (see § 94, (3)).

§ 51. Metathesis of consonants is in the great generality of cases effected by *h*, which possesses a strong tendency to be thrown back before the foregoing syllable. The same tendency *h* already possessed in Prakrit, and several illustrations thereof have been collected by Professor Pischel, § 354 of his Prakrit grammar. In Old Western Râjasthânî, however, this peculiarity of *h* is much more marked, a fact, which is quite consistent with the way in which intervocalic *h* is pronounced in standard Modern Gujarâtî up to this day.[20] Examples are :

ûpharaü (Âdi. 55) < **ûpaharaü* < **ûparahaü* (see § 147),

dihâḍaü (P., Yog.) < **dihaaḍaü* < Ap. *diahaḍaü* < Skt. **divasaṭakaḥ*,

dohila (Dd.) < **dûlaha* < Ap. *dullaha-* < Skt. *durlabha-*,

pahirâvaï (Dd. 6) < Ap. *parihâvaï*, °*vei* < Skt. * *paridhâpayati*,

mehalaï (Bh. 47) < Jaina Mâh. *melhaï* (see § 42) < Ap. *mellaï*,

vâhilu (Yog. i, 55) < Ap. *vallahu* < Skt. *vallabhaḥ*,

sâhamaü (F 602) < *sâmahaü* (Çrâ.) < *sâmuhaü* (Up. 108) < Ap. *sammuhaü* < Skt. *sammukhakaḥ*,

hraï (Çrâ.) < *rahaï* (see § 71, (6)).

The reverse tendency seems to have been possessing *h* when originally initial in a word. This was already the case in Prakrit, as is shown by the examples *draha* < Skt. *hrada*, *rahassa* < Skt. *hrasva* and *luhaï* < *hulaï*, quoted by Pischel, § 354. For the Old Western Râjasthânî I may quote :

draha (Dd. 8) < Skt. *hrada-*, and :

thaü (P. 70) < *hataü* (see § 113).

In Mârwâṛî we have : *vhaï* < *huvaï*.[21]

Quite exceptional are the forms *evahaü*, *kevahaü*, etc. occurring in *Ṣaṣṭ.* for *ehavaü*, *kehavaü*, § 94, (3).

Transposition of consonants different from *h* occurs in :

gamâ (for *gamî* ?) (Mu.) < **mâga* (**mâgî* ?) < Ap. *magga-* (*maggahî* ?) < Skt. *mârga-*,

bhâyaga (P. 635) < **bhâgaya* < Skt. *bhâgya-*.

For the metathesis of *r* in double causals see § 141, (4).

(*g*) Samprasâraṇa.

§52. *Samprasâraṇa* is very frequent in Old Western Râjasthânî, both in *tadbhavas* and in *tatsamas*. A few examples are the following :

abhintara (P. 320) < Skt. *abhyantara-* (cf. Ardhamâgadhî *abbhintara-*),

gaükha (P. 352, Âdi C.) < **gavăkha* < Ap. *gavakkha-* < Skt. *gavâkṣa-*,

desâura (P. 142) < Ap. *desâvara-* < Skt. *deçâpara-*,

dhaülaü (Up. 95) ∧ Ap. *dhavalaü* < Skt. *dhavalakaḥ*,

naümaü (Ṛṣ. 32) < Ap. *navamaü* < Skt. *navamakaḥ*,

bhavi (F 535, ii, 21) < Skt. *bhavya-*,

vivahârî (P. 41, 44) < Skt. *vyavahârin*,

supana (F 715, i, 19) < Skt. *svapna-*.

(*To be continued*).

[20] See *LSI.*, Vol. ix., Part II, p. 330.

[21] Cf. Old Baiswâṛî *rahasana*<*harasana* (*R. C. M.* ii, 17).

"DHARANI," OR INDIAN BUDDHIST PROTECTIVE SPELLS.

Translated from the Tibetan.

BY L. A. WADDELL, C.B., LL.D.

(*Continued from p.* 54.)

7. The Flaming Diadem.

Uṣṇîṣa-jvala.

Oṁ! In the Indian speech [this is called] *Âryoṣṇîṣa jvala nâma Dhâraṇî*; in the Tibetan speech '*P'ags-pa gtsng-tor' bar.-wa źes bya-baî gzuṅs.*

Salutation to The Three Holy Ones! *Namas samanta* buddhanâm, apratikataśasanâmâṁ. *Oṁ! kha-kha, khâhi, khahi, hûṁ, hûṁ, jvala, prajvala prajvala, tiṣṭha tiṣṭhaśti sarvadurani mitidusa svavana śânti kurû svâhâ.*

This indeed is the spell of the thousand Buddhas, it is the famous 'flaming diadem'. This famous luck-bringer makes all one's deed to be blessed, whether they be of different kinds [good or bad ?], whether they be hundreds of thousands, 900, or five fold. Evil dreams and evil omens[76] are made harmless. Whoever mutters[77] it merely once has [harm] cleared away. The hosts of obstructing demons[78] are rendered powerless and utterly destroyed. Life and future happiness become increased! *Mangalaṁ!* (O happiness!).

8. The All-Victorious Turner-aside (of Evil.)

Vijayavati-pratyaṅgirâ [*Dhâraṇî*].

[From *Kâ-gyur rGyud*, Hodgson Colln. Calc. (also I. O. ?) Vol. P. (13) No. 51 fol. 389-392: Csoma *An.* p. 524-51, St. Petersb. Vol. Tsh. (18) No. 730 fol. 225-227: Schmidt's *Index* p. 101; I. O. (Waddell) Tibet Colln. No. K. 17. (34).]

Oṁ! In the Indian speech [this] is called *Ârya vijayavavavatina*[79] *nâma pratyaṅgirâ;* in the Tibetan speech '*Pa'gs-pa p'yir-zlog-pa rnampar rgyal-ba-chan:* [that is, The Noble All-Victorious Turner-Aside or Repeller].

Salutation to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the guardians who strive after the welfare of all living beings! Salutation to all the Sâdhanas (rituals for compelling visions of spell-spirits)! Salutation to all the holders of spells (*mantras*)! Salutation to Buddha, The Law and The Order! Salutation to the Bodhisattvas, Mahâsattva Mahâkaruṇa[80] and the illustrious Ârya Avalokisteśvara. All these were saluted by Vijayâvatî Pratyaṁgirâ, who throws off life-destroying agencies and curses, pacifies the ghosts of the dead and excessive misfortune, dissipates fear [at the hands] of kings, fear of robbers, fear of fire, fear of flood-water, fear of *dâkinîp-reta, pisâcha, kumbhâṇḍa âstâraka, apasmâra, putana,*[81] fear of losing the track, fear of the cremation-path fear of those beings who walk in the darkness of the night and in the daylight. She makes them harmless and of a good disposition or entirely disperses them, repels all enemies, pacifies all upsetting and obstructing demons. She cleanses

[76] *mi'san. ṅan.* [77] *bzlas.* [78] *bgeg-s* = Skt. *gaṇa.*

[79] This is obviously corrupt for *vijayâvatî*, the form in the St. Petersburgh text, and Schmidt p. 101, which is also the form given in the Sanskrit Tibetan Dictionaries.

[80] This is an epithet of Avalokita, although here differentiated from that divinity by 'and.'

[81] Classes of evil spirits.

completely from all sin, from sluggishness in speech, the stiff in speech become charming in address and expression[82]. Salutation to the Bodhisattvas, Mahâsattva Mahâkaruṇa and the illustrious Ârya Avalokistesvara.

The essential spells[83] which will accomplish these [objects] are as follows :— *Oṁ dhara* (repeat 7 times), *dhiri* (seven times), *dhuru* (eight times). Protect us against fear, harm, destruction of life, curses, protect us ! *Sara* (seven times) ! *Siri* (seven times) ! *Suru* (seven times) ! *Mara* (seven times) ! *Muru* (seven times) ! Protect us from all disease, protect us ! *Hili* (eight times) ![84] *hulu* (eight times) ! *kili* (nine times) ! *mili* (eight times) ! *tsi-li* (nine times)! *tsulu* (9 times)! Repel all demons ! *Oṁ visara visara kaṁpa kaṁpa naśana naśayanaśaya*!

Against wrathful and malignant enemies whom you desire may come no nearer, make burnt-offerings and employ the above spells and afterwards repeat them once more. *Svâhâ !* This will close the eyes of foes, close the ears, nose, tongue, bind the body, mind, and all the members, large and small it will bind. *Sphuṭa, sphuṭa, sphuṭa sphoṭaya* (three times) !

To clear away all destructive influences and curses, suppress every evil under every circumstance. *Sarvatru ûma, turu* (four times), *Svâhâ* ! Protect us against fear and all kinds of harm, destruction of life, curses, ghosts and *apasmâra*. Protect us ! *Svâhâ.*

To cleanse from all one's sins—a prayer to cleanse : *Tsara Tsara svâhâ ! mara mara svâhâ, Siri siri svâhâ, kuru kuru svâhâ, dhuru dhuru svâhâ !*

For men desirous that harm shall not increase or that they be not befogged or stranded in solitude, or enraged or deluded, that they may turn aside all demons(*bhûṭa*), and all 'seizing'-demons (*graha*) and all diseases so that they do not drive people insane, do not befog the mind, stiffen, frighten, at all frighten, dismember, overpower, *Svâhâ ! Nîle* (three times) *! Keśe svâhâ pîti* (three times) ! *Keśe svâhâ lohite* (three times) ! *Keśe svâhâ mavadâte avadâte avabhata ! Keśe svâhâ śveto śveto vastudhâraṇiye svâhâ !* Turn aside the power of all demons ! Cleanse us from all sin, *Svâhâ* ! Increase [good] deeds(two times), increase our good-luck and prosperity, increase our [good] deeds ! *Svâhâ* ! Protect us against fear, harm, onset of sickness, all [evil ?] births and destruction of life, and all curses, and all disease-demons and all sin, and all evil planets and vast evils and all visible and invisible harm ! Protect us, *Svâhâ* !

" This [spell] named The All-Victorious Turner-aside (*Vijaya Pratyamgirâ*) produces victory.[85] Whosoever on their neck [hangs] this [spell] enfetters [evil] and thus becomes certainly the victor. The unblessed path of troublous dreams, sin, enemies of all kinds, robbers, fire and kings all these cannot harm. Whoever on their neck [hangs]this [spell] enfetters [evil]; then the water-floods cannot carry him off. Sins become cleansed, every virtue becomes swiftly increased, illness is banished by profitable gain. The [book on the] noble *Vijaya pratyaṅgirâ*, so named, is finished. *Mangalaṁ* ! "

The Tibetan text of the *Sitâtapatra* or *Mahâpratyaṅgira Dhâraṇî* is easily accessible, as in addition to its occurrence in the *Kâ-gyur* Canon, and in the *Dhâraṇî Pitaka* (*Mdo-maṅ gzuṅs*), it is also frequently met with as a separate manual. The ' Red Copper Beak' however, being less common and as yet un-known in its Sanskrit version, I here append its text, translated in Roman characters from the printed copy in my collection, in the India Office Library, K. 17 Vol. Z. (18). Its translation I have given at pp. 39-41.

---

[82] Implies the attributes of the Vedic Vâch, the goddess of speech, the prottoype of Sarasvatî.

[83] *Mûla-mantra.*

[84] This spell with '*Hili kili mili*' is evidently part of the great peafowl charm against snakes ascribed in simpler forms to Buddha. See my art. *Dhâraṇî Cult., loc., cit.*

[85] Literally ' causes victory to arise.'

TEXT OF 'THE RED COPPER BEAK.'

Oṁ || rgya-gar-skad-du ârya ghadsha pratyaṁ bhandhaghâta kadabrita tsakhadhayâ bod-skad-du 'p'ags-pa zaṅs-kyi-mch'u dmar-pos gdug-paî pyogs t'am-chad gnon-bar byed-pa z'es-bya-baî gzuṅs ||

Saṅs-rgyas daṅ byaṅ-chûb sems-dpâ t'am-chad-la p'yag'-ts'al-lo || 'p'ags-pa t'ams-chad-la p'yag-'ts'al-lo | 'pyogs-ba bchu bźugs-paî saṅs-rgyas t'am-chad-la p'yag-'ts'al-lo byaṅ-ch'ub sems-dpâî ch'ogs-rnams daṅ ñan-t'os sde daṅ bhud-du | bchas-ba-rnams-la p'yag 'ts'al-lo | *bchom-ldan'-das de-bźin gśegs-pa dgra-bchom-pa yaṅ-dag-par rdsogs-paî saṅs-rgyas rig-pa daṅ z'abs-su ldan-pa bde-bar gsegs-pa | jig-rten-ma k'yen-pa | skyes-bu 'dub-baî ka' lo-sgyur-ba | bla-na-med-pa | lha daṅ mi-rnams gyi ston-par gyur-pa* | saṅs-rgyas stoṅ-gi ṅo bo-chan-la p'yag-'t'sal-lo | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rje-la 'pyag-'t'sal-lo ||.

'Di skad bdag-gis t'os-pa dus gchig-na | bchom-ldan-'das 'dam-buî-ts'al padma-mdses-byed sa-k'ebs-paî gnas | ch'u-bo yan-lag-brgyad-daṅ ldan-paî 'gram-na bźugs so | la-bor dmag-tu med-pa daṅ t'abs gchig-go | dge-sloṅ-gi, dge-'dun-ch'en-po daṅ t'abs gchig-tu bzugs-so ||.

De-nas 'pags-pa zaṅs-mch'u-dmar-poî dṅos-grub drag-poî las-la dbaṅ-mdsad-pa mdse-nad t'ams-chad-las gsol-ba | ' tog-pa | slog-pa | śa k'yor-pa | k'rag-'jib-pa | drod-yul-ba | gñam-pde brgyad-la gnad k'ro-wo me-mche'd-pa || rba-k'ol-ba | k'ro-ch'u k'ob-ma 'bab-tu 'jug-pa | lchags-kyi gzer-'debs-pa | yan-lag bskums-pa mtâ-bźi sdud-pa dur-kr'od-da rgyug-pa | klu-ch'en-po brgyad-la nad gtoṅ-ba | nam-mkâ-la t'ig 'debs-pa | sa-la srubs bzi-ru dags pa | zaṅs-kyi lus-l'a bya-k'yuṅ-gi mgo-bo yod-pa | klad-pa-la za-ba | zaṅs-kyi-mch'u 'dom dgu brgya dgu bchu yod-pa | zas-su klu-rigs b'zi za-ba | skom-du ch'u ser daṅ k'raq gsol-ba | spyan-rtsa dmar-la sdaṅ mig-tu bgrag-pa | lha-ba mur-ba | rkaṅ-la bla | dag-pa ro-mags kyi nad lhog-bur-du gtoṅ-ba | k'ams gsum źe-la gnon-pa | rñan sgras'jigs-paî dug 'tul-ba | mar-la dmyal-baî gdar-la 'grugs-pa | yar-la srid-paî steṅ-du p'ugs-pa | gñan-rigs druq-stoṅ gsog-pa-la 'gyar-ba | klu-rigs stoṅ p'rag k'oṅ-ñal-ba | de-lta-buî 'jigs-paî ch'a-lugs-chan dan yaṅ tabs gchig-go |

De-nas bchom-ldan-'das dkâ-tu'b | mdsad-pa-la | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rjes gsol-pa | bde-bar gsegs-pa'-gro-bu drug-la t'ug-rjes gzuṅ-du gsol | ñon mdos-paî-nad-las t'ar-bar mdsad-du gsol | 'dod-ch'ags-kyi-nad-las t'ar-bar mdsad-du gosl | źe-sdad-gi-me-bsad-du gsol | ṅa-rgyal-gyi brag sñil-du gsol | gti-mug-gi-mun-pa bsal-du gsol | gdug-paî-nad-las bsgral-du gsol | gdon-stoṇ 'prag brgyad ch'chu rtsa b'zi-las bsgral-du gsol | źes-źus-pas t'ugs-rjes gzigs-na gnad-ba mdsad-do | dpal-p'yag-na-rdo-rje ñon mons-pa-chan-daṅ | nad gdol-ba-chan-gyis mnar-ba lus ñams-pa t'ams-chad daṅ dam-las 'das-pa | dam-t'sig ñams-pa | nad-kyis gduṅs-pa | sred-paî srad-bus bchins-pa | t'ams-chad-la śog-chig | dî gan-du myur-bar śog-chig | nas bsud-do | gdams-so | z'es-bkâ stsal-to |

De-nas p'yag-na-rdo-rjes lha-ma srin-sde brgyad-gyi gam-du p'yin-te | rgyal-baî bkâ-la ñon | rgyal-baî sku-la btos | myur ba mar bar 'den zes-byas-pas klu va-su-ta bram-zeî rigs-la | p'yag-na-rdo-rjes ṅasu-yin ch'a-med-dam byas-pas | ṅa-la ch'a-med-do | k'yod-la a-nî mi ñan-no | mi ltos-so | ṅa-ni stobs-chan yin-no | kyan-par-chan yin-no | sugs-chan yin-no | naî-la k'or-rnams kyaṅ stobs daṅ ldan-pa yod-do źes zer-ro | p'yag-na-rdo-rjes kyod-la nus-pa chi yod-byas-pas | ṅas k'yod-la ka-rláns śig gtad-gis sdod-chig zer-te | p'yag-na-rdo-rje-

raṅs ta'd-du 'dug-bas | glu-ba-su-tas ka-rlaṅs bun-pa z'ig btad-bas | p'yag-na-rdo-rje-la śu-t'ug t'ug-du byuṅ-ṅo.

De-nas p'yag-na-rdo-rje t'ugs-rtog skyes-te | k'yod-na jo-bos-chan źig 'dug-pa ji skad bya-ba bas | ṅa ni kluî-rgyal-po bram-źe rin-po-che' Va-su-ta zes-bya-ba yin-no | ṅa-la dug-rnam-pagla . . . [here five leaves from fol. 3b to 8b] źes bkâ stsal-pa |

Ôṁ hrûm hrî hrûh âh tathâgatâ | nâgahridaya | tathâgata namah dhamayâ | tathâgate-râjasrîlhanana | budya 'budya râja îśala pari parilira | nâgahu yarbada povamdha svâhâ | guha râjala svâhâ hrûṁ hrî | . . . [3 pages to fol. 11a].

'p'ags-pa zaṅs-mch'u dmar-po rno-baî dpal-daṅ-chas-pa | va-su-ta rigs-drug dbaṅ-du sdud-paô | de-nas kyaṅ bram-zei-rigs rdul-du rlog-par byed-paô ||

Zaṅs-mch'u dmar-poîgzuṅs rdogs-rgya-gar kyî mk'an-po dsñana de-va daṅ bod-kyi bande ch'os-grub daṅ lo-tsa-ba ska-ba bha-pos bya tśal-du bsgyur chiṅ zus-te gtan-la 'pab-baō ||

The passages which I have enclosed between two asterisks, contain I find the Tibetan translation of a portion of a hymn in praise of Buddha in the first chapter of the *Lalita Vistara* almost word for word and in the same order of sentences; this hymn has unfortunately been omitted by M. Foucaux in his edition of the Tibetan version of that text. It was probably one of the early rhymes of the Buddhists and may possibly occur in the Pali Tripitika; for Dr. Kern has found (Man. Ind. Buddhism p. 15) that the *Lalita Vistara* contains whole passages identical with the Pâli Scriptures. Some of the epithets indeed are those claimed by Buddha himself in his first sermon at Benares (Cf. Oldenberg '*Buddha*' p. 129). The corresponding sentences in the *Lalita Vistara* I here extract from Lefmann's text p. 3 :— *Bhagavatah korti śabdaloko loko abhyudhato arhan samyaksaṁbudho vidyâcaraṇasaṁpannaḥ sugato lokavitparaḥ puruṣadamyasârathiḥ śâstâ devânaṁ ca manuṣyaṇaṁ ca budho bhagavân pañccakṣu samanbâgataḥ.*

Analysis of the details of these spells must be postponed for the present. The vivid picture of the Garuḍa as a paramount storm-deity of Nature speaks for itself, whilst the popular terror against disease and drought demons is reflected in the rampant Nâga worship dating to pre-Vedic times.

The dramatic birth of the Spell-goddess ("The invincible One of The White Umbrella The Turner aside of Evil") from the head of Buddha forms, I would point out, an exact parallel to the Greek myth of the birth of Athene (the helmetted Minerva, also a 'Turner aside of Evil' and custodian of the thunderbolts) from the head of Zeus.

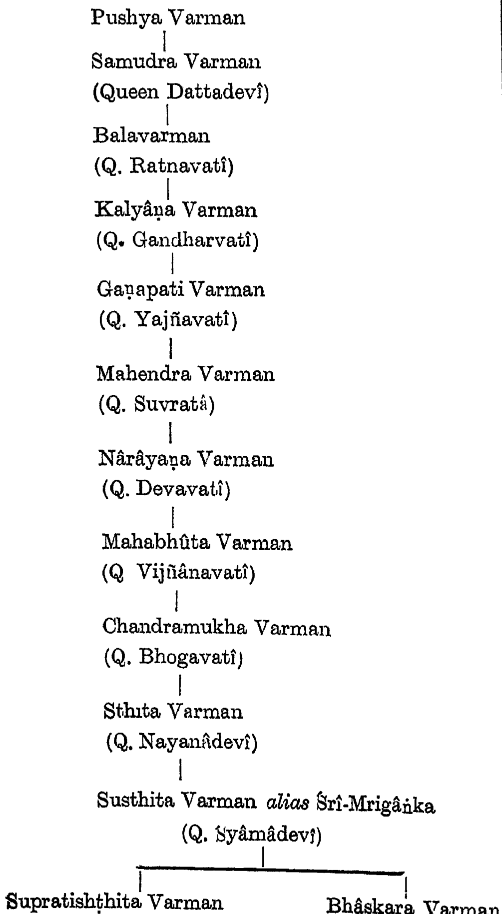
MISCELLANEA.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED COPPERPLATES GRANT OF BHÂSKARAVARMAN OF KÂMARÛPA.

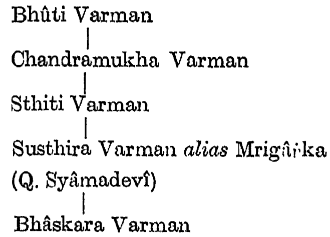
THE name of Bhâskaravarman, the friend and contemporary of Harshavardhana, is not unknown to the readers of *Hsi-yu-chi* of Yuan Chwang or the *Harshacharita* of Bâṇabhaṭṭa. Very recently a copper plate grant has been discovered at a village called Nidhanpur in Parganah Pañcha-khaṇḍa in the district of Sylhet, which was issued by Bhâskaravarman from camp at Karṇasuvarṇa. The grant consisted of four copper plates whereof the third is now missing; so that at present there are only three plates, the first, the second and the fourth containing inscriptions of four pages, both the

sides of the second plate being written. It is stated in the last verse that the original plates had been burnt and so new plates were issued with inscriptions written in characters differing from the former. The seal with which the plates were found tied bears witness to the destruction of the original plates by fire as it has been bent and shattered, the inscription in it all obliterated and the figure of the elephant—which was the seal-mark of the ancient kings of Kâmarûpa—has also been rendered very indistinct. Apparently, though the plates were renewed, the seal was not thought worth renewal.

The most important information that we get from this grant is the names of the ancestors of King Bhâskaravarman. The following is a tabular statement showing the names, but from this the names of the mythological kings Naraka, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta have been omitted:


Pushya Varman
Samudra Varman
(Queen Dattadevî)
Balavarman
(Q. Ratnavatî)
Kalyâṇa Varman
(Q. Gandharvatî)
Gaṇapati Varman
(Q. Yajñavatî)
Mahendra Varman
(Q. Suvratâ)
Nârâyaṇa Varman
(Q. Devavatî)
Mahabhûta Varman
(Q Vijñânavatî)
Chandramukha Varman
(Q. Bhogavatî)
Sthita Varman
(Q. Nayanâdevî)
Susthita Varman *alias* Śrî-Mrigâṅka
(Q. Śyâmâdevî)
Supratishṭhita Varman
Bhâskara Varman

It is interesting to note that the names of the four immediate ancestors of Bhâskara Varman occur in the *Harshacharita* (*Uchchhvâsa VII*) of Bâṇabhaṭṭa: there the genealogy is as follows:—


Bhûti Varman
Chandramukha Varman
Sthiti Varman
Susthira Varman *alias* Mrigâṅka
(Q. Syâmadevî)
Bhâskara Varman

The discrepancies are small and negligible—and they were due apparently to Bâṇa's careless notes about what the ambassador of Bhâskaravarman had said to king Harshavardhana, or to the errors of the scribes who copied the *Harshacharita.* There can be no doubt that the names as found in the inscriptions are correct, as they were written under the immediate superintendence of the king himself.

Two very important points arise in connection with these inscriptions: (1) when and how Karṇasuvarṇa came under the sway of the king of Kâmarûpa: and (2) was Sylhet within the political jurisdiction of Kâmarûpa.

I have discussed these points in detail elsewhere[1] and the conclusions arrived at are: (1) Karṇasuvarṇa became a part of the territory of Bhâskaravarman when, after the death of Harshavardhana (in 648 A. D.) the former rendered material help to the Chinese invader Wang Hieun Tsi in crushing Arjuna (or Aruṇâśva) who had usurped the throne of Harsha: and (2) Sylhet which had a separate existence as *Shih-li-cha-to-lo* mentioned by Yuan Chwang, did not form part of the kingdom of Kâmarûpa; the plate where the record of locality of the grant was expected having been lost and there being instances of discovery of copper plates far beyond the locality of the grants, it cannot be asserted from the mere accident of the find, that the land granted by these plates belonged to the district of Sylhet.

These copper plates bear the most ancient record hitherto discovered in Assam: and as they contain the names of kings who—assuming at the rate of four in a century—reigned from the middle of the fourth to the middle of the seventh century A. D., these plates are most important documents to a student of the ancient history of Assam.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA.

[1] In Bengali, *Vijayâ* Vol. I, No. 10; *Rangpur Sâhityaparishad Patrika* Vol. VII—In English an article is being published in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE FIRST ENGLISH COMMERCIAL MISSION TO PATNA, 1620—1621.

EDITED BY SIR R C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from page* 69).

X.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 22 December 1620. Good Freinds, Mr. Fettiplace etts. Yours of the 27th November is come to our hands, wherein wee perceave of the receipt of our formers and that our goods sent you hence came in convenient tyme with saftye to accompany yours for Surat, wherof we are glad . . . We will give your accompt creditt . . . for the 33 pces. bone lace sent by Shek Cassums [Shekh Kâsim's] man . . . Wee perceave of your purpose to retourne Dyalla [Dyâlâ] our servant with some goods. [The remainder of the letter concerns the price of raw silk at Patna; the reduction in the cost of winding if the 2d and 3d, and 4th and 5th sorts are wound together; and the stoppage in procuring both silk and cloth owing to want of funds].

Wee have now but to rest in expect of monye, newes of the fleets arryvall and the retourne of our expresse which brought you our letter for England to convey to Surat.[40]

XI.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to Mr. Francis Fettiplace etc., in Agra.

Patna, 29 December 1620. Our good freinds, Two dayes since arryved here Dyalla who brought yours of the ultimo November and the goods therein specified . . . nor have wee more herewith to adde, as havinge done nothinge since our last (which was 6 dayes past by a Bazar Cossid [*kâsid*, messenger]), as nott havinge monyes left, and therefore must lie idle untill you furnishe us.[41]

XII.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 31 January 1621. Lovinge Frends: Maye it please you take notice that after longe expectation and desier to here from you, the 24th presant wee received yours of the prime December . . . In [our letter] of the 11th November wee answared yours of the 5th September, therin endevouringe your better satisfaction for the hoped good of this place, and the reasone which induced us to conceave it a meete residence, which was strengthned by the plentye of Commodities it affords, bothe for England and Persia, referinge all to your determinationes . . . Wee have bine longe in expectation of suplye from Agra, which is not yet come, the defaulte wherof hath lost us four mounthes tyme wherin much good mought have bine done in this place; and if for what here shalbe provided you requier to bee dispeeded hence before the raynes, theye must bee gone hence by the prime Maye at farthest, unto which is but 3 mounthes, and yet wee have no meanes wherwith to proceede . . .

In our last wee wrought [wrote] you what quantitye of silke and callicoes a yeares tyme and store of monyes would compasse by the course wee have taken; the former not here to bee provided in the condition the Company requier it from the dellers [dealers]

40 *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 19.

41 *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 20.

therin, for that theye are soe poore and begerlye that theye cannot furnishe us without trustinge them with monyes beforehand, which course wee dare not atempt, theye not beinge able to give securitye for performance. The unacustomed wyndinge it of into so manye sortes in this place is a sufitient reason why not so well performed as in Agra and Lahore, where theire use therof for weavinge of tafites, ettc., requiers it. And for the originall or serbandy, thousands of maunds is allwaise to bee bought in Agra, thoughe not at such easye rates as here or in Bengall, and if what alredye provided shall induce you to animate us futturlye for anye large provisiones therin, our selves know not how to prescribe a better course for its procuringe in quantitye at esier rates then formerly advized you, unlese you would send into Bengalla, a hundred and fortye course from this place, to the cittye of Mucksoudabad [Maksûdâbâd, Murshidâbâd] where it is made, which would bee worth bothe labor and charge, for wee are asured that there it maye be provided in infinite quantityes at least twenty per cent. cheaper then in anye other place of India, and of the choysest stufe, wounde of into what condition you shall requier it, as it comes from the worme; where are also innumerable of silkwynderes, experte workmen, and labor cheaper by a third then elce where. But untill your farther resolution therin wee shall endevor acordinge to your order the provision of what quantitye therof meanes and tyme will permit, as also of sahannes and such sortes of amberty callicoes as you advize of. For other provisions, thoughe in th' intrime wee receave suplye from Agra, wee shall defer untill your farther injunctions.

Wee . . . thank you for sending our English letters. Your detayninge them so longe in Surratt before theire dispeed was not soe prejuditiall for our replye therunto as was your messingers delayes on the waye, who (it seemes) betwene Surrat and Agra spent almost 40 dayes, and from Agra hether15.[42]

XIII.

Robert Hughes to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 3 March 1621. Our last unto you was answare unto yours of the prime December, dispeeded hence the ultimo January, and two dayes since was received your letter of the 15th January, replye to our formeres of the last October and 11th November, wherin wee perceave what you apprehende of the sortes Amberty Callicoes Lackhower produceth, as well for theire lenghets, breadths as prizes, wherin wee also perceave you to bee mistaken in the lenghet of the Jehanger Coved, you mentioninge it to bee but 32⅛ Inches, wheras Elahye [*ilâhî*] of Agra is full that lenghet. And the Jehangery coved of this place no lesse then 40 Inches which wants not much of our English ell and makes greate diferance bothe in the length and breadthe of our Ambertyes. So that governinge your selves by the shorter coved it could not but give you just occasion to conceave the narowest sortes unfiting either for England or transporte, as likwise the broader sortes to come shorte in theire lenghets and breadthes for the use of sheetinge, shirtinge, etts., whereas rightlye apprehendinge them in their trewe lenghets and breadthes, questionles would have animated you to a better opynion of them. And wee doubte not but the well makinge of the Clothe (wherin it exceeds either Samanes [*samâna*][43] or your Baftaes [*bâfta*] will make it of good esteeme in England And wee shall endevor what possible the provision of onlye such as for breadthes and lenghets, price, etts., maye bee well approved of, purposinge our Investments onlye in the two broader sortes, to saye, Zefer Conyes and

[42] *Factory Records, Patna,* I., 20-21.

[43] A fine cloth made at Samâna, now in Patiâlâ State.

Jehangeres and those to bee, the Zefer Conyes all under 2 rups. per peece and the Jehangeres of all prizes to 8 rups. per peece, the quantities of eatch you determine to enorder wee will, according to your promise, expecte, and in the meanetyme proceede therin, and in silke so farr as our meanes will permitt, havinge now received some suplye from Agra, *Viz.*, in 6 bills exchange 5003 rups. . . . [We] have sent to Lackhoure to Mr. Parker 2500 rups. to bee doeinge there in the browne clothe, and have paid some debts for silke bought on Creddit, And now wee have monyes, purpose to laye in 50 or 60 mds. serbandy ware, so that untill your farther order, our provisions shalbe onlye silke, Ambertyes and Sahanes, if to bee gott . . .

Muckrob Con [Mukarrab Khân] is by the Kinge recalled from this Government, it beinge given Sultan Pervize [Parwîz], whoe is shortlye expected.

The yeare is allreadye so farr spent that it is impossible all our provisions should bee dispeeded to Agra before the raynes. What maye bee provided betwene this and the prime Maye shall then bee sent you, and the rest with the first oppertunitye after the raynes are spent. And soe not havinge elce &c.[44]

XIV.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 3 March 1621. Mr. Fettiplace &c. The last of the passed mounth came hether . . . yours of the 15th ditto, wherinclosed I received 6 bills exchange Importinge the mentioned some of 5003 rups. the which are all Currantly [generally] accepted and doubte not but of as good satisfaction, theire owners being reported for Currant [accepted] dealers . . . havinge taken up parte therof, *Viz.*, of Sunder Mydas [Sundar Mâyâdâs] 1000 rups. and have cleared Maun Muckon [Mânmukand] their bill of 500 rups. Basesar Mera [Bisheshar ? Mall] hath a good reporte which is the best of his sufitiancye I can yet advize you . . . Chaunseyshaw [Chândsahai Shâh] hathe a sonne in Agra with whome if you deale in this kinde you maye rest confident of good satisfaction to bee here made by his father whoe in our experience is the Currant delar of Puttana . . .

Wee . . . apprehend what you advize of the sortes of Course silke sent you for saile in Agra. Wee cannot mervell that those sortes are in so littell esteeme at presant, in regard, since theire dispeede hence, th' originiall from whence theye are taken of is fallen in price almost 30 per cent. Wee are ofered for our Shekestye a rupye net per sear to sell it here, and thinke to put that sorte of at about that rate rather then trouble you therewith. Onlye our Cuttaway and Gird wee will detayne untill your farther approbation.

Wee conceave Surrats order for th' investinge the presant monyes sent. Theye are stranglye mistaken in our Jehanger Coved . . . the misconceypte wheron theye ground theire opynions maye not bee our guide, and therfor . . . wee will proceed accordinge to our owne judgment in our Lackhour investments.

Th' exchange hence to Agra beinge to our presant advantage I have ventered takinge up 2000 rups. more upon you at 1⅞ per Cent. losse havinge received here of Maun Muckon [Mânmukand], sherafes [*sarrâf*] 1,962½ rup. muryes [for nuryes, *nûrî*, newly-coined], to bee by you repayed in Agra unto Cassy [Kâsî] and Baseser [Bisheshar] in 2,000 rup. honds [*hundî*, bill of exchange] . . . the bill . . . is written at 40 dayes Bandy mudet [*band-i-mudat*, term for settlement] . . Th' occasion the exchange hence to Agra

[44] *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 22.

is of late so fallen is for that Muckrob Con [Makarrab Khân] hathe delivered out 3 lackes of rups. to bee repaid him in Agra. Now beinge both in Cash and Credditt, I promise farther not to trouble you untill your answare hereunto, feringe lest I mought bee more bould then Convenient. Yet if your suplyes from Surratt have encouraged you, you shall doe well to strengthen us with 5 or 6000 rups. more out of hand, for which wee shall have speedye Imployment . . .

The Parda [*parda*, tapestry curtain], Looking glasse, 2 pces. moheres [mohair] and 280 pices weight amber beades I delivered into Muckrob Cons Circare and am promised [payment] . . . Hee departes hence (by reporte) within theise eight dayes, and already Perveze his servants have umull [*'amal*, authority]. Seaventeene pces. of the bone lace I have sould Shekassame [Shekh Hasan] for 216 rups., which is received. The rest of the lace remaynes. Most of theire papers were lost before come to my hands, so that I was fayne to guse [guess] at theire partikuler prizes . . .[45]

XV.

To the Agra Factory.

Patna, 31 March 1621. Lovinge Frends: My last unto you was answare to youres of the 15th February . . . since which have I received the second bills [of exchange] by Guarshaw [Gauhar Shâh] your expresse, whome I retorned with pertickuler answare the 13th presant . . . And now let mee intreate you take notice of what hath passed with us since . . . I have at sundrey tymes Caried and sent to Mr. Parker at Lackhoure 4000 rupes which is almost all invested in the browne Ambertyes of those partes . . . which (as bought) are put out to whittinge, and now havinge more meanes will suplye that place with what parte therof maye bee spared. I have bought about 30 mds. serbandye silke [at betwene 70 and 80 rups. per md.][46] and have workemen in paye to winde it of, and as you strengthene us with meanes, shall accordinglye persist in that investment, for in aught elce of this place wee medell not, untill receave order from Surratt, save in sahannes and hamommes. Of the latter I have bought about 6 corge, and as such sortes come to hand shall ingrose them.

In my last I advized you howe I had cleared with Muckrob Con for those thinges delivered into his circare, to saye, for the parda or peece of tapestrye,[47] 300 rupes ; as much for the greate looking glasse; 50 rupes for 2 pieces moheres ; and 280 rupes for 280 pices weight amber beades. Hee is at present removed from hence and gon for Helabaze [Allahâbâd], and doubtles will for Agra ; whoe if come to you, I praye demaund of his sonne, Shek Alaboxe [Shekh Allâh Bakhsh], 18 rupes for two Bulgare hydes delivered him. And thus have you breflye th'efecte of what hath passed with us in our afayeres since my last. And now I entreate you take notice what likwise hathe hapned by disaster. The 24th presant, Leinge Saterdaye, about noune, at the west parte of the subarbes belonginge to this citye, at least a course without the walles, in th' Allum gange, [Alamganj], a tirable fier kindled, which havinge consumed al those partês, by the fource of a stronge andye [*ândhî*, a dust-storm], brake into the citte and within the space of two greese[48] came into the verye harte therof, where our aboade is ; whoe beinge enviorned

---

[45] *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 23, 24.

[46] Added from the letter to Surat which follows.

[47] *Parda* means a heavy curtain; the "peece of tapestry" must have been for use as a curtain and not as a wall-hanging.

[48] *Gharî*, a native hour, about half an English hour, so "two greese" would mean one hour.

with neighboringe choperes [*chhappar*, thatched roof] (wherof indeede the whole cittye consistes), it was no more then tyme to looke to our owne, which were not many, yet more then in so littell a warninge could bee conveyed of, althoughe I wanted not th' assistance of almost a hundred of my workmen then at worke. But where the contrary element was wantinge, it was littele bote to contend with the furye of thother; and therfor gave waye to its voyolence of fourse, to save that which most requiered ayde in this nesesitye which was the mayne of our maisteres goods then under charge, which by good helpe I conveyed by a back waye into a stone house neare adjoyninge. But before it was entirlye efected, a choper before my chamber toke fyer, and in an instant was consumed, as also the chamber itselfe and all that therin was, save my accompts and monyes, which with as much dificultye as dainger I atayned; of ought elce not anye signe lefte of what it was; wherof belonginge to the Companye in a chest was theise pertickuleres —the remaynder of the bone lace, 16 peeces; the amell [enamel], safron and one peece mohere, with some verouerds [*barâward*, proportion] of silke taken, and other trifells standinge in the tankes,[49] which with all that was once myne and the litell houshould stufe wee had, was entierlye lost. The rest, throughe Gods providence, had an unexpected deliverance. From hence it proseeded estward unto the verye scirtes of the towne, where, wantinge more combustable matter to mayntayne it selfe, was constreyned to stinke and goe out, havinge lefte behinde litell save ruines of olde walles, ettc. The infinite losses of all men by this disaster are almost incredible to bee reported, besides men, woemen, and children registerde sattaes [*sati*, burnt alive] upwards of three hundred. And so much lett sufize for relation herof.

The 28th presant came hether your exprese . . . with yours of the 16th March and therinclosed 4 bills of exchange importinge 5000 rups. . . . Two of the bills sent on Sunder Mudas [Sundar Mâyâdâs] was instantly ackseptecl, but the third importinge 1500 rups. I had much adoe to put upon them, for althoughe it was written on them, yet (as theye saye) not by theire shawe [*shâhû*, banker] but by one Calyane [Kalyân] of Agra, in whose afaires it seemes formerlye theye have had some trust, but his gamoshtye [*gomâshta*, agent] latlye beinge gon hence for Agra with his goods caused them to make question of restitution, yet after much arbitrament this morninge theye acksepted it, which havinge doune, I instantlye, to avoyde sutter jogrees [*sattâ jhagrâ*, quarrels about bonds] caused them to paye in the monye, abatinge for the tyme, which theye have done, but have not taken in the bill, for that upon advice from Agra in case that should theire prove dificulte theye purpose to Nat Care [*nakâr*, dishonour] it and use our Cusmona [*khâs nâma*, letter of credit] for recoverye of the debte theire from the said Calyane . . . It is much to our disadvantage that you writte your bills at so longe a date of payment, wheras written at twise sevene dayes berbust [*barbast* (custom), sight] and send no worse Cassads [*kâsid*, messenger] then this (whoe came in a leavene [11] dayes, theire would bee much save in the deheig [*dahyek*, discount].

The exchange thence to Agra is at presant but 1½ rups. per Cent. lose betwene the tasye sickaw [*tâza-sikkâ*, newly coined] and the hondye [*hundi*] rupee,[50] and but that you have promised sepdlye [? speedily] more suplye by exchange from you, on occasion wee would have taken it up here, which would have bine more profitable. . . . [51]

[49] This sentence means that the portion of the silk that had been wound off, and the cocoons still in the tanks were all destroyed.

[50] Rupees remitted by bill of exchange.

[51] *Factory Records, Patna*, 3, 24-25.

XVI.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna 11 April 1621. Lovinge Frends, Mr. Biddulpe and Mr. Fettiplace. My last unto [you] was of the ultimo last mounthe . . . since which on the 7th presant came hether this berer with your last of the 25th March, wherunto in answare,

Inclosed I received second bills for the prementioned 5000 rups, and fower bills more Importinge 3000 rups. are all Currantly ackcepted. The bill of Mollas [Mallâ] for a thousand rupes is written at twice seaven dayes berbust [sight] but all the rest at 41 dayes after theire date. . . .

I aprehend what you entende wee should doe with our course sortes of silke taken of for the serbandy and will endevor it, if not better hopes for its sayle at Agra, the charge of transporte, etts. considered, but the prizes as rated in our last Invoyce you maye not expecte to bee now obtayned, for that the tymes are otherwise, Th'originall from whence theye are parted beinge (as often advized) a savoye [*sawâi*, 25 p. c.] fallen in price over what it then was, and so proportionablye theise Courser sortes. In your next I praye advize us of theire trewe value with you, for therby will wee governe our selves either for its detention or sayle here, for by Merchants that purposelye come from Agra to make theire provisions in theise sortes wee are informed that Agra vends greate quantityes therof, and at much better rates then here it can bee sould.

Since my last wee have done littell save prosecute our silke and Amberty Provisiones, wherin wee over slip no oportunitye which maye bee to advantage and are in dalye expecte for what elce Surrat shall enorder, that tymlye wee maye make entrance therin. Wee shall not expecte more monyes from you untill you have approbation from Surrat for our further suplye which cannot bee to soone.

Wee have ventured 500 rup. to Mucksoudabaude [Maksûdâbâd, Murshidâbâd] for samples [of] silke of the sortes wee provide, rather for experience of that place then the necesitye, therof, beinge encouradged therunto by good liklyehood of principall commoditye and at much easier rates then theise partes afordes. The voyadge is but two monthes, which when expired and returne made wee will advize you more of the event.

Sultan Parvez is shortlye expected here, and if you intende a setled imployment, it would not bee enconvenient that you sent us somthinge wherwith wee might make causmana [*khâs nâma*] with him, and (if so stored) somthinge for saile, it would bee a furtherance to the rest of our busines to make frends wherof, since Muckrob Cones departure, wee are altogether destitute.[52] . . .

XVII.

Robert Hughes to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 19 May 1621. Lovinge Frends, Mr. Biddulphe etts. Yours of the 29th Aprill came to our hand the 14th presant wherin wee received bill of exchange importinge 8000 rups. . . . All save the two bills of Maune Mookonde [Mânmukand] were written as you advized, twise 7 days berbust [*barbast*, sight] . . .

Wee have likwise received a Coppy of the list for what goods are required by Surrat this yeare, and shall endevor our utmost for theire satisfaction in what theirof theise partes afordes. Upwards of 4000 pces. Ambertyes (of the sorte preadvised) are alredaye provided, which wee will endevor to inlarge to what quantitye more tyme

[52] *Factory Records, Patna,* I., 27-28.

and meanes will permitt, as also for silke in the Condition theye ayme at, thoughe doubte wee shall come much shorte in the quantitye, the yeare beinge already so farr spent, and but barre [barely] 3 months lefte us for th'efectinge this yere provisiones to bee dispeeded hence with the first opertunitye after the raynes, which wilbe about the seazone our last yeres goods went hence; and therfore to avoyde farther trouble then, what goods wee have readye wee have despeeded towards you, and are as you may perceave by a briefe invoyce therof here inclosed. They were this morninge laden on two Carts and have made theire first Manzull [*manzil*, stage]. Wee have paide in parte of theire freught 74½ rups. and have given the Carters a bill on you to receave 8 rups. more in full therof [if] theye deliver them you in safe and good condition, and are in all 17 balles qt. [containing] 52 mds. net, hired at 1¾ rups. 1 tuke [*takâ*][53] per md. net, the Currant price of the Carravan theye goe in Companye with, and maye bee about a hundred Cartes more. Notwithstandinge, for their better safgard, wee have sent you Dyalla our servant and 6 Tierandazes [*tîrandâz*, archer, guard] more, have paid them in full of theire Journye, and have delivered Dyalla 10 rups. to defraye theire charges on the waye. . . .

You will perceave that wee have sent you all our coarse silke, havinge not founde here buyers for such a quantitye, which if you put of as you advize them to bee worthe there, theye will not come to a bad market. Howsoever wee thought it more convenyent to send it you now then to detayne it untill after the raynes, in regard there is hopes you maye put it of tymlye enoughe to have it's proceede agayne resent to bee this yeare invested, which after the raynes wilbe to late, and by that tyme wee shall agayne bee furnished with a greate parcell to trouble the market.

It seemes you have received but littell fine goods from Surratt which althoughe not enordered for presantly, yet a trifell would at instant have stoode our busines in some steede if wee mought or maye yet expecte it from you, for from Surrat it will come to late to further our this yeres necessitye, and for the next wee expecte not.[54]

XVIII.

To the Agra Factory.

Patna, 2 June 1621. Good Frends, Mr. Biddulphe etts. . . . Maye it please you take notice that the prime presant came hether this bearer with yours of the 18th Maye, and therinclosed second bills for the 8000 rups. last sent and eight other bills of Exchange for 8000 rups. more . . . with a transcript of our late beloved frende Mr. Fetiplaces Testament, for whose Lose wee are hartilye Contrite. God graunt us all whom hee hathe lefte behinde to bee assidduallye myndfull of the waye he hathe led us, that wee maye with the more Comforte be prepared to followe him when the Lord shall caule us. . . .

Wee apprehend Surrats resolution for the desolvinge this factory (our this yeres provisions beinge accomplished), and wee will as neare as possible endevor to follow direction, as well for efectinge theire disieres in the Commodities of theise partes as for our speedye dispatche therin, for the sendinge hence our Investments with the first and convenient transporte, which will not bee (as often advertized) untill the raynes are spent, to saye about the prime October. And wheras you desier Robert Hughes his presant repaire for Agra,

53 The hiring price was therefore 1 rupee 12 annas and a *takâ*. The copper *takâ* (not the silver, which was a rupee) was 2 or 4 pice (*paisâ*) and the pice was a quarter anna; so one *takâ* would be worth from a half to one anna. The context presumes that it was half an anna, which makes the hiring price to be R. 1 12½ as.

54 *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 28.

necessitye answares that the heate of our present busines and Mr. Parkers indisposition of helthe [whoe almost theise 3 monthes hathe layne daingerouslye sicke of the blody fluxe][55] will not permit it untill the last of the raynes, unlese it please God speedilye to strengthen Mr. Parker whoe hath not theise two monthes, nor is not at instant in case to mannadge theise afaires which lie disperst. Yet you maye not doubte of our utmost diligence to the hastninge our beinge with you.

You shall not neede to send anye further suplye of monye untill farther advice; th' exchange from hence at presant is somuch to our losse that wee shall withhould drawinge bills on you untill necesstye urge it.

Our Lackhowre Investments are exceeded to upwards of 5000 pces. fine and course Ambertyes, which quantitye wee hope at least to trebell by that tyme wee shall with convenyency bee readye to dispatche hence.

The Princes (Prince Parwiz) arivall here with so greate a retienewe hath made this place to narowe for his entertaynment, which hathe caused the removinge diverse, as well merchants as otheres, from theire aboades, whose houses hee hath liberalye bestowed on his servants; amongst which couppelment wee are displaced, and have bine theise ten dayes wandringe to cover ourselves and goods, thoughe but with grase [grass], to debar the heate and raynes, now in excesse; which havinge now attayned throughe the helpe of Mr. Monye [by paying a high price], wee endevor agayne the plasinge our silkwynders, in which imployment you maye not expecte us this yeare to exceed above as much more as alredye have, And wee hould it sufitient, beinge but a triall, so you cannot but conceave the necesitye of frends, and us destitute wherwithall to make them.[56] . . .

XIX.

To the Surratt Factory.

Patna, 2 June 1621. Good Frends, Mr. Rastell etts. . . In all wee have received from them [at Agra] for our this yeares investments 29,000 rups. besides the proceede of some sailes here. Theye advize not of anye more monyes theye purpose to sende us, as thinkinge what alreadye sent sufitient to keepe us imployed the littell tyme now left us, but wee hope to drawe from them seasonablye to bee invested at least 10000 rups. more, for that theye advize Mr. Younge hathe littell hopes for th' accomplishinge th' one halfe of the narowe clothe you expecte from thence, which defaulte wee will endevor to salve by enlarginge them here.

We formerly also advized you of the dispeede hence for Agra what goods wee had then readye, which were 13 bales silke and 4 balles Callicoes which were sent hence the 18th last monthe.[57] . . .

XX.

To the Surat Factory.

Lackhoure, 3 August 1621. Loving Frends, Mr. Rastell etts. . . . 3 dayes past came to my hands yours of the 8th June . . . whereby I perceave you . . . requyer ample and sudden replye to the points of your present received, which . . . I shall endeavour.

And first I wonder at your hopes for soe sudden a dispatche in our Investments, Consideringe you are not ignorant of the late supplye of monyes for its effectinge sent

55 Added from the letter to Surat which follows.

56 *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 29-30.

57 *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 30-31.

us which beeinge allmost spent before the first mo [nyes] came, and haveinge formerly both amply and frequently advized of the seasons for transporte of goods hence, which if before the raynes must be the latest in Maye, and if after, it is not to bee expected that caryage can possibly be gotten untill October, here beeinge noe other convayance to Agra but by carts, which by reason of the rottenes of the wayes in the season of the raynes passeth nott. And what of our provisions in the first season was ready, wee gave Conveyance to . .. . and with the first opportunity will proceed with the complete transporte of our full investments which will be (at the soonest) about the fine of th' ensewinge month.

In our lynnen Investments we have endeavoured to follow the honble. Companys and your orders, whereunto we have unyted our owne experyence and Judgments, haveinge with noe little labour and toyle at present attayned to the provizion of 475 Corges or 9500 pces. upwards of the ⅔ds. wherof are all at or under two rup. nett the pce., as bought browne from the loome, and are the desired breadthes, to say, the second sorte generally knowne by the name of Jafferchanes [*zafar-khânî*], which both for length and breadth will parallel, if nott exceed, your narrowe Barroch baftaes. The remaynder are fyner, broader, and hyer, pryzed, to say, from all pryzes from two to six rup. the peece, samples wherof, as well browne, white and starched, we intended to have sent you undemanded, whereby you may guesse at our penyworths [profit], and accordingly resolve or desist from further provizions thereof.

In regard you have called us away from hence with what convenient speede may possible, of force hath caused the lettinge fall of our silke provizions, especyallye for the cleeringe and gatheringe up of our rests with the silkewynders, soe that we shall not much exceed what we have allready dispeeded to Agra, neither have we met with any more sahans since we advized you of the 12 corges last bought.

Some Lignum Alloes we have provyded for tryall in England, of severall sorts and pryzes, from 2 to 10 rups. the seare of 33 pices wt. in all to the valew of aboute 400 rups., and now are lookinge out for musters of what other commodities which in our judgments these parts may affoard fittinge either England or Persia, for provizion whereof John Parker is now in Puttana, unto whose postscript I partly referr you, my selfe haveinge bene here in Lackhoare allmost these 6 weekes to fynish these provizions and gather up our cloth at the washers, which this month I hope will be all come in, and packt ready to transporte.

Mr. Biddulphe lately advized us to mak provizion of the gumlacke mentioned in your list, which we conceave (considderinge the great freight from hence) will cost itts worth in Agra ; notwithstanding, some wee will provyde, though butt for a future tryall. The best is worth at present 4½ rups. nett per md., and the Caryage from hence to Agra will be half soe much more, whereof we have advized to Agra to th' end they may provyde the greatest part there. The Amber beads sould Mockrobchan [Mukarrab Khân] at soe good rates was more by Accydent then through any great esteeme they are in these parts, which those we received there, as many more from Agra, which for want of vent yett lyeth by, beeing in the Bazar worth nott above 8 or 9 rups. the sere of 14 pices, which by reportes they are better worth in Agra, which hitherto hath caused theire detention in hopes of a better markett, but now we shall endeavour to put them off at pryce Current, rather then Cary them back.

Att my first cominge into these parts, Among the sondry other Commodities, I enquyred after the vent and esteeme of currall [coral], but could not learne it to bee a commodity worth the transporte from Suratt, it not vendinge in any great quantity nor the valew

truely knowne without sight of the sortes, which occasioned but a spareinge advice thereof, yett incerted it in my list of the valew of sondry other Commodities then sent Mr. Kerridge and Company. Yett for your better sattisfaction I have intreated John Parker to make further inquyery thereof, from whome you may be pleased to expect inlargement in this point. . . .

Haveinge advized you of the scope and effect of my present aboad here, have nott whereof to enlarge. . . .[58]

XXI.

John Parker's "Postecriptum."

Patna, 7 August 1621. . . . Of the price and esteeme of currall in these parts . . I have enquyred of the merchants which deales most in that commodity, who, as they say, never saw unpollished currall brought into these parts, which if I mistake nott, is the sort you seeke vent for. In other places it is much spent to burne with the dead; which here they use nott. And for pollishinge or cuttinge it into beads, heer are nott workmen that hath skill therein; and therefore noe commodity for this place. Pollished currall will sell here, but in small quantity; and at what pryce I cannot informe you, the quallity thereof beeing soe different. Currall beads is very well requested for transporte into Bengala, and great quantityes thereof will yearly vend, to say for 50 or 60,000 rup., at or about the pryzes followinge, *viz.*, those of 12 beads to a tanke [*tankâ*=4 *mâshâ*] at 6 tanks for a rup., of 6 to a tanke at 2 tanks for a rup., of 4 to a tanke at 1¾ tanks per rup., of 3 to a tanke at 1½ per rup., and soe accordinge to theire bignes.[59] For the sale of our remaynder of amber beads, we must not governe our selves by those sould Mockrobchan, those beeinge all choice beads which you cannot but judge will somewhat disadvantadge the sale of the rest. Besides, those sent hither were for the most parte of the 2 worst sorts, which, as wee were informed in Agra, were the sorts most vendable here, and questionlesse are, accordinge to their valew, butt the best sort will sell for more mony though nott for more proffitt; therefore it is nott much [wonder] that those sould in Agra were sould at for good rates, they beeinge one with another as received from Suratt, besydes was helped with the best sort which was chosen out of the parcell sent hither. I have shewed them to dyvers merchants since Mr. Hughes his beeing at Lackhoare, butt cannott attayne to above 9 rup. the sere, at which rate rather then retourne them for Agra would putt them off, butt it is nott a commodity which yeilds ready mony, and by reason of our sudden departure I dare nott trust them out, though should be promysed payment within ten daies. For the future sendinge of which commodity I cannott anymate you, it beeing a commodity that will nott sell in any great quantity, but in small parcells, as for 100 and 150 rup., which will nott goe far therein; soe a small quantity will furnish a great many of these merchants.

I have not yett provyded the gum-lacke, nor elce for musters, the merchants, brokers, shopkeepers ettc. of the citty beeinge all in trouble for mony which the Prince requyers them to furnish him with; Soe that none dares be seene to sell a pyce worth of goods. But

[58] *Factory Records, Patna*, I., 31-32.

[59] Taking the Jeweller's *mâsha* at 15 grs. Troy, then the meaning of this statement is that small beads of 5 grs. sold at 72 for the rupee; beads of 10 grs. at 12 to the rupee; beads of 15 grs. at 7 to the rupee; beads of 20 grs. at 4½ to the rupee; and so on. This statement shows that the small 5 gr. beads were much commoner than any other sort.

now he beeinge gone I shall soone imploy the small matter intended therein. We have at present about 4000 rups, in cash, 2000 whereof will run out in expences, charges, and transporte of our goods. The rest I shall endeavour to disbourse accordinge to Mr. Hughes his direction and myne owne discression. . . . [60]

XXII.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the Honnorable Company.

Patna, 14 August 1621. Honnourable and right Worshipfull . . . Our last yeares letter dated the ultimo November . . . The Cargazone of our goods therein mentioned and sent hence came both safely and seasonably to Agra, and from thence goods was dispeeded for Suratt, which and the whole Caffalo [*kâfila*] was most unfortunatly robed and spoyled by the Decans Armye,[61] for which we have just cause to be sory, soe shall rest till time shall procure your Worshipps a full restitution, which we hartyly pray for, and hope it will prove as successfull as the losse was disasterous.

Wee haveinge the last yeare made some small tryall into the Commodities of this place, and accordingly advized thereof to Suratt, we had theire approbation for a this yeares Contynuance and promise of speedy suplye of monyes for the effectinge some good Investments, as well in silke as Callicoes. Butt the late arryvall of the last yeares fleet, with dyvers other hindrances and Impediments in Suratt, occasioned us unexpectedly to remayne here untill March last before they had meanes to remitt us monyes as pretended, in which interim we endeavoured the saile of dyvers brayed [damaged] goods formerly received from Agra, which haveinge effected, to the valew of 4000 rups., the proceed whereof beeinge received, we incontinently imployed it, parte in Bengala silke and parte in Ambertye Callicoes. In fine of March[62] we received from Agra our first supplye in bills exchange for 5000 rups., and since at severall times sondry other supplyes, in all bills for 32,000 rups., and therewith the transcript of a list from Suratt, which enordered the provizion of 100 mds. Bengala silke, and 20,000 pces. Amberty Callicoes of Lackhoare, with further promise of meanes for itts accomplishinge. Butt it seemes them selves beeinge streightned at Suratt, they could not supply us as determyned, nor effect what once enordered for want thereof. The monyes sent us we persisted to itts investment, which we have now brought allmost to a Conclusion, and haveinge hopes of a Conveyance from Suratt by retourne of the last yeares shipps from the Red Sea could not omitt to advize your worshipps thus breifly thereof. Forasmuch whereof as we had attayned unto by the beginninge of May last, we then sent for Agra, and was 13 bales Bengala silke, whereof 6 containing 18 mds. 12 seares of the sorts requyred by your Worshipps and Suratt, throwne of here into skeynes of a yard longe ; the rest was of the courser sortes taken with that from th' originall or serbandy sent for saile in Agra, wherewith likewise went 3 bales containing 13 corges Amberty Callicoes and a bale containing 5½ corges Hamoms [*hammâm*], the which goods . . . is arryved there in safety. Since when wee have proceeded to the investinge our monyes last sent us, and have at present attayned unto 470 corges or 9400 pces. Amberty Callicoes . . . Wee have likewyse endeavoured theire whitinge, which is

[60] *Factory Records, Patna.* 1., 32-33.

[61] In 1620 hostilities were in progress between Jahângîr's forces under Prince Khurram and the rulers of the Dakhan under Malik 'Ambar.

[62] Should be February, see *ante*, letter of 3 March 1621.

nowe allmost fynnished, haveinge caused 400 corges thereof to be starched, as the ordynary custome of theire cureinge is, and the remaynder beinge 70 corges, we have whited unstarched, and yett shall endeavour the makinge them up 10,000 pces., which will be the uttmost our remainder of Cash will permitt in this investment. In other sortes of Callicoes we have nor can doe little, Sahan cloth beinge scarce and nott such quantityes thereof made, or brought hither, as your worshipps happyly have bene enformed there is, of which sort 12 Corges is all we could, by much seekinge after, yett procure, and cost 78 rups. nett the corge of 20 pces.

In regard of theire absolute order from Suratt to repayre with our this yeares provizi-ones for Agra, it hath caused us the letting fall of the further provizion of Bengala silke, which without a Contynuance here is nott to be provyded in the condition expected by your worshipps, soe that our this yeares proviziones thereof will not exceed above 25 mds. of the sorts fittinge England. And although a far greater quantity was listed us by the Council at Suratt, yett since (as it should seeme) whatt allready is provyded is thought to be inough untill further tryall thereof. This intended to be sent you we hope, both for price and goodnes, will come your worshipps well to passe, and yeild in England expected proffitt, beeing as good and better cheape then the sample last yeare sent.

Wee have soe deeply waded into our Callicoe Investments that at Instant we have [not] remayning in Cash (besides to beare the charges of the goods transport to Agra) above 2000 rups., wherewith we are to endeavour the provizion of some gumlacke, stuffs etts. of Bengala for musters both for England, Persia, or the Red Sea, which being accomplished, we will hasten our dispatch towards Agra with as much Convenyency as the season of the yeare will permitt, and lay out for Caryage to convoy our goods, which until the fine of the next month is nott here to be procured, the raynes beeinge soe vyolent, that in time thereof noe Carts passeth betweene this and Agra, and other Conveyance or meanes of transporte here is nott. Notwithstanding, we question nott but our goods shall arryve in Agra as last yeare seasonably to accompany theire this yeares Caffalow [*kâfila*] from thence to Suratt . . . in the meane tyme we shall nott omytt our uttmost dilligence in the prosecutinge our present and what future affaires may bee comitted to our charge.[63] . . .

XXIII.

William Biddulph and John Young at Agra to the President and Council at Surat.

Agra, 22 August 1621. They will observe the orders as to the placing of factors, and have recalled Hughes from Patna, leaving Parker in charge there until Young arrives.[64]

XXIV.

Robert Hughes and John Parker to the factors at Agra.

Patna, 13 September 1621. Good Freinds, Mr. Biddulphe etts. The last night came hither your expresse with yours of the 19th August and the perticular pointe in your letter from Suratt, which we have well considered, and apprehend theire order in all things, which

[63] *Factory Records, Patna,* 1., 33-35.

[64] Foster, *English Factories in India,* 1618-1621, pp. 260-261.

[if] it had come sooner might have bin followed; butt now we having cleered (in effect) all our busines here, and att Instant are upon departure towards you, Robert Hughes affore and John Parker followeth with the Carts, which we hope accordinge to Agreement will sett out within 4 or 5 dayes more at farthest. Theire procureinge hath bin as well difficulte as Costly, we payinge 2 ¼ rups. per md. Jehangere weight from hence to Agra Carravan Burbust [*barbast, i.e.*, customary caravan rate] and hope they will be with you Accordinge to our former Advyce by the last of the ensewinge month which will be the soonest, and therefore referr itt to your Considderations whether to detayne your goods soe longe or send a latter Caffalo. The raynes hath bin so extraordynary this yeare that extraordynary Charges cannot any way further our goods Arryvall, and therefore of necessity must attend untill the wayes are passable. Wee expect Thomas Haukeridge [Hawkridge] to meet John Parker, and soe for present Robert Hughes beinge on departure, he referrs you to John Parker for larger advyce, and hastyly comends you to the Lord, restinge &c. [65]

XXV.

John Parker to the Surat Factory.

Patna, 17 September 1621. Loving Freinds, Mr. Rastell etts., You may please be advertized that 4 dayes past came hither an expresse from Mr. Biddulphe etts. in Agra who brought us Coppy of certaine points in your letter of the 14th July to them, soe well concerninge this factory as others, which arryveinge with us but the night before Mr. Hughes his departure, he had not tyme to answere, and therefore I pray accept of this breife replye till conveniency permitt us to give you more ample sattisfaction and larger relation of our this yeares Imployment which Mr. Hughes at his cominge to Agra will (questionlesse) endeavour, to whome I partly referr you.

We apprehend your order for the future furnisheinge of this place with factors, and my stay here untill Mr. Youngs arryvall to discharge me, which before Mr. Hughes his goeinge was considdered of, and should have bin observed if had come sooner, butt having cleered (in effect) all our busines, the Carts hyred and are promised they will lade within 3 or 4 dayes, haveing noe rest in Cash, nor any imployment to occasion my stay, thought better to hazard your sensure in derrogatinge from your order then to putt the Company to the charge of (as we conceave) my needlesse stay, which when you Considder off and rightly apprehend, I hope will be soe charitable that wee doubte nott to appeare blamelesse. And though the way betweene this and Agra is nott very daingerous for robbers, yett nott free of taxes, as you may perceave by the transporte of our last goods from hence, which cost 14 rup. per carte, and since other merchants have paid 200 [(*sic*) 20] rup. per carte, soe that it is nott unrequizite that some Englishman accompany the goods, by whose presence the greatest parte or all may peradventure be saved, which I shall endeavour.

Mr. Hughes departed hence the 13th current and went by the way of Lackhoare, to hasten away the cloth bought there to Mobulepoore [66] which is theire place of ladinge; and appointed me to make what hast I could and send away the goods here to meet them, which

[65] *Factory Records, Patna,* I., 35.

[66] Mahab Alîpur, near Masaurâ [Mussowrah], the Mohubalpoor of the *Indian Atlas, sheet* 103, ed. 1857.

haveinge effected, to goe for Lackhoare to imbale four or five fardells yett unpacked and clere some small matters there, and thence to proceed in company of the goods with what speed possible for Agra. . . .

In our letter of the 3d passed month you were advized the some of our Investments, since when we have done little butt gett in the cloth from whittsters, and bought 50 mds. Gumlacke of the 3 sorts requyred, a few Malda wares for musters of commodities fitting Persia, some Ambertres of all sorts and prizes for your perusiall, etts. stuff of small vallew for musters. Wee had provyded the whole 200 mds. of lacke requyred, butt feare we should nott gett caryage for itt, which by reason of the princes remoove, and the Abowndance of raynes fallen this yeare is nott easily procured, yett have obtayned promise of soe many Carts as we shall need (which will be about 18 or 20) and hope of the Carters dew performance. The freight costs deare, to say 2¼ rups. per md., which could nott be avoyded to have the goods come in season to Agra, and now the beginninge of November will be the soonest, make what hast may bee[67]. . . .

XXVI

John Parker to the Agra Factory.

Patna, 17 September 1621. Loving Freinds, Mr. Biddulphe etts. By our joynt letter dated the 13th ditto you will perceave that Mr. Hughes was then upon departure towards you, who proceeded accordingly by the way of Lackhoare, and expect dayly to heare of his dispeed thence, whome I purpose with the goods to follow accordinge to his order, with what Convenyent speed I may, or rather the wether permitt, for nor yett is ended the raynes butt dayly powreth downe in such quantity that I cannott gett an hower of faire wether whereby to send forth the goods, which nowe is all ready for the Carte, and attendeth nothinge but the wether, which alteringe, I will take the first oppertunity.

Your letter received by this bearer requyers little answere butt promise to make what hast may bee with the goods, whereof you may be ascertayned. For any thing elce needful your knowledge (except your Cossid [*kâsid*] make more speed homewards then outwards, who was 25 dayes on the way) Mr. Hughes I doubt not will be with you sooner to relate.[68]. . .

XXVII

John Parker to the Agra Factory.

[*Lackhowre*], *October 1621.* Loving Freinds, Mr. Biddulph etts., In my last of the 17th and postscript of the 21th passed month I advized you in what forwardnesse I then was and the hopes I had speedily to proceed towards you with the fruits of our imployment, two dayes after date whereof I laded the Puttana goods from Mendroo Seray[69] toward Mobulepoore, and my self came hither to dispatch the little Mr. Hughes left here to be effected, which beeinge longe since finished, I have bin idler then willingly I would have bin; for partly by reason of the longe winter[70] (which yett is not ended) and the foulnesse of the wayes, I have nott yett found oppertunity to send away the goods from hence. And now at last cominge to dispeed them, I fynd the packs soe heavy that they are nott port-

67 *Factory Records, Patna, I.*, 36-37.

68 *Factory Records, Patna, I.*, 37.

69 I cannot identify this *sarâi.*

70 In fact, however, "summer," This is a very curious expression for "the rains" as being the coolest season.

able either on oxen nor by caharr [*kahâr*, porter], though offer treble the freight accustomed betweene this and Mobulepoore, where the carts and rest of the goods have attended these 15 dayes, and the wayes soe untoward that in the best season of the yeare they are unpassable for carts, and camells are nott here to be procured at any rate, for whose burden these f[ardles] were intended. Yett Mr. Hughes before hee packt them agreed and gave earnest both for oxen and Cahars who then promised to accomplish and have laded hence the better halfe, but few of them able to goe thorowe, have discharged theire ladinge, some in one place, some in another, themselves run away and left me to gather the goods togeather, which I feare will nott bee till parte of them be repackt, which will cawse great delay. Therefore, fearinge the worst, I thought good not to detayne your messenger longer, butt to advize you of the liklyhood of my tardy Arryvall with you to th'end you should Consider of detayneinge any parte of your provizions in expect of ours, which (to my greife) I begin to doubte will come too late for retourne on the this yeares fleet. The Censure I shall incurr there (by beeinge left here for there dispeed and Conduct) I must with patience undergoe, in soe much as cannott be avoyded. All I can doe is promise to slacke noe tyme nor oppertunity in theire dispeed hence, nor theire passage on the way, which will nott be without extraordinary charges, which I seeinge the necessity I shall the lesse respect, though will be noe more lavish then the occasion requyers. The expences I lye at is nott small, haveinge before Mr. Hughes departure entertayned almost 40 servants for the more safe Conduct of the goods, whome I could not discharge, haveinge paid them afforehand and beinge in dayly hopes of settinge forward.

Your letter of the 27th August I have receïved and should (to prevent the worst) have bin glad to have received the desired firmaen [*farmân*], but beeinge it was not to be had, I must hope the best, and that now the countrey is soe quyett that I shall have noe necessitye thereof.[71] . . .

John Parker.

XXVIII

William Biddulph, Robert Hughes, Robert Young and John Parker to the President and Council at Surat.

Agra, 23 November 1621. Mr Hughes came to this place the 10th of last month; Mr. Yonge and Mr. Willowby arrived here with there goods from Semana the 12th same month; and Mr. Parkar with theire Pattana goods arrived here the 14th present.[72]

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M. A., L. T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 48.*)

CHAPTER I.

SECTION VII.

The Effects of Vijayanagar Conquest.

Political Effects.

THE Vijayanagar conquest introduced a new epoch in the history of South India. It gave rise to a singular complexity in government, by causing an influx of Telugu generals and viceroys into the Tamil land. These Telugu generals came, it should be understood, as the supporters of Pâṇḍyan authority against Muhammadan usurpation. They therefore did not interfere with the royal dignities and privileges of the restored Pâṇḍyans. Nevertheless they

---

71 *Factory Records, Patna, I.*, 38.

72 Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, pp. 335-336.

were, from this time onward, the real rulers of the land, and reduced the indigenous monarchs to the position of mere figureheads. The pride and perhaps the prejudice—for the new viceroys belonged to other castes, spoke different tongues and came from another part of the country—of the Pâṇḍyans might have disliked the presence of these, their allies or rather masters; but they could not but submit, for their own sake, with tame and willing resignation, to their dominance. The history of Madura, thus, in the Vijayanagar period is the history of a dual power, of two dynasties, one locally royal and the other extraneously viceregal. The people of the kingdom of Madura (which included Tinnevelly and, in later days, Trichinopoly also), in other words, had two masters, the immediate one being their own king, and the more remote one the Vijayanagar agent. As has been already mentioned, the relations between the two authorities were, probably, cordial rather than strained. Self-interest and weakness necessitated a spirit of ready compliance on the part of the Pâṇḍyan rulers, while self-confidence and the possession of superior strength unconsciously led to the easy assertion of mastery on the part of the viceroys. At the same time, the viceroys do not seem to have availed themselves of their position to interfere too much in the internal affairs of the kingdom. Prosperity did not kill their prudence, nor did the allurements of power banish from them the virtue of moderation. They evidently confined themselves to the collection of tribute, the upkeep of the imperial army, and the remittance of the surplus tribute to the emperor. They, as was natural in their position, controlled the foreign policy of the king, and kept a watchful eye on his political acts and movements, his alliances and his enmities. They also helped him in the subjugation of local risings, in the encouragement of learning by means of endowments to Brahmins, and in the furtherance of all the arts of peace. But they hardly, it may be believed with Dr. Caldwell,[46] interfered much in the internal affairs of the kingdom.

Social Effects. Immigration of the Badugas.

The influence of Vijayanagar was stronger on South Indian society than on South Indian government. It in fact created a revolution in the social history of the land. For it led to a considerable immigration of men and women from the Telugu and Canarese lands to the land of the Tamils. Centuries back, the political skill and imperial statesmanship of the Chôḷa emperors had caused and promoted a large influx of Tamil soldiers,[47] servants, officers and men into the Telugu land; and now, by an act of Providence, the reverse process happened. Already, the territory covered by the Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly districts, *i. e.*, the two kingdoms of the Chôḷas and the Pâṇḍyas, had received an influx of a few Canarese people during the short life of the Hoysaḷa supremacy; but this immigration of the 13th century was [48] on a comparatively small scale, owing the ephemeral nature of the Canarese dominion, as well as to the vehement opposition to it of the local kings and peoples. The Vijayanagar conquest was followed by such a large immigration from the north that the historian can hardly be deemed inaccurate if he describes that conquest as the conquest of the Tamilians by the

46 See his *History of Tinnevelly*.

47 In the days of the Chôḷa Empire, See the *Madr. Ep. Reports* for numerous examples.

48 Bishop Caldwell ascribes the construction of the Canadian Anicut and the town of Palamkottah to the Canarese immigrants of this period. See his *Hist. of Tinnevelly ;* also Stuart's *Tinnevelly Manual.*

Badugas[49] or northerners as the Telugu and the Canarese peoples were called. The Râyas of Vijayanagar were probably Telugus, though their capital was in the Canarese country. The imperial civil and military services consisted largely, though not entirely, of the Telugus and the Canarese. The Viceroys were Telugu, their subordinates mainly Telugu, and above all, the thousands of followers who came with them were all Telugu. Nor could it be otherwise. A Telugu dynasty supported by a Telugu army and service, could not but send forth, for its own safety, into every quarter of the empire, Telugu soldiers and rulers. Refractory chiefs had to be subdued by Telugu generals, and tributary vassals had to be watched by Telugu political Officers. The result was, there came into existence a large number of Telugu colonies[50] everywhere in the south. Throughout the Tamil country, hundreds of Telugu villages came into existence, and Telugu customs and habits, creeds and cults began to mingle in complex companionship with the Tamil ones. Many a strange festival and observance, many a household name and superstition, was brought by the conquering colonists, and the civilisation of the Tamils became mixed up with the civilisation of "the Badugas."

The causes of Baduga colonization.

The causes and circumstances of the colonization were not the same in all cases. Some colonies had a military origin. They arose from the camps of the northern army, camps which while on march resembled, in their size and their component factors, moving cities. The presence of a large number of men, and of horses and cattle, necessitated, wherever the camp was pitched, the opening of shops and the formation of villages, so to say, of the camp-followers. The frequency of military operations compelled the presence of engineers, masons, carpenters and other artisans. The Brahmins again, were indispensable as priests, as astrologers and as accountants. In this way wherever there was a military encampment, there was necessarily a Telugu-Canarese settlement, consisting of all castes and classes of the community. The camp in time became, after the conquest, a permanent colony; and even when the army was ordered to another locality, the activities which it stimulated there were adequate enough to perpetuate the village that was brought into existence by it. In this way many Telugu villages and even towns arose. Some colonies had perhaps a different peaceful origin. They possibly arose from the men of peace following in the wake of a northern viceroy who, however, was invariably a military commander also. But the vast majority of the Telugu colonies owe their origin, not so much to the State or the army, as to the valour and enterprise of numerous private adventurers; and this is borne out by hundreds of historical MSS. They consisted, as a rule, of people, who followed the pastoral and other peaceful occupations of life. The majority of them were cowherds or peasants, some were soldiers and Sirdârs in the Râya's service, some minor chiefs, and some probably merchants and manufacturers. These men had naturally among them many who had been rewarded by the Râyas with feudal estates, or

[49] For an interesting article on the Badugâs, see *Chris. Coll. Magaz.* Vol IX. 753-64 and 830-43. The Badugas who colonized the regions of Coimbatore and Nilgiris came to be called "Badagas". The Badugas were a race of strong and muscular physique, and "they were always very ready to enlist in the armies of the Rajas of S. India." The Vijayanagar sovereigns employed them largely, as soldiers, generals, governors and viceroys. Viśvanâtha Naik was only one of these. For a description of the Badaga customs, etc., of the Nilgiris, see Grigg's Nilgiri *Manual*; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*; *Chris. Col. Maga.* Vol. IX. &c.

[50] Wilks compares them to the Roman colonies. See his *Mysore*, I, 10. Also Caldwell's *Tinnevelly*, p. 48.

Iluppûr, was an extensive estate till late in the 17th century. Muttiah Nâik, common ancestor of Marungâpuri, Kadavûr and Iluppûr, was a Tôttiyan of Gooty. He emigrated to the south, says a MS. in 1284 A. D., but at the very next line it says, quite inconsistently, that he was a servant of Tirumala of Vijayanagar and a contemporary of Viśvanâtha Nâik, who belonged to the 16th century! We have no historial materials concerning Thôhaimalai, and Vîramalai; but we are somewhat better informed in regard to Nattam and Râmagiri. The founder of Nattam, Lingama Nâik, came originally from the neighbourhood of Chandragiri in consequence, it is said, of "Mughal" ravages—some time evidently previous to the establishment of the Nâik Râj. Sâmi Nâik of Râmagiri came from Gooty about 1420 A. D. in the time, it is said, of Nâgama Nâik, Chandra Sêkhara Pâṇḍya and Viśvanâtha,—a chronological mistake which almost all the Pôlygar memoirs commit.

The Pâḷayams of Dindigal and Madura.

Proceeding to the pâḷayams of Dindigal, we find the same disagreement among the MSS in regard to the actual number of feudal estates in the Nâik period. One gives 24, another 23, a third 21, while the English records [55] mention 26 *pâḷayams* when the province came into the hands of the Hon. E. I. Company. The Chinnôbas of Paḷni and the Koṇḍama Nâiks of Âyakuḍi came to their respective estates in the train of Kottiyam Nâgama Nâik, about whom we shall study presently (though the MS memoirs of these err, like many others of the series, in placing Nâgama in early 15th century), from Ahôbilam, their native place Tirumalai Chinnappa Nâik of Virûpâkshi founded his *pâḷayam* about 1381 A. D., and his brothers, Appaiya and Errama, founded the respective estates of Kannivâḍi[56] and Idayakôṭṭai[57]. The MS history of the Kannivâḍi chiefs, however, while recognising the close relationship between their ancestor and the ancestors of the Virûpâkshi and Idayakôṭṭai chiefs, gives a different date for the settlement,—namely 1403 A. D. It further says that Appaiya was the contemporary of Chandraśêkhara Pâṇḍya and Koṭṭiyam Nâgama Nâik, and can thus hardly be considered correct in its chronology. It is curious that, while both the Virûpâkshi and Kannivâḍi chronicles say that Errama of Idayakôttai was a brother of their founders, the chronicle of the latter does not mention this, but simply asserts that the ancestor of the family Vallâla Makka was a servant of Nâgama Nâik and came with him to Madura in 1432, and settled at Idayakôttai. The Nâik chiefs of Madûr, Emakalâpuram,[58] Tavasimadai, Ammaiya Nâikenûr,[59] Kûlappa Nâikenûr[60]

[55] For a comparative statement of the 3 MSS in a tabular form see Appendix IV entitled *Dindigal pâḷayams.* The MS chronicles of almost all these are available and have been abstracted, translated and edited in Appendix IV. "Paḷni is the headquarters of a *tâluk* in Madura District. (See *Madura. Gazr.* 304-8). It is an extinct *pâḷayam.* Âyakudi is 4 miles E. of Paḷni, and unlike the latter a Zamîndârî even now. It has now been purchased by the Zamindar of Rettyambâdi. (*Madura Gazr.* p. 301). Virûpâkshi is also an extinct *pâḷayam* 13 miles E. of Paḷni on the bank of the Nangânji. It is not a Zamîndârî. For the full references to the MS chronicles and translations of them see Appendix IV.

[56] This lies 10 miles west of Dindigal, close under the Paḷni hills, and is the largest Zamîndârî in the district. *Madura Gazr.* 238-240 and Appendix IV., Section 4.

[57] The seat of a Zamîndârî, 21 miles from Dindigal, on the northern frontier of Paḷni *tâluk. Madura, Gazr.* 302-3 ; Appendix IV, Section 5.

[58] 8 miles S. E. of Dindigal (*Madura Gazr.* p. 237); Tavasimalai is near it. (*Ibid,* p. 243). See Appendix, IV, Sections 10 and 11.

[59] Four miles east of Nilakôttai, in Nilakôttai Tâluk (*Ibid.* 292-4). Appendix IV, Section 12.

[60] Nilakôttai itself. *Ibid,* 295-6. Appendix IV, Section 13.

Koppaiya Nâikenûr,[61] Tôttiyan Kôttai,[62] Gandama Nâikenûr,[63] Bódhi Nâikenûr,[64] Periyakuḷam,[65] Kombai,[66] Kambam,[67] Kûdalûr and Eraśakka Nâikenûr[68] were all Kambala Tôttiyans who migrated to the south with their families, followers and castemen, either along with, or some time before, Nâgama Nâik, the father of the great Viśvanâtha. The period of their settlement can be roughly assigned to the latter part of the 15th and the former part of the 16th century. The same is more or less the case with the chiefs of the Pâḷayams of the Madura division known as Ûttappa Nâikenûr,[69] Doḍḍappa Nâikenûr,[70] Veḷḷayakunḍam,[71] Puḷiyankuḷam,[72] etc.

The Pâḷayams of Tinnevelly.

In and about the district of Tinnevelly, a large number of the *pâḷayams* were in Tamilian hands, and were therefore more ancient than those of the Tôttiyans. The majority of the Tôttiyans owed their settlements to either Nâgama or Viśvanâtha Naik, while the Tamilian Pôlygars held their position from ancient times, primarily owing to their martial valour. They belonged to the Marava and Paḷḷi castes, and were once evidently so serviceable to the country as to be rewarded with the semi-sovereign powers and privileges of feudality. The most important of them[73] were the Marudappa Têvas of Ûttumalai, the Tirtapatis of Singampatti, the Sâḷuva Têvas of Ûrkâdu, the Vaṇṇiyans of Sivagiri and Êḷâyirampaṇṇai, the Tiruvoṇâtha Pâṇḍyans of Sêttur, the Indra-Talaivas of Talaivan-Kôttai, the Valangaipuli Têvas of Chokkampaṭṭi and the Puli Têvas of Neikattanśêvval The MS histories of these estates begin from legendary and pre-historic times and narrate in detail the feats and adventures of the early chiefs. The Pôlygars of Sivagiri, for instance, are said to be the descendants of Siva. They, it is said, were originally pigs, but transformed by Pârvati into great warriors! They then entered the Pâṇḍyan service, and helped Babruvâhana in the defeat of his father Arjuna in the

61 *Ibid,* p. 296. Appendix. IV., Section 14.

62 This is six miles W. S W. of Nilakôttai *Madura Gazr.* 298. No MS history of this estate is available.

63 A Zamîndârî in the S. E. corner of Periyakulam Taluk. *Ibid* p. 317. Appendix IV, Section 15.

64 This is 15 miles S. W. of Periyakulam *Ibid.* 313-6 Appendix IV Section 16.

65 The Tâluk centre. The Zamîndârî referred to is that of Râmabadra Nâiken of Vadagarai, Appendix IV, Section 17.

66 Four miles N. W. of Uttamâpâḷayam, close under the great wall of the Travancore hills. The *pâḷayam* was resumed by the English. *Ibid,* 319-20. Appendix IV, Section. 18.

67 Six miles S. W. of Uttamâpâḷayam. Its history is similar to that of Kombai. *Ibid,* p, 318-19. Appendix IV gives a legend about it. No MS history is available.

68 Four miles E. of Uttamâpâḷayam in Periyakulam Tâluk. A living Zamîndârî. *Ibid.* 316-17. Appendix IV, Section 20, gives what is known about this.

69 In the Tirumangalam Tâluk. A living Zamîndârî. See *Madura. Gazr.* p. 330. See Appendix V.

70 Chief village of the Zamîndârî of the same name in Tirumangalam Tâluk. *Ibid,* p. 326, and Appendix V. Sec. 2.

71 A Zamîndârî, 8 miles N. N. E. of Madura, in Madura Tâluk. *Ibid,* p. 281. See Appendix V, Sec. 3.

72 Thirteen miles S. S. W. of Tirumangalam. *Ibid.* p. 328 and Appendix V. Section 4. I have been able to get no MS history of Kacchaikaṭṭi.

73 The MS histories of all these have been translated and given in the appendix. Singampatti and Ûrkâdu are within 3 miles of Ambâsamudram. Ûttumalai or Sri-keralam-bûdhur is about 15 miles from Tenkâsi, and Surandai 10 miles. Talaivankottai, Neikattan Sevval, Sivagiri, and Sêttur can be visited by taking the road from Tenkâsi to Srîvilliputtûr. Their picturesque situations and vicissitudes I have described in detail in Appendix VI. See also Chap. II.

course of his Aśvamêdha campaign! They then received a *pâḷayam* at Tribhuvana[74] where they lived for centuries, till one of the chiefs killed two dacoit brothers on the hills of modern Sivagiri, and was therefore honoured by the then Pâṇḍya king by being made a Pôlygar of the very scene of his glory. His descendants ruled there continuously; and the chief, who was the contemporary of Viśvanâtha Nâik, was confirmed in his ancestral estate and dignity, like many other indigenous chiefs in their ancestral estates. The stories of the other Pôlygars are equally wild and legendary though some are not quite so miraculous and incredible. Chokkampaṭṭi,[75] for instance, traces its history to an alleged Pâṇḍyan king of the 12th century at Tenkâsi called Sivili Mâran[76]. It is said that the first Valangaipuli Têva was a servant of that king, and rendered great service to the country in subduing a formidable rebel, who occupied the region covered by modern Chokkampatti and had successfully defied for long the king's generals. The first Polygar of Talaivankôttai owed his position, it is said, to a similar achievement. His heroism and skill enabled him to capture a terrible boar, which had committed immense havoc in the country and had eluded the attack of all the royal hunters. Examples of this kind may be multiplied; but it is unnecessary, as the detailed history of every *pâḷayam* is given in the appendices, and as a reference to them will enable the reader to gain the needed information about the subject. It is sufficient here to note that most of these Tamil chiefs of Tinnevelly claim to have ruled their estates from the time of the Mahâbhârata or a Sivili Râja; and there can be no question that, even though the antiquity which they claim is, as a rule, absurd, they were much more ancient than the Tôttiyans who immigrated into the country in the 15th and 16th centuries, and were formally recognised as Pôlygars by the generous statesmanship of Viśvanâtha Nâik. Having been long in possession of the different parts of the country and highly valiant in arms, the Tamil Pôlygars were, out of considerations both of expediency and necessity, placed by the founder of the Nâik dynasty in a position of equality with Tôttiya[77] chiefs, like Ettappa Nâik of Ettiyâpuram, Katta Bomma Nâik of Pânchâlankuruchchi, and Iravappa Nâik of Nâgalâpuram.

(To be continued)

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA.

BY JARL. CHARPENTIER, PH. D.; UPSALA.

IN writing for the 'Cambridge History of India,' Vol. I., the chapter concerning the history of the Jains it has, of course, been necessary to me to try to ascertain the real date of Mahâvîra; and, as it is impossible in the limited space assigned to that chapter to discuss fully the various facts concerning this most important question, I have found it convenient to set forth here my considerations, upon which I have founded my opinion concerning the date of the founder of the present Jain Church. Moreover, no full discussion of this theme has ever been entered upon since the time, when Professor **Jacobi**, in his introductions to the

74 The famous centre of Śaivism, 12 miles south-east of Madura.

75 About 15 miles N. of Tenkâsi. It is not a living Zamîndârî. I have collected a number of MSS about it and I shall abstract them in the appendix. The palace is now in ruins.

76 Sivili Râja is a celebrated figure in the Tinnevelly traditions. To him are attributed a number of temples (e.g. the temple of Pâḷayam-kôttai near Tinnevelly) and other holy works. He was evidently a king of Tenkâsi, but nothing definite is known about him. In later days Ativîra Râma Pâṇḍya was known by this title.

77 See Appendix VI on Tinnevelly pâḷayams.

edition of the *Kalpasûtra* and to the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII—works that mark a new epoch in the study of Jainism—established with undeniable evidence, at least very narrow limits for the age of Mahâvîra;[1] and so it might not be without some utility to take up the matter once again. As my materials are in much the same as those of Professor **Jacobi**, most of my article will consist in summing up and further developing what has been previously said by him. And it will be seen that the result of my inquiry is in full agreement with the opinion on the date of Mahâvîra which he formed many years ago, but which seems not to have been taken up by scholars dealing with the matter since.

In important treatises dealing with Jainism, *e.g.*, **Hoernle**,—*Proc.* A. S. B., 1898, p. 39 ff. or **Guèrinot** *Bibliographie Jaina*, p. VII., we find the date of Mahâvîra's death fixed at 527 B.C.; and the later author calls it 'la date la plus accréditée,' it being in fact in agreement with almost the entire tradition of the Jains themselves. For it is well known, that the Śvetâmbaras believe the death of their spiritual master to have occurred 470 and the Digambaras 605 years before Vikrama; and as the difference between these two dates is 135 years, or just the same as the interval between the Vikrama era (57 B. C.) and the Śaka era, (A. D. 78), it is quite clear, as Professor **Jacobi** points out[2],—that the Digambaras have here confounded Vikrama and Śâlivâhana, a confusion by no means of rare occurrence. Now at first sight this seems to be fairly correct, but when we examine the matter a little more closely it will be seen—as has many times been remarked by **Jacobi** and other scholars—that this statement is based on very slight facts, if really on facts at all. There are two main points which should be considered in connexion with the date 527 B. C., *viz.* :—

(1) The relations of the Jains concerning the 470 years between the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra and the accession of Vikrama in 57 B. C., and

(2) The possibility or non-possibility of accepting 527 B. C., as the right year for Mahâvîra's death viewed from the certainly established fact of his being contemporary with Buddha, who died, according to my opinion (as I shall explain below) in 477 B. C.

Finally in the last part (III) of my paper I shall discuss the tradition represented by Hemachandra and the conclusions to be drawn from it.

I

The Jain Chronology and its Foundation.

Merutuṅga, a famous Jain author, composed in V. Saṁ 1361=1304 A. D. his work the *Prabandhacintâmaṇi* and about two years later his *Vicâraśreṇi*, being according to Bhâu Dâjî[3] a commentary on his *Therâvalî*. In this work he gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vîra and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by **Bühler**[4] and after him discussed by **Jacobi**:—

jaṃ rayaṇiṃ kâlagao.
arihâ titthaṃkaro Mahâvira
taṃ rayaṇiṃ Avaṃti-vaî

---

1 Older opinions concerning the date of Mahâvîra are found in **Rice** *Ante. III,* 157; **E. Thomas** *ibd, VIII,* 30 *f.*; **Pâṭhak** *ibd. XII,* 21 *f.* etc. As all these discussions have been rendered obsolete by the works of Professor **Jacobi**, I need not dwell here upon them.

2 *Kalpasûtra, p.* 7.

3 *Vide J. B. Br. R.A.S. IX,* 147; other works by Merutuṅga and references to modern literature concerning him are found in **Weber's** *Cat.* II, 1024 sq.

4 *Ind. Ant.* II, 362.

uhisitto Pâlago râgâ || 1 ||
satthi Pâlaga-ranno
pannavannasayam tu hoi Nandâna
atthasayam Muriyânam
tisam ciya Pûsamittassa || 2 ||
Balamitta-Bhânumittâ
satthî varisâni catta Nahavahane
taha Gaddabhilla-rajjam
terasa varisâ Sagassa cau || 3 ||

Pâlaka, the lord of Avantî, was anointed in that night in which the Arhat and Tîrthamkara Mahâvîra entered *Nirvâna* (1)

Sixty are (the years) of king Pâlaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pûsamitta [Pushyamitra] (2).

Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhânumitra, forty Nabhovâhana. Thirteen years likewise lasted the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are the years of Saka (3).[5]

These three verses are repeated in many commentaries and chronological works, (**Bühler**), for instance in a *pattâvalî* of the Tapâgaccha (extending from Mahâvîra to the accession of Vijayaratna, V. Sam. 1732=A. D. 1685-86)[6] where are added two verses filling up the space between Vikrama and Saka, which do not interest us here. The only point of difference is the reading *Nahavâna* for *Nahavahana* in v. 3, but this can be of no use to us here, as confused and incredible as the verses are, it seems still utterly improbable, that the author should have placed the Great Satrap Nahapâna before Vikrama.

These verses contain—as already remarked—a short account of dynasties reigning between the death of Mahâvîra and the accession of the famous king Vikramâditya but their provenance is totally unknown. That they were not composed by Merutunga himself or any of his contemporaries is certain, because at that time the Jain authors had long ago ceased to write in Prakrit.[7] They do not, of course, belong to the Jain canonical writings, and this makes it highly probable that they originated after the final redaction of the canon by Devarddhiganin (in 980 or 993 after Mahâvîra, *i. e.*, A. D. 453 or 466 counting from 527 B. C.), and belonged to the older set of commentaries, the composition of which did undoubtedly begin immediately after—if not already before—the final redaction of the Siddhânta. If the nominative *Nahavahane* is authorised by the manuscripts—on which point I cannot, of course, have an opinion—this might be a sign of a certain age; for it is absolutely certain that in later commentaries, *e. g.*, that of Devendra on the Uttarâdhyayana (from A.D. 1073) where the Prakrit is much older than the time of the *tîkâ* itself, no nominatives in *-e* exist.[8] But there is another fact, upon which a certain stress ought to be laid in connexion with these and similar chronological statements of the Jains, and that is that they all take the Vikrama

[5] The translation is taken from **Bühler**, l. c.

[6] Published by **Klatt**, *Ante. XI*, 251 sq.

[7] Acording to **Pulle** *Studi Italiani*, I, 10 the Jain authors began to compose their work in Sanskrit about A. D. 850 (time of Sîlânka); but this is by no means an ascertained date.

[8] I have chosen this text as an example because its Prâkrit parts are well known from the '*Ausgewählte Erzählungen* of Professor **Jacobi**. To make the point here discussed quite clear, I wish to state that the few passages of the text, where really nominatives in *e* occur (p. 28, ll. 17-24, p. 32 l. 35—33, l. 28 and p. 34, ll. 11-20) show a totally different style and probably belong to a canonical work, which it is not possible for me to identify at present.

era as having been in reality founded by a king Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî. For **Kielhorn**[9] has long ago proved that the connexion of the era commencing 57 B. C. with a king Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of '*Vikrama Saṁvat*' being made in an inscription at Dhôlpur from Saṁv. 898=A.D. 842 ; and the oldest literary mentions of Vikrama in connexion with the era seem to be those afforded by Dhanapâla's *Pâiyalacchi* (*V. Saṁv.* 1029= A.D. 972) and Amitagati's *Subhâṣita-saṃdoha* (*V. Saṁv.* 1050= A. D. 994).[10] If we take these facts into account, it seems probable that the verses cannot at least in their present shape be so very old, dating perhaps from the 8th or 9th century A. D. But this is rather a suggestion, and their main content—the enumeration of kings between the death of Mahâvîra and the commencement of the era beginning in 57 B. C.—may very well have existed long before this era was in any way connected with the rather mythical king Vikramâditya of Ujjayinî.

As for the statements made in them, they are of a somewhat mysterious nature. Pâlaka, King of Avantî, is here mixed up with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties and Puṣyamitra of Magadha, and with several rulers of Western India, among whom Gardabhilla is elsewhere stated to have been the father of Vikramâditya, and Śaka a prince belonging to the non-Indian dynasties of North Western India. **Jacobi**[11] has already shown that the introduction of King Pâlaka of Avantî into this list, which must from the beginning have been intended to give the names of the kings of Magadha, as Mahâvîra belonged to that country, seems highly suspicious. Who was this Pâlaka ? No doubt, he is meant to be identical with Pâlaka, son and successor of Pradyota, King of Avantî, and brother of Vâsavadattâ, queen of the famous King Udayana of Vatsa.[12] As this Udayana was a contemporary of Mahâvîra and Buddha, it is quite possible that his brother-in-law, Pâlaka, may have succeeded to the throne in a time nearly coinciding with the death of Mahâvîra. But there is absolutely no connexion between him and the dynasty of the Śiśunâgas, ruling in Magadha at and after the time of Mahâvîra. However, I think it possible that his appearance in this list may give us a rather valuable clue to the question concerning the provenance of these verses. For in their present shape they are, as mentioned above, late and composed at a time when the kingdom of Magadha had absolutely ceased to have any connexion with or interest for Jain writers; but from the fact that out of 470 years recorded not less than 293 are filled up by the names of actual rulers of Magadha, we might undoubtedly infer that they were derived from older sources actually giving the right names of the Magadha kings. Now the list finishes with kings of Ujjayinî, Gardabhilla being one such, and his son Vikramâditya being the most famous of them all ; and, as the Jains already in the centuries immediately preceding our era played an important rôle in the west of India, and had many connexions with Ujjayinî, they probably did not find it at all unsuitable to begin this list with a king of that famous town as well to end it with one. Moreover, we may perhaps rightly conclude, that the connexion of the Jains with Magadha and Eastern India really ended with the downfall of the Mâuryas. From the confused tales of the Buddhists as well as from other and more certain sources,[13]

9 *Ante, XX.* 397 ff.

10 On the slight differences in fixing the date (A. D. 993 or 994) cf. **Schmidt** and **Hertel** Z. D.M.G. 59, 297 *sq*.

11 *Kalpasûtra,* p. 8 *sq*.

12 This is expressively stated by Merutuṅga, who tells us that Pradyota died the same night as Mahâvîra according to **Bhau Daji,** *J B. B. R.A.S.* IX.,147 *sq*. Whether he is the one mentioned in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is not likely to be discovered. But, as there is nothing in that play connecting him with Udayana, I do not deem it very probable. However, some light may perhaps be thrown upon this question, when the text of the *Cârudatta* becomes available in the Trivandrum series.

13 Cp. **V. A. Smith,** Early History of India, p. 188 *sq*.

we might think that Puṣyamitra was zealously orthodox—or that at least they suffered considerably from the successors of these, and that they did not in reality know anything concerning the kingdom of Magadha after that time.[14]

Professor **Jacobi**[15] has tried a somewhat complicated hypothesis in order to account for the introduction of King Pâlaka of Avantî into the list of the rulers of Magadha, considering Udayana, the brother-in-law of Pâlaka, to have been confused with Udâyin, the son and successor of Ajâtaśatru, and Pâlaka to have entered into the list in this way. As I have explained above, I do not think that Pâlaka belonged to the original list at all; but, if his presence there is to be accounted for in any way, I think another suggestion may be more easily adopted. It is stated in *Kalpas.* § 147 (p. 67 ed. **Jacobi**) that Mahâvîra reached *nirvâna* while staying at Pâvâ (or Pâpâ) in king Hastipâlaka's office of the writers' (*rajjû-sabhâ*). This monarch is mentioned also in § 123, where he is called Hatthipâla, and **Jacobi**, S. B. E. XXII, pp. 264, 269, has in both passages used the form Hastipâla. But the manuscripts give in both paragraphs alternatively the form *Hatthipâla* and °*pâlaga*, and the latter is taken into the text by **Jacobi** in § 147. From this it is clear, that he was styled *Hastipâla* as well as ° *pâlaka*, a circumstance upon which no special stress need be laid, because we have no reason whatsoever for expecting anything else. Now it is both possible and credible that a *Hastipâla* (*ka*) might in more unofficial language be styled *Pâlaka*, and as this king stands in the closest connexion with the death of Mahâvîra, we might well suggest that he may have been said later to have been anointed in the same night in which the Prophet entered *Nirvâna*. This might in my opinion supply a reasonable cause for the introduction into this list of a certain Pâlaka, who was later mistaken for the king of Avantî well-known to the Jains in Western India.[16] However, this king Pâlaka is for reasons already partly mentioned, and to be further developed subsequently, of no chronological importance whatsoever for fixing the date of Mahâvîra and for filling up the space between him and the commencement of the Vikrama era.

Passing over, for the present, the regnal periods assigned to the Nandas (155 years), the Mauryas (108 years) and Puṣyamitra (30 years), as I shall enter upon a more close examination of these dates later on, I shall now say some words concerning the kings, whose names fill up the last 117 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, *i. e.*, about 174—57 B. C. These are the following:

Balamitra and *Bhânumitra*, reigning for 60 years.

Nahavahana (*Nabhovahana*) reigning for 40 years.

Gardabhilla reigning for 13 years,

and *Śaka* reigning for 4 years.

There is in reality not much to be said concerning this strange list of rulers, and nothing certain. *Nahavahaṇa*, a name which **Bühler** and **Jacobi** render by *Nabhovahana*, is a totally unknown personality;[17] and the only suggestion to be made is that he may have been

[14] Of course, the Jains had a patron in Eastern India in Khâravela, king of Kaliṅga; but this protection may have been of rather short duration. The Jains do not seem to recognise their obligation to their great patron even by mentioning his name, and his date is uncertain (cp. farther on).

[15] *Kalpas.*, p. 8 *sq.*

[16] King Hastipâla(ka) of Pâvâ undoubtedly a petty clan-ruler of the type of Suddhodana of Kapilavastu or Siddhartha of Kuṇḍaggâma, is, as far as I know, mentioned nowhere else in Jain or Brahmanical scriptures. This shows clearly that he could only have been remembered because Mahâvîra passed away in his dominions. And such an unknown ruler could, of course, very easily be confused with a far better known name sake.

[17] If the *varia lectio* Nahavâṇa is in fact worth anything and renders the name Nahapâna, the Satrap who seems to have flourished about A. D. 80-125 and in fact reigned between 40 and 50 years, this list would of course in its later part be absolutely useless. But there are reasons which make me believe, that this is not the case: (1) it seems really impossible that even a very confused chronology would put Nahapâna before Vikrama, and (2) if Nahapâna had really been intended, he ought most certainly to have been mentioned in the story of Kâlakacârya, dealing with the rise of Scythian power in India before Vikrama; but this is not the case.

some petty ruler in Western India during the period between the downfall of the Maurya empire and the beginning of the Vikrama era. Just the same may be said concerning Balamitra and Bhânumitra, although they are mentioned elsewhere. For in the somewhat confused legend of Kâlakâcârya, edited by Professor **Jacobi** in Z.D.M.G. 34, 247 *sq.*, we read on p. 268 *sq.* that these princes, who were the nephews of Kâlaka, ruled in Bharukaccha (Bharoch) and were friendly disposed towards the Jain Church. As this Kâlaka played according to the legend the somewhat despicable trick of calling the 'Sakas into India to destroy his enemy king Gardabhilla of Ujjayini, this would place the two princes a short before the time of Vikrama. Without trying to entangle the very confusing facts told about Kâlaka or rather the different Kâlakas—of which there seem to have been at least three[18]—I point only to the statement that there existed one Kâlaka, who was the 23rd *sthavira* after Mahâvîra and is said in the supplement to the *Kalpadruma*[19] to have lived 376 years after the *Nirvâna, i.e.*, 151 B. C. counting from 527 B. C. The *paṭṭâvali* of the Tapâgaccha[20] says that this Kâlaka died 376 or 386 years after Mahâvîra, *i.e.* 151 or 141 B. C.; and this would fit fairly well with the time assigned in the versus memoriales to Balamitra and Bhânumitra, as they are supposed to have reigned together during 60 years or between 174-173—114-113 B. C. However, I attach just as little importance to this coincidence as to the whole chronological statement of these verses.

In the same legend concerning Kâlaka the history of Gardabhilla and the 'Sakas is told at full length. There may be really some historical foundation for the stories told concerning this invasion of India by Scythian rulers before Vikrama, rulers stated to have been brought in by a second Kâlaka living 453 years after Mahâvîra, *i. e.*, 74 B. C. or just in the year of Gardabhilla's accession to the throne 17 years before Vikrama. This Gardabhi(l)a is elsewhere said to have been the father of Vikramâditya[21] and king in Ujjayini; and concerning him it has been suggested, that he was identical with Bahrâm Gor, king of Persia A. D. 420-438, and again that he is in reality the same person as the satrap Gudaphara or Gondopheres, who must have lived in the first century B. C.[22] But neither of these hypothesis is satisfactory, Gardabhil(l)a being always closely connected with the time of Vikrama. Now it must be conceded that Gardhabil(l)a is a rather strange Indian name[23] scarcely to be accounted for, and seems very likely to be of foreign origin. And I might suggest that it is at least as probable as the above-mentioned theories, that Gardabhil(l)a represents in fact a Greek name ending in φιλος, and that the person in question was perhaps a petty Greek prince or Governor overthrown by the Scythian invaders, and had in reality nothing to do with the famous king of Ujjain. There is nothing against this suggestion in the fact, that the Gardabhilas are mentioned in Viṣṇu P. IV, 24, 14 as a tribe or dynasty for they rank there together with the Yavanas, 'Sakas, Bâhlîkas and other invaders, named as successors of the Ândhra Dynasty. For of course these may have been named after the old *Gardabhila*, existing many centuries before, on account of some real or fictitious relationship to him.

(*To be continued.*)

18 **Jacobi** l. c. p. 250 sq.

19 A commentary to the *Kalpasûtra* by Lakṣmîvallabha, who wrote a commentary on the *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra* in *Samv.*

20 **Klatt** *Ante. XI*, 251.

21 Viṣṇu P.[2] (**Wilson**) 5, 392, *Cf.* **Weber**, *Ind. Stud. XV*, 252 *sq.*

22 The first suggestion was made by **Wilford** As. Res. IX, 147 *sq.* the second one was propounded by **Prinsep**, *Ante. II*, 142 and supported by **Lassen** *Ind. Act.* II, 409.

23 To be compared as far as I can see, only with the old Gobhila and the obscure name Rebhila in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. *Cf.* Indog. *Forsch*, 28, 178; 29, 380 *sq.*

MISCELLANEA.

PAINTING AND ENGRAVING AT AGRA AND DELHI IN 1666.

ONE of the best and most instructive of the old travellers was **Monsieur Jean de Thevenot**, who visited India in 1666 and 1667, dying near Tauris or Tabrîz in Persia in November, 1667. His travels were translated into English and published in that language in 1687. Writers on Indian art have not yet noticed, so far as I am aware, **his criticism of the Agra and Delhi paintings,** which I transcribe as being of considerable interest :—

" One may see a great many pictures in the Indies upon paper and pasteboard, but generally they are dull pieces, and none are esteemed but those of **Agra** and **Delhi :** however, since **those of Agra are for the most part indecent,** and represent lascivious postures, worse than those of Aretin, there are but few civil Europeans that will buy them " (Part III. p. 39).

" **The painters of Delhi are modester** than those of **Agra,** and spend not their pains about lascivious pictures, as they do. They apply themselves to the rendering of Histories, and in many places, one may meet with the Battels and Victories of their princes, indifferently well painted. Order is observed in them, the personages have the suitableness that is necessary to them, and the **colours** are very lovely, but they make **faces** ill. They do things in miniature pretty well, and there are **some at Delhi who engrave indifferently well also ;** but seeing they are **not much encouraged,** they do not apply themselves to their work, with all the exactness they might : and all their care is to do as much work as they can, for present money to subsist on '. (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

The traveller, it will be observed, had a poor opinion of the work of the contemporary artists seven or eight years after the accession of Aurangzeb, whose puritanical opinions no doubt much discouraged art. When I examined hundreds of specimens of Mughal and Indo-Mughal art three years ago, I found only four, namely, three by **Udût Singh** and one by **Ghulâm Razâ,** which could be reproached for indecency. The wholesale accusation of indecency brought against the artists of Agra, no doubt quite justified, has been a surprise to me. The explanation of the absence of such objectionable works from the London collections must be that suggested by de Thevenot, namely, that 'civil,' or decent Europeans seldom bought the indecent paintings. Information about the lives of Indian artists is so rarely obtainable that I am unable to say whether **Udût Singh** and **Ghulâm Razâ** belonged to the **Agra School or not**. The lasciviousness of that school may be ascribed reasonably to the evil example set by Shâhjahân.

When Indian painting becomes better understood than it is at present, critics probably will be able to distinguish at sight the productions of **Delhi** from those of **Agra.** The traveller's high praise of the colouring is fully justified, but his censure that the Indian painters " make faces ill ", does not apply to the better portraits.

His statement that there were tolerably good engravers **at Delhi** is new to me, and I shall be much obliged if any body can produce a specimen of seventeenth century engraving done by an Indian artist.

[1] *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* p. 336.

VINCENT A. SMITH,
Oxford.

KAUTILYA AND THE ARATTAS.

IN the *Bibliotheca Indica* edition of the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* the passage (37, 324) about the succession of Chandragupta stands as follows :—

उद्धरिष्यति तान् सर्वान् कौटिल्यो व द्विरष्टभि* : ।
चंद्रगुप्तं नृपं राज्ये कौटिल्यः स्थापयिष्यति[1] ॥

" Kauṭilya will uproot all of them (Sahasu or Sahasva and others,[2] the 8 sons and successors of the Mahîpadma, 323), through *Dvirashṭas* . . . "

What were these *dvirashṭas*[3] ? Apparently some people. I propose to read the word as *Virashṭrâbhih*.[4] *Virashṭrâs* would be the same as *Araṭṭas*.

On this datum of the *Vâyu*, it appears that Chandragupta was mainly helped by the Araṭṭas in his war, which has been related, though no doubt in exaggerated terms, in the *Milinda-pañho*, as fought between Bhadrasâla, the Nanda's general, and Chandragupta.[5] They were " the band of robbers " of Justin,[6] as Cunningham guessed years ago. But Cunningham thought that Chandragupta used them against the Greeks. That might or might not have been the case ; here we have evidence to hold only this much that they were used against the Nandas.[7]

K. P. JAYASWAL.

[1] Between these lines the second half of the preceding *śloka* intervenes :

मुक्तां महीं वर्ष शतं नन्देन्दुः सभविष्यति :

[2] Sumâlya and others, in the *Vishṇu.*

[3] Changed in the *Brahmâṇḍa* into द्विजर्षभैः

[4] A confusion between *dvi* and *vi.*

Probably it was originally *द्विररष्टभि : implying that with Arashṭans or Araṭṭhans, Kautilya exterminated the Nandas, not all at one and the same time, but in two different attempts.—D. R. B.

[5] 'And further there was Bhaddasâla, the soldier in the service of the royal family of Nanda, and he waged war against king Chandragupta. Now in that war, Nâgasena, there were eighty Corpse Dances ' ii, p. 147.

[6] " It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne, and so having collected a band of robbers, he instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing Government. " (V., 4.). The Ceylon tradition also says that he was helped by " robbers. " Cf. *Mahâbhârata, Karṇa-Parva,* xliv., (31-32) the Araṭṭas are shorn of virtue, (37) they are to be avoided; (44, 21) they are robbers by habit.

[7] Buddhist tradition implies that he started his operations by first conquering or winning over the frontier.

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH.D., UPSALA.

(*Continued from page 123*)

SO much concerning Gardabhilla. As to Saka, to whom is attributed a reign of four years ere he was overthrown by Vikramâditya, there are without doubt some hints of very great interest and perhaps of real historical value included in the confused legend of Kâlaka. For the text states that Kâlaka, after having sworn to Gardabhilla to be revenged, roamed about till he came to the country Sakakûla (*Z.D. M. G.* 34, 262), and in v. 63 of the *Kâlakâcâryakathânaka* it is said of the royal dynasty of Saka :—

Sagakûlâo jeṇaṃ samâgayâ teṇa te Sagâ jâyâ.

' Because of coming from Sakakûla they were called Sakas.

Moreover, we learn from the same source that the governors of provinces in Sakakûla were called *sâhi* and the king of the country, ' this crown-jewel in the crowd of princes ' was styled *Sâhâṇusâhi.* Now, I think Professor Jacobi[24] was right in making *Śakakûla*=*Sakasthâna*, Σακαστανή, and moreover reminding us of the name Σακάραυλοι, metioned by Strabo XI 8, 2,[25] which really presents a remarkable likeness to the Sanskrit word *Sakakûla.* And there cannot be the slightest doubt, that the title *Sâhâṇusâhi* is only a modified transcription of the well-known legend on the coins of the Kushân kings, *Shaonano shao.* So there must be some foundation for the legend told concerning Kâlaka and the invasion of Scythians which he provoked; and as I deem it rather improbable from the whole shape of the legend[26] that it relates to the great conquest of North-western India by Ooêma Kadphises, it may in fact contain a faint remembrance of some battle between Saka satraps and a Greek (?) prince (Gardabhila), which has later been localized in Ujjayinî. A full account of the Saka princes who seem to have flourished in the first century B. C. may be seen in Duff *Chronology of India*, p. 17 *sq.*, and it does not at all invalidate the possibility of this suggestion. The theory that the invaders were Persians and that *Sâhâṇusâhi* represents ' the king of kings' ruling that country cannot be upheld, as it is expressly stated that the invaders were Sakas, and not Persians or Bactrians. As for the title *Shaonano shao*, which I find in the *Sâhâṇusâhi* of the text, it is true that it does not occur on coins before Kaniṣka ; but this is not material, as the legend arose apparently at a far later date, and in that time the earlier Sakas and the Kushans might very easily be confused. However, it is interesting and certainly a proof of the text not being wholly valueless, that it has preserved these rather minute reminiscences of the Saka dynasties.

I have tried to show, that the chronological list, on which the Jains found their assumption of a period of 470 years between the death of Mahâvîra and the commencement of the Vikrama era is almost entirely valueless. The line of rulers composed in order to fill up this time is wholly unhistorical and can by no means be trusted ; for it assigns the first 60 years after the *Nirvâṇa* to a certain king of Ujjain, who had absolutely nothing to do with Mahâvîra, and for whose introduction into the list I have tried to find out reasons as above.

[24] l. c. p. 255.

[25] Μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ασιοι, καὶ πασιανοί, καὶ τόχαροι, καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὁρμηνέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καί Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.

[26] In the Kâlaka legend it is not the ' king of kings ' (*sâhâṇusâhi*) but only his satraps (*sâhi*) who invade India, and not with his consent, but to escape his rage against them.

The following 293 years are filled up by dynasties of Magadha of undisputed historical character, and this shows clearly, that it was originally the kings of Magadha who were to be recorded here. And that is just what we should expect, as Mahâvîra passed nearly his whole life in that country and in close connexion with the two kings Bimbisâra and Ajâtaśatru. As for the last 117 years before Vikrama, they are filled up by various kings or princes of partly different nationality, of whom we know with absolute certainty nothing more than that they never had anything at all to do with Magadha.

Thus, we find that the statement of the Jains, according to which their last Prophet died 470 years before Vikrama, or 527 B.C., rests upon a wholly hypothetical basis, and can nowise be trusted. I shall now enter upon the second part of my enquiry and show that it is wholly inconsistent with the adjusted Buddhistic Chronology too, and ought, consequently to be absolutely abandoned.

II.

Buddhist relations concerning Mahâvîra and the Jains—The date of Buddha's death.

The investigations of **Jacobi** and **Bühler** have made it quite clear, that the Buddhist and Jain canonical writings speak of persons who are to a large extent identical, although sometimes different names are used to designate them. From this it was rightly concluded by these two eminent scholars, that Buddha and Mahâvîra must have been contemporaries, must have visited mainly the same localities, and have come into contact with the same kings and other prominent persons of their age. Moreover, **Jacobi** has shown with absolute conclusiveness that Nigantha Nât(h)a-putta, often mentioned[27] in the Buddhist canon amongst the six heretical teachers, who flourished about the same time as Gotama Buddha, must be identical with Mahâvîra. And no one will nowadays doubt that these two teachers were absolutely different from and independent of each other, although living at the same time and, perhaps, often enough having to face each other at their wanderings through Magadha.[28]

Passages in Buddhist canonical writings dealing with Nât(h)aputta and his followers have been admirably discussed by Professor **Jacobi** in *S. B. E.* Vol. XLV., p. XV sq. But as his main purpose was there to collect and explain the Buddhist notices of the early Jain creed and doctrine, and less attention was paid to the historical facts possibly to be extracted from these narratives, I shall here dwell upon some of these passages again. As the Pâli Canon was, of course, brought into its present shape at a time far posterior to the events related in it, it cannot always be absolutely trusted. But there seems to be rather strong evidence for thinking the main facts related in it to have really occurred, as they are represented there.

The well-known introduction to the *Sâmaññaphalasutta* (*D. N. I.* p. 47, sq.), telling us, how king Ajâtaśatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers. Pûraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosâla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kaccâyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta to hear their doctrines, and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajâtaśatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night[29]. But the

[27] Passages where *Nât(h)aputta* is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance C V. V, 8, 1; D N. II., p. 150; M. N. I., pp. 198, 250; II., p. 2ff.; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit Nirgrantho Jñâtiputraḥ, *e. g. Divyâvad* p. 143; *Mahâvastu* I. pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383.

[28] The late L. Feer *J. A. Sér.* VIII, t. XII, 209 sq. held the opinion, taken from the *Papañcasûdanî* (v. J. A. 1887, p. 324 n.) that Mahâvîra never met Buddha, but this is apparently a mistake not to be upheld.

[29] The *Majjh. Nik.* II., p. 2 sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Râjagṛha at the same time as Buddha. Mahâvîra spent fourteen of his *varṣas* there according to *Kalpas.* § 122. But the visit of Ajâtaśatru is said in *D.N.* to have taken place in the full moon of Kârttika (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season. However, it seems quite possible that it may refer to the same event.

main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosâla and Nâtaputta, by comparison with Jain writings.[30] Moreover, the Jain writings, *e. g.*, the *Aupapâtikasûtra* § 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by king Kûṇiya or Koṇiya (Ajâtaśatru) to Mahâvîra; and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Dîgha Nikâya*,[31] there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajâtaśatru paying visits to Mahâvîra was quite familiar with Jain writers.

In *Majjhima Nikâya* I, p. 92 *sq.*, Buddha tells his relative, the Śâkya prince Mahânâman, of a conversation which he had once had with some Nirgrantha ascetics in the neighbourhood of Râjagṛha. These disciples of Mahâvîra praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc.; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahâvîra as well as Gosâla, Buddha as well as Devadatta. Moreover, there are other instances in the Pâli Canon where Mahâvîra is praised in the same way by his followers; so in *Majjh. Nik.* II, 31, where Sakuludâyi in Râjagṛaha, *ibd.* II, 214 *sq.*, where some Nirgrantha monks, and in *Aṅguttara* I, 220, where the Licchavi prince, Abhaya, in a conversation with Ânanda in Vesâli, eulogizes Nâtaputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nâtaputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove, that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between Buddhists and Jains in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahâvîra.

The passage in the *Mahâvagga* VI, 31, 1 *sq.*, speaking of the meeting in Vesâli[32] of the general Sîha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nâtaputta has been discussed by Professor **Jacobi** in *S. B. E.* XLV, p. XVI *sq.*, and also the well-known Upâlisutta of the *Majjhima Nikâya* (I, p. 371 *sq.*). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upâli, who was a lay-follower of Nâtaputta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers dwelt at Nâlandâ[33] in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upâli, and made him his disciple. So Upâli went back to his house in Râjagṛha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the Nirgranthas. When Mahâvîra afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upâli declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogized Buddha, his new master. The text finishes with the following words: *atha kho Nigganṭhassa Nâtaputtassa Bhagavato sakkâraṃ asahamânassa tatth' eva uṇhaṃ lohitaṃ mukhato uggañchîti*, 'but then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Nigganṭha Nâtaputta, since he was not able to stand the praise of the venerable one.'

Much stress has been laid on this passage, as several scholars have combined it with the story told in *D. N.* III., 117 sq. 209 sq. and *Majjh.* N. II., 243 sq.[34] that Nâtaputta died in

30 *Cf.* concerning the doctrines attributed to Nâtaputta (*DN.* I. 57 sq.) Jacobi *S. B. E.* XLV, p. XX sq. and concerning Gosâla (*D. N.* I. 53 sq.) *ibd.* XXIX and Dr. **Hoernle's** admirable treatise in Hasting's *Encyclopædia* Vol. I., p. 259 sq. (also *Uvâsagadasâo* App. II.)

31 The *Aupapâtika Sûtra* speaks of Kûṇiya as residing in Campâ, the *Dîgha Nikâya* places the meeting in Râjagṛha. The visit of Ajâtaśatru alluded to in *Uvâs.* I. § 7 (quoted by Mr. **Vincent A. Smith,** *Early History* p. 41 n.) refers also to Campâ. Of this I shall speak later on.

32 The passage is repeated in Aṅg. Nik. IV, p. 180 sq.

33 In the § 122 of the *Kalpasûtra* quoted above Mahâvîra is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Râjagṛha and the suburb (*bâhirikâ*) of Nâlanda. This was a famous place even with the Jains, cp *e. g. Sûtrakṛtâṅga* II, 7. (*SBE.* XLV, 419 sq.).

34 *Cf.* **Chalmers,** *J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 665 sq.

Pâvâ, while Buddha stayed at Sâmagâma in the land of the Sâkyas. It has been concluded from this, that Mahâvîra died a very short time after the interview with Upâli.[35] I cannot here dwell upon the Buddhist record of Mahâvîra's death, which I shall discuss later on ; but I wish here to lay stress on two facts in connexion with the tale of Upâli, and the death of his former teacher. The first is that, although the place where Mahâvîra is nowadays said to have died is a small village called Pâpapurî, about 3 miles from Giriyak in the Bihâr part of the Patna district,[36] it is quite clear from *D. N.* III, 117 *sq.* &c., that the Buddhists thought it to be identical with the town Pâvâ, in which Buddha stayed in the house of Cunda on his way to Kusinârâ ; for it is said to have been in the land of the Sâkyas, and this is at a considerable distance from Râjagṛha, where Mahâvîra had his interview with Upâli. It will have been rather far to walk, if Mahâvîra had really been so ill as to die soon afterwards. And as, according to the *Kalpasûtra* §§ 122-123, Mahâvîra spent the whole of his last rainy season, nearly four months, in "King Hastipâlas office of the writers" at Pâvâ, he must have lived at least nearly half a year after the interview with Upâli, if we could trust the story that he died as a consequence of it. And for the second, we are told absolutely the same story of hot blood gushing forth from the mouth concerning Devadatta in *C. V.* VII, 4, 3, and that at an occasion when he like Mahâvîra had real reason to be very excited. And in the old texts it is nowhere stated, that he died as a consequence of it, although later reports used by **Spence Hardy** and **Bigandet** seem to think so.[37] From this I venture to draw the conclusion, that Mahâvîra's death stood originally in no connexion with, and was by no means a consequence of his interview with, his apostate follower Upâli.

In the *Abhayakumârasutta* (*M.N.I.*, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Râjagṛha by Nigaṇṭha Nâtaputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him ; for if he answered 'no' he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered 'yes,' Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostasy. I admit, that too much weight should not be attached to this passage, as another closely similar instance occurs elsewhere in the Pâli Canon[38] ; but, as it can, by no means, be proved to be worthless, it seems to involve the conclusion, that Mahâvîra was still alive after the apostasy of Devadatta. This event is probably with justice thought by Professor Rhys Davids [39] to have taken place about ten years before the death of Buddha himself.

Professor **Jacobi**[40] has called attention to the fact, that Buddha and his followers are not mentioned in old Jain scriptures, which is rather strange, the heads of both churches being

35 That Nâtaputta died shortly after the dispute with Upâli is expressly stated by **Spence Hardy,** *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 280 but from late sources. Cp. **Jacobi** *Kalpas*, p. 6.

36 Comp. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. XX, p. 381.

37 *Cf. SBE.* XX, 259 n. Another instance proving the same fact is afforded by the history of Sañjaya, the teacher of Sâriputta and Mogallâna ; in the *Mahâvagga* I, 24, 3, he is said to have vomited hot blood, when his disciples abandoned him, but nothing is told about his death, which cannot have occurred then, if I am right in my suggestion that he was the same person as the teacher S. Belaṭṭhiputta. But **Beal** and **Bigandet** tell us, that he died immediately afterwards, which is, however, directly contradicted by **Spence Hardy,** *Manual* p. 202. Cp. *S. B. E.* XIII, 149 n. 1.

38 *Viz.*, in Saṃy Nik. IV., 322 sq. where we are told that Buddha and Nâtaputta were staying in Nâlandâ at the same time during a severe famine ; when the latter asked his lay-follower the squire (*gâmaṇi*) Asibandhakaputta (*cf. ibd.* p. 317. *sq.*) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people.

39 *Vide* **Hastings'** *Encyclopædia* Vol. IV, p. 676.

40 *Kalpas*, p. 4.

contemporaries, and has drawn from this the conclusion that the Buddhists were of no great importance at the time of Mahâvîra. However, I cannot fully subscribe to this conclusion, the premise not being quite correct; for the Buddhists are undoubtedly mentioned amongst other sects in some places of the *Siddhânta*.[41] Moreover, this may be partly due to the composition of the Jain Canon itself. Undoubtedly Buddha was a rival of Mahâvîra, and a dangerous one, too, but he never played in regard to him the same part of a treacherous and hated enemy as did Gosâla Maṃkhaliputta, who went straight away from Mahâvîra and founded a new sect of his own, and, moreover, proclaimed himself to have reached the stage of a prophet (*tîrthakara*) two years before his former teacher. To a religious congregation still in its infanthood this may have proved a most fearful blow, and so we must not wonder at all the imprecations which the Jain Canon lavishes upon this philosopher,[42] whom even Buddha is said to have stigmatised as the worst of all evil-minded heretics[43]. So Gosâla may have been to the Jains of early time a far more important person than even Buddha. Moreover, the Jain canonical scriptures themselves, brought undoubtedly into their present shape at a much later time than the Pâli Canon,[44] are wholly out of comparison with the sacred lore of the Buddhists. Far it be from me to suggest that any earlier stories about Buddha and his doctrine have been cancelled by the redactors—an hypothesis by no means to be upheld. But I desire to call attention to two facts, offering perhaps to some degree an explanation of what is remarked by Professor **Jacobi**:

(1) The *Dṛṣṭivâda* is lost, and it may have contained—I cannot absolutely say that it did—something concerning the Buddhists, as it is clear already from its name that it dealt with other doctrines.[45]

(2) The schematistical style of the present *Siddhânta* itself excludes to a great extent the possibility of finding in it such statements as the one required, it being in my opinion only fragments—in some parts, to be sure, to a large extent worked out in a most abominable style—and register-like versus memorials detached or perhaps better preserved from what was the original canon.

I cannot dwell further here upon this topic, which I hope to treat more fully elsewhere.[46] I have merely wished to draw attention to some facts, which may perhaps account to a certain degree for what is remarked by Professor **Jacobi**. I shall presently refer to some instances from the Buddhist scriptures showing the rather intimate knowledge which they seem to possess concerning the Jains. Most such passages—mainly dealing with matters of doctrine—have already been collected by Professor **Jacobi**; some few dealing with rather trifling things may be added as giving further proof, if needed, of the well-established fact, that Buddhists and Jains must have lived in close contact with each other during the first growth of both churches, *i. e.*, in the lifetime of their founders.

---

41 *Cf. e. g.* **Weber** *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 333. 381 and *Sûtrakṛtâṅga* II, 6, 26 *sq.* (*S.B.E.* XLV, p. 414 sq.).

42 *Cf. Bhagavatî* book XV summarised by **Dr. Hoernle** in his *Uvâsagadasâo*, App. I.

43 *Vide Aṅg. Nik.* I., 33, 286.

44 The previous existence of the fourteen *pûrvas*, the circumstance that the *aṅgas* are incomplete, the *Dṛṣṭivâda* being lost, and the blank denial amongst the Digambaras of the authority of the present Svetâmbara Canon are all facts pointing to the rather late origin of the *Siddhânta*, as it is handed down to us.

45 To Professor **Jacobi** (*S.B.E.* XXII, p. XLV ff.) the main reason for the loss of the 14 *pûrvas*—which constituted the main part of the *Dṛṣṭivâda*—is that they dealt with the doctrines of Mahâvîra's opponents, but I do not think this suggestion quite acceptable. Another less credible explanation is offered by Weber *Ind. Stud.* XVI, 248; *Cf.* also **Leumann** *Actes du VIe Congrès des Orient.* III, 559.

46 In the introduction to an edition of the *Uttarâdhyayanasûtra*, which is in preparation.

That the Jains designate their spiritual masters by the title *arhat* is well known, and this title occurs already in the Edict of Khâravela, as far as I can see it in the expression : *Yo samaṇo vâ brâhmaṇo vâ arahâ* (cv. V. 8, 1),[47] must mean a Jain. Moreover, it should be noticed that the Pâli Canon gives to Nâtaputta and the other five heretical teachers the titles *gaṇin, gaṇâcariya, gaṇassa satthâ* (*Saṃy Nik.* I., 66) and *titthakara*, which are never, as far as I know, attributed to Buddha,[48] but are quite suitable for the Jain prophet; for *gaṇa* seems to have denoted in old times the sections of the Jain community, and to have been identical with the more modern *gaccha*, and *tîrthakara* is the most common title of Mahâvîra, which was claimed by Gosâla too. One might perhaps doubt a little, whether this really proves anything, since the same titles are used for all these teachers. But we must remember that Gosâla, the most important of all after Mahâvîra, was himself a former disciple of the latter, and had claimed himself to have already before his teacher attained to saintship. Moreover, these two are mentioned together with Pakudha Kaccâyana and Pûraṇa Kassapa in a verse, which seems to be really old, in *Saṃy Nik.*, II., 3, 10, 6, a circumstance perhaps of some weight. And Buddhaghosa asserts expressly in the *Sum. Vilâs.* I, 144, that Pakudha was *sitûdakapatikkhitto, i. e.*, forbade the use of cold water (like Mahâvîra), and deemed it a sin to cross a river or even a pool on the road (*nadiṃ vâ maggodakam vâ atikkamma sîlaṃ me bhinnan-ti*); another point of his doctrine has been discussed by Professor **Jacobi** in *SBE.* XLV, p. XXIV sq.[49] As for Pûraṇa Kassapa, his doctrines, as expounded in *DN.* I., 52 *sq.*, do not show any resemblance at all with Jainism; but it is perhaps nevertheless worth notice, that two circumstances seem to hint at a somewhat closer connexion between Pûraṇa and Gosâla : in *Sum. Vilâs.* I., 142 is told a story explaining the reason, why Pûraṇa was a naked ascetic, and this story is undoubtedly similar to the legend concerning Gosâla, *ibd.* p. 144[50]; and the well-known division of mankind into six classes (*Jâti*), the black, the blue, etc.,[51] by Gosâla is ascribed in *Aṅg. Nik.* III, 383 to Pûraṇa, which is perhaps no mistake, but indicates that he really shared the opinion of Gosâla. Moreover, Gosâla denied the very existence of *karman* (*n'atthi kammaṃ* etc., *DN.*), and Pûraṇa seems to do much the same, as he asserts, that a man could commit murder and slaughter without running into any sin, and likewise do meritorious works without storing up good *karman*. His leading maxim seems to be included in the words: *nâsti pâpaṃ nâsti puṇyam.* So it seems at least probable, that there was some degree of connexion between these four teachers, Mahâvîra, Gosâla, Pakudha and Pûraṇa, however they may have differed on some points of doctrine, and their adherents may well have been divided into *gaṇas* as were those of the Jains.[52]

---

[47] The title *arhat* is extremely rare as a designation of heretics in the Buddhist scriptures; *Cf.* **Rhys Davids** in **Hastings'** *Encyclopædia* I, 774.

[48] Observe the difference in the *Sâmaññaphalasutta* (*D. N.* I, 47 *sq.*) between the attributes of the heretical teachers and of Buddha, which are here seen in close connexion with each other.

[49] Cp. **Hoernle** in **Hastings'** *Encyclopædia* I, 261 concerning the relations between Pakudha and Gosâla.

[50] This legend is given by Dr. **Hoernle** *Uvâs.* App. II, p. 29; *Cf.* **Spence Hardy** *Manual* p. 301.

[51] *Cf. Sum. Vilâs*, I, 162; **Hoernle** in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* I, 262. I have treated of this theory and the *leśyâ* doctrine of the Jains in a paper, called 'the Leśyâ theory of the Jains and Âjîvikas' printed in 'Sertum philologicum C. F. Johansson oblatum,' Upsala 1910, p. 19 ff.

[52] I cannot account for the two others *viz.*, Ajita Kesakambala and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta. Ajita seems to have been a mere materialist, denying not only the existence of a soul but also every thought on another life. The assertion in the *Dulva* (Rockhill *Life of Buddha* p. 103), that he shared the doctrine of Gosâla is not worth much compared with the passage of the *Dîgha Nikâya.* As for Sañjaya, I think he is the same person as S. the *parivrâjaka*, mentioned in *Mahâv.* I, 23-24 as the teacher of Sâriputta and Moggallâna. If this is right, he was undoubtedly a Brahman; to judge from the *D.N.* I., 58 sq., he seems to have been a sophist, mostly trying to display his rhetorical skill.

That Mahâvîra was a naked ascetic is stated already by the *Âcârâṅga* I, 8, 1 *sq.* In this respect he differed from his predecessor Pârśva, who had allowed the wearing of two garments.[53] Gosâla too was a naked mendicant, and seems to have laid down nakedness as a rule for his followers, the *âjîvikas*, whilst Mahâvîra probably let open to his disciple the choice between nakedness and wearing of garments. The Buddhist scriptures frequently speak of naked mendicants, and especially denote the *âjîvikas* as such, *e. g.*, *Mahâvagga* VIII, 15, 3,[54] I, 38, 11 ; 70, 2 ; *CV.* VIII, 28, 3 ; *Niss.* VI, 2 ; *Saṃy. Nik.* II. 3, 10,.7 etc. But in some of these instances the naked friars are only called *titthiya* (*tîrthika*), and might well be followers of Mahâvîra. Moreover, in the report of the 'six classes' of Gosâla and Pûraṇa a difference is made between the '*nirgranthas* of one garment', the 'householders in white clothes, followers of the naked ascetics' (*gihî odâtavasanâ acelakasâvakâ*), and the naked ascetics or *âjîvikas*, which shows, that the Buddhists knew well the different schools of their rivals. It is very often spoken of the *acelas* or *acelakas*, without further definition, and *acela* is a favourite word with the Jains In (*Aṅg. Nik.* I, 206) the *nirgranthas* are said to command their lay followers to strip themselves naked on the *uposatha* days. In *CV.* V., 10, 1, it is said, that a monk had a water-bowl made of a gourd, and the people seeing him said 'just like the *tîrthikas*'. Now in *Âcârâṅga* II, 6, 1, 1 it is permitted to the Jains to have bowls made of gourds[55], and so this may really point to them[56] and in *M. V.* IV, 1, 12, there are monks keeping the *mûgavrata* or 'vow of silence,' which reminds us of 'the Gotra, where the vow of silence is practised (*moṇapadaṃ gottaṃ*), an expression denoting the Jain church in *Sûtrakṛtâṅga* I, 13, 9 (SBE. XLV, p. 321).

There are certainly other instances, too, proving the same fact, *viz.*, that the Buddhists in very early times had an intimate knowledge of the life and institutions of their opponents, the Nirgranthas or Jains, but I shall not linger over the discussion of these passages. From what has been said above, taken together with the previous instances, supplied by Professor **Jacobi** and other scholars, may be concluded, that not the slightest doubt is any longer possible as to the fact, that Mahâvîra and Buddha were different persons, contemporaries and founders of rival communities of monks. But, if we believed the Jain tradition to be right, when it asserts the death of Mahâvîra to have taken place 470 years before Vikrama, or 527 B. C., we might well doubt whether this is possible. For the death of Buddha, the date of which was first, and in my opinion rightly fixed by General **Cunningham** and Professor **Max Muller**, occurred in 477 B. C. ; and as all sources are unanimous in telling us, that he was then 80 years old, he must have been born in 557 B. C. From this is clear, that if Mahâvîra died 527 B.C. Buddha was at that date only 30 years of age, and as he did not attain Buddhahood, and gain no followers before his 36th year, *i. e.*, about 521 B. C., it is quite impossible that he should ever have met Mahâvîra. Moreover, both are stated to have lived during the reign of Ajâtaśatru,

[53] *Cf.* for instance *Uttarâdhy.* XXIII, 13.

[54] In this chapter is a curious instance of coincidence between Buddha and Gosâla, which may undoubtedly have been taken by them both from some Brahmanical source. For in § 2 it is told that in a certain night there rose up a *câtuddîpiko mahâmegho* and rain fell, on which occasion Buddha said to his disciples : *Yathâ bhikkhave Jetavane vassati evaṃ catûsu dîpesu vassati, ovassâpetha bhikhhave kâyaṃ, ayaṃ pacchimako câtuddîpiko mahâmegho*, O monks, as well as in Jetavana it rains now in the four continents. Strip yourself naked, O monks, for this is the last great cloud over all the four continents.' This 'last' great rain reminds us instantly of the 'last tornado,' one of the 'eight finalities' (*aṭṭha caramâiṃ*) of Gosâla, *cf.* *Bhagavatî* p. 1254 sq. and **Hoernle** in **Hastings'** *Encyclopædia* I, 263.

[55] *Cf.* also *Aupapât.* § 79, VII.

[56] In the same chapter monks are told to have had waterbowls made of sculls, which seems consequently to have been the use of some sects already in very early times.

who became king eight years before the death of Buddha, and reigned 32 years ; this makes it even more impossible to believe in the dates mentioned above. So either the date of Mahâvîra must be moved nearer the commencement of our era, or that of Buddha must be moved backwards. However, the date 527 B. C. is a traditional one, and the date 477 B. C. only a calculated one, so perhaps some one might find it easier to doubt the correctness of the latter. Moreover, the year of Buddha's death has been in some researches of the most recent years moved some years backwards : to 486 or 487 B. C. by Mr. **Vincent A. Smith** and others, or to 482-83 B. C. by Dr. **Fleet.** If this were really correct, there might be a possibility—but not more—of the correctness of the date 527 B. C. for Mahâvîra ; but I do not believe in these alterations. I shall here once more examine the main facts for the calculation of Buddha's death, in order to give proof of my opinion, that the fixing of 477 B. C. as the year of the Great Nirvâna by General **Cunningham** and Professor **Max Muller** was probably as near to correctness as we can possibly attain.

The real chronology of India begins with Chandragupta after the invasion of Alexander. But the date of Chandragupta's accession or *abhisheka* is by no means absolutely fixed, varying between 325 and 312 B. C. according to different authorities. Moreover, the calculations of the time between Buddha and Chandragupta in old texts are not of great weight ; and so I am convinced—sharing this opinion with **M. Senart** *Ind. Ant.* XX, 229 sq. and Mr. **V. Gopala Aiyyer,** *ibd.* XXXVII, 341 ff. amongst others—that it is only the inscriptions of Aśoka that can afford us the possibility of obtaining a fixed starting point for the chronology. The suggestion of **Buhler** *Ind. Ant.* VI. 149 sq.; XXII, 299 sq. ; *Ep. Ind.* III, 134 sq. and Dr. **Fleet** *J.R.A.S.* 1904, p. 1 sq., that the number 256 at the end of the Siddâpur, Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts denotes 256 years elapsed since Buddha's death, has been completely refuted by Dr. **F. W. Thomas,** *J. A.* 1910, p. 507 sq., who has proved with undeniable evidence that this passage means that Aśoka himself had been away from home 256 nights, when he had the edict published.[57] Incredible as the suggestion was before the appearance of this article—for it is not very probable that Aśoka should have denoted his spiritual master by the epithet *vyutha*, never used elsewhere, while on the Lumbînî pillar he employs the well-known epithets Buddha, Śâkyamuni and Bhagavant—it has now totally lost all chronological importance. But **M. Senart** had long before found the starting point in the 13th Rock-Edict, where Aśoka speaks of the Yona king Amtiyoka[58], and the four kings beyond his realm, Turamaya, Amtikina, Maka and Alikasudara, and I follow him in this. **Lassen** *Ind. Alt.* II., 254 sq. had previously remarked, that the kings in question are Antiochos II Theos, king of Syria (261-246 B. C.), Ptolemaios II of Egypt (d. 247 B. C.), Antigonos Gonatas of Macedonia (d. 239 B. C.), Magas of Cyrene (d. 258 B. C.) and Alexander of Epirus (d. probably 258 B. C.). Now the Rock Edicts were published when Aśoka had been anointed 12 years, *i.e.*, in the 13th year after his coronation ; and no one can doubt or has doubted, as far as I know, that in the Ed. XIII he speaks of these five kings as alive. As he sent missionaries to them all, and stood, to judge from this, in a rather intimate connexion with them, it is impossible to suppose, that he should not have known one or two years after 258 B. C., that two of them were dead, one amongst these (Magas) being, moreover, a close relative of Ptolemaios ; and the latter was one of the mightiest kings of his time, who had himself despatched the ambassador Dionysios to

[57] The conclusion of Dr. **Fleet,** *J. R. A. S.* 1910, p. 1301 sq. based on the acceptance of the reading of Dr. **Thomas** is totally untenable. The 256 days are explained in the only possible way by **M. Levi,** *J. A.* 1911, p. 119 sq.

[58] *Cf.* Rock-Edict II, where probably the same kings are intended.

Bindusâra or even to Aśoka.[59] So the 13th year of Aśoka must fall after 261 B. C., the accession of Antiochos Theos, and before 258 B. C., the death of Magas and, probably, of Alexander (if the last did not die even earlier). If, thus, the 13th year fell between 260-258 B. C., the year of the coronation must have been 272-270 B. C., and as Aśoka had been, according to a unanimous tradition amongst the Buddhists, king four years before his coronation, his father Bindusâra must have died between 276 and 274 B. C.

This calculation is founded on the irrefutable basis of contemporaneous monuments. But now the Chronicles of the Buddhists tell us, that Aśoka was anointed king in the 218th year after Buddha, after having put to death his 99 brothers.[60] If this statement were to be trusted, it would with certainty fix the death of Buddha in 489-487 B. C. But it cannot be taken as evidence, because it is contradicted by another notice in these same chronicles.[61] I shall explain here what I think to be wrong in their calculations.

Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain tradition alike speak of king Bimbisâra of Râjagṛha, and his son and successor Ajâtaśatru, whom the Jains call Kûṇiya or Koṇiya. And the oldest documents of the Buddhists tell us, that this Bimbisâra was the contemporary of Buddha, and was put to death by his son Ajâtaśatru eight years before the Nirvâṇa. This Bimbisâra was according to the Purâṇas the fifth sovereign belonging to the 'Śaiśunâga dynasty and reigned 28 years; but the *Dîpavaṃsa* III, 56-61 and the *Mahâvaṃsa* II, 25 *sq.* tell us that he was born five years after Buddha, was made king at the age of fifteen, and reigned 52 years. This is however of no great importance, as Bimbisâra died before both Buddha and Mahâvîra. After Bimbisâra came Ajâtaśatru (or Kûṇika), reigning for 25 years according to the *Purâṇa*, and 32 according to the Ceylonese chronicles. Buddha died when he had been king for eight years. But here the coincidence, even in names between Brahmanical and Buddhist records ceases, for the *Purâṇa* tells us that Ajâtaśatru was succeeded by a king, called Harṣaka or Darśaka, who reigned 25 years, and whose successor was called Udaya, and reigned 33 years, while the Buddhists call the successor of Ajâtaśatru Udâyibhadda (*DN.*) or Udayabhaddaka (*Dîpav.*, *Mahâv.*), and give him a period of 16 years, and the Jains call him Udâyin and attribute to him a rather long reign.[63]

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from page 118)

The Pâḷayams of Kongu.

The Kongu country (Salem and Coimbatore) remains now to be noticed. The Madura MSS mention only three Pâḷayams here, namely, Taḷi of the Ettula Nâiks, Talaimalai of the Râmachandra Naiks, and Dhârâmangalam of the Ghetti Mudaliârs; but the Mackenzie MSS contain the history of more than a score of Kongu Pôlygars,[78] who

[59] *Cf.* V. A. Smith *Early History*, p. 139.

[60] That this is refuted by the Rock-Ed. V., where Aśoka speaks of his brothers, was noticed by M. Senart *Ind. Ant.* XX, 256 sq.

[61] I attach no importance whatsoever to the assertion of the northern Buddhists, that Aśoka lived 100 years of the Nirvâṇa. This is as valueless as the statement that Kaniṣka lived 400 years after Buddha, a suggestion certainly to be viewed only in connexion with the former one.

[62] This may have been his real name, as avouched by the oldest Buddhist and the Jain tradition.

[63] Upon this I shall deal further on.

[78] All these are in Mack MSS, local tracts, BKS. IV, XVII, XVIII and XIX. They have been translated in Appendix VII and a reference to it will give an idea of the topography, the history, etc. of the Pâḷayams. It is unnecessary to dwell upon them here.

acknowledged the supremacy of the Nâiks of Madura. The majority of these Kongu Pôlygars were not Tottiyan Naiks, but Canarese Kavundans. Comparative nearness to the Canarese country naturally exposed this province from very early times to Canarese invasions and immigrations. It was on account of this that the establishment of the Hoysala as well as Vijayanagar supremacy was earlier here than further[79] south. It is not surprising therefore that when Viśvanâtha established the Nâik kingdom of Madura and extended it over Kongu, he had to either suppress or conciliate these Kavunda chiefs, as he had to do with the Maravas and Pallis of Tinnevelly. The Kavundans were Canarese, but it is curious that their chronicles say that they were Vellâlas of Tondamandalam. They assert that about[80] "Kali 1100," a certain Chêramân Perumâl married a Chôla princess and she took with her 8,000 families of these Vellalas as her followers; and that these divided the Kongu country into 24 Nâdus, over each of which they placed a Kavundan. The chiefs served the Chôla, Pândya or Chêra kings as the political exigencies of the day demanded. Indeed they were not infrequently subject to Mysore. They had in this manner occupied the Kongu country for centuries; and they, as we shall presently see, were conciliated by the Nâik rulers of Madura. It is not possible to go into the details of the histories of these Kavundans, but a very brief reference to them may not be out of place. There was, in the first place, the able Vênu Udaya Kavundan of Kâkavâdi;[81] the Mannâdiar of Kâdayûr, again, the chief whose ancestor Kângyan, we are informed, distinguished himself in the Kângyam Nâdu as early as Kali 557! The Vallal Kavundan of Manjarâpuram, again, whose ancestor gave his country the name of Talai Nâdu—"country of heads"—from his habit of using the skulls of his numerous opponents for ovens! There was the valiant Vânava Râya Kavundan of Sâmattûr, whose namesake and ancestor, Piramaya Kavundan, had dared, in order to get an interview with the Râya in Vijayanagar, to cut off of the ears, horns and tail of the Râya's fighting bull, and who, on account of his proud refusal to bow to the Râya, acquired the title of Vanangâmudi Kavunda Râya! The MS history of this chief says that Vaiyapuri Chinnôba Nâik of Virûpâkshi was only a Vêda relation and nominee of his! Another prominent chief was the Kalingarâya Kavundan of the village of Ûttukuli on the Ânaimalais, the 9th of whose line was soon to wait on Viśvanâtha Nâik in Madura, and accompany him, like a faithful vassal, in the war with the five Pândyas. The Nîliappa Kavundas of Nimindapatti had a fairly extravagant history. The first of them, it is said, served Kûna Pândya as a Sirdâr and vanquished an "Oddiya" invader,—a feat which is attributed also to some other Kavunda chiefs. His descendant also was, like others, destined to acknowledge the Nâik supremacy, and pay tribute. The most important of the Côimbatore chiefs, however, was the celebrated Ghetti Mudaliâr of Dhârâmangalam. The MS history of his line says that, about S. 1400, two Mudaliâr brothers, Kumâra and Ghetti, were in the service of "the Karta"[82] at Madura; that the latter, a vain man, once admired himself by the use of the royal ornaments on his own person; and so fearing chastisement, left for the

[79] See the *Kongudêsa râjâkkal* which attributes the Vijayanagar conquest to 1348-9.

[80] The date is of course absurd. The dates given by the Kongu Polygar memoirs are generally so. The chief of Kângyam, for example, is said to have lived in K. 557 and yet in the time of the Vijayanagar rulers!

[81] For a full account of the topography and history of all these Pâlayams see Appendix VII.

[82] This is the term generally used to denote *the king* or governor in the Nâik period.

west, where the local chief of Amarâvati, Kumâra Vêḍa by name, adopted him and, on his retirement, bequeathed to him the chiefdom of Dhârâmangalam! Another chief, Immadi Goppana Maṇṇâdiar of Poravipâḷayam, had a very respectable family history which goes back to still ancient times. It says that, immediately after the return of Kampaṇa Udayâr, the restored Pâṇḍya recognized the then Goppana as a chief. "In course of time, the Pâṇḍyan kingdom became extinct, and the Râya's power was extended throughout the south. The Râya then crowned Kottiyam Nâgama Nâik's son, Viśvanâtha Nâik, as the king of the country east of the pass. Viśvanâtha when he came to Madura summoned all the Polygars and Mansabdars of the country. Goppana Maṇṇâdiar went, and saw him and obtained his favour." The same was more or less the case with the Pallava Râya Kavuṇḍans of Thôppampaṭṭi, the Periya Kavuṇḍans of Maḷakûr, the Chôḻiyânda Kavuṇḍans of Sevvur, the Sakkarai Kavuṇḍans of Paḷayakôttai, etc. These Kavuṇḍans, it should be mentioned, were recognized as feudal vassals by the later Nâiks; but as in Tinnevelly, they were controlled by a number of Tôttiya chieftains whom Viśvanâtha either established or raised from obscurity to grandeur. Thus came into existence the Dêva Nâiks of Avalampatti, the Samba Nâiks of Samachuvâḍi, the Bomma Nâiks of Ândipaṭṭi, the Muttu Rangappa Nâiks of Mêtraṭṭi, the Chinnama Nâiks of Mailâḍi, the Dimma Nâiks of Vêdapaṭṭi, the Sottha Nâiks of Sothampaṭṭi, the Sila Nâiks of Tungâvi, etc. Some of these were, as a reference to their histories in Appendix VII will shew, Polygars in the times which preceded the advent of Viśvanâtha Nâiken in Madura, but they were definitely organized by him in the middle of the 16th century.

The Castes and Creeds of the Immigrants. The Tôttiyans.

It may be asked to what caste and creed the immigrants belonged. The majority of the Telugu colonists were Tôttiyans, or Kambaḷattârs. Both the chiefs who migrated to the south and became[83] Polygars, and their main followers were Tôttiyans. Of a proud and virile community, they connected themselves in their legends with God Krishna. They declared that they were the descendants of the 8000 cowherdesses of Krishna, a tradition which indicates, as Mr. Stewart[84] surmises, that their original occupation was perhaps the rearing and keeping of cattle. Other circumstances also go to prove this. The names of their two most important subdivisions, Kollar and Erkollar, are simply the Tamil forms of the Telugu Golla and Eragolla, which denote the shepherd castes of the Telugu country. The subdivision of Killavars, again, is probably a corruption of the Telugu *kilâri*, a herdman. The fact that the Tôttiya bride and bridegroom are seated in their marriage ceremony, even now, on bullock saddles goes to prove the pastoral and agricultural life of their early ancestors. The extraordinary skill they display in the reclamation of waste lands is noticed in scores of Mackenzie MSS, which graphically describe the processes of their emigration with their herds of cattle. Besides agriculture, cattle breeding and

[83] Nelson uses the term Vadugas to denote the immigrants. He subdivides them into Kavarers, Gollas, Reddis, Kammavârs, and Tôttiyans or Kambaḷas. Of these the last three were agricultural. See his *Madu. Manual*, p. 80.

[84] *Madr. Census Rep.* 1891 ; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes.*

fighting, the Tôttiyans had other occupations[85] also. Almost all of them, men and women, were magicians. Indeed many of the Polygar memoirs assert that many chiefs owed their dignity and estate to their skill in magic. They were, in the popular opinion, experts in the cure of snake-bites by magical incantations, and "the original inventor of this mode of treatment has been deified under the name of Pâmbâlamman." (Stuart).

It is impossible to go into all the divisions and subdivisions, endogamous and exogamous,[86] into which the Tôttiyan caste became divided. In Madura they were in three divisions,—the Vêkkili or Râja Kambaḷattâr, the Thokala and Erakolla. In Tinnevelly they were in six divisions. Each of these divisions again was further subdivided into septs. The Erakollas of the Pâḷayam of Nilakkôttai, for instance, formed a group of seven septs. There were similar groups in the Trichinopoly district. On the whole, there seem to have been, according to one MS, nine sub-castes or important septs—or Kambaḷams as they were called—included in the comprehensive term Tôttiyan; and in the tribal council meetings, representatives of each of the nine Kambaḷams had to be present. Each of the Kambaḷams had a number of headmen. The Vekkilians, forming one of the Kambaḷams, had, for instance, three headmen called Mêttu Nâiken, Kodia Nâiken and Kambḷi Nâiken. The first of these acted as priest on ceremonial occasions such as the attainment of puberty, the performance of marriage rites and the conduct of the tribal worship of Jakkamma and Bommakka. The Kambḷi Nâiken attended to the ceremonial and other duties relating to the purification of erring members of the community. The Kambaḷam was so called, it is said, "because, at caste council meetings, a *kambḷi* (blanket) is spread, on which is placed a *kalaḷam* (brass vessel) filled with water, and containing margosa leaves, and decorated with flowers. Its mouth is closed by mango leaves and a cocoanut."

The Tôttiyans* were, as a rule, very conservative and did not yield to Brahmanical influence with ease. In the system of marriage after puberty, in the curious system of family polyandry which existed among them, in their preference of the Kôdangi Naiken to a Brahman for their Guru, in the custom of allowing the *tâli* to be tied on a bride's neck by any male member of the family into which she is married, in the eating of flesh, etc., we see the signs of primitive forms of social organisation still offering resistance to the assaults of Brahmanism and its patriarchal influence and monandrous marriage-bond. In their marriage customs they resembled the other Dravidian classes. They had the custom of marrying their boys to the daughter of their paternal aunt or maternal uncle.

85 A few, like the Kâttu Tôttiyans of the present day, were perhaps even then the dregs of Tôttiyan society, and led the indolent and easy-going lives of vagrants, beggars, and snake-charmers. Some were pigbreeders, and the lowest class were Ûrmikarans or drummers, some peons and retainers, etc. They of course were held in contempt by the higher classes, and there was no interdining or intermarriage between them. As a whole, the Tôttiyans south of the Kâvêri believe themselves to be socially superior to those north of it. This is explained on the ground that the latter gave a girl to a Muhammadan in marriage. That is why they are said to address the Muhammadans with unusual intimacy. The legend shows that the southern Tôttiyans were proud seceders from their northern brothers in protest of their intermarriage with a Muhammadan. See *Trichi Gaz.*; *Castes and Tribes* p. 187; *Madr. Gaz.*

86 It is curious that the Tôttiyans did not celebrate marriages in their own homes, but in *pandals* of green *pongu* leaves erected for the purpose on the village common. It is equally curious that on such occasions even the wealthiest ate only *cambu* and horse-gram. The sacredness of the *pongu* is due to the fact that it was by means of the *pon ṇu* tree that they were able to cross the floods of a river during their retreat from the pursuit of Muhammadans.

But in the arrangement of such a marriage they ignored even the most ridiculous disparity of age. Not unoften a tender youth found himself the husband of a grown up woman,—a circumstance which necessarily gave currency to primitive ideas of female morality, and to the belief, characteristic of the caste, that a woman might, and indeed should, have, in case she did not desire disaster or unhappiness, marital relations with the father and other male relations of the husband.[87] The same reason must be at the basis of the notion prevalent in the caste that a woman loses purity only when she chooses a lover of a different caste. The woman found guilty in this manner, however, was instantly put to death through the hands of the despised Chakkiliyan. Divorce among the Tôttiyans was easy and the remarriage of widows freely allowed; but the widow who did not avail herself of the permission and committed *sati* with her husband, was highly respected and even deified. The ladies of the Tòttiyan Polygars[88] frequently committed *sati* on the death of their lords.

In religion the Tôttiyans were chiefly Vaishnavites.[89] A reference to the Appendices will shew that when the Tôttiyan Polygars emigrated from the neighbourhood of Vijayanagar to the south, they carried with them the images of Ahôbila Naraśinga Perumâḷ, Tirupati Venkatâchalapati, and other Vaishnava deities Many curious legends are given in the MSS about these deities. The ancestor of the Kannivâdi Appaiya Nâiks, for example, we are told, neglected his tutelary god at first; but the deity managed to get into his notice, brought about an interview between him and the Pâṇḍyan king through the instrumentality of a vision, and finally secured for him a Pâḷayam; and this of course led the gratified adventurer to build a temple to his divine benefactor. Wherever the Tôttiyans went, they built temples, sometimes of stone, but generally of brick or mud, and dedicated them either to Narasimha or Venkatâchalapati. They had also their own minor household deities, which were chiefly the *manes* of departed relations, *satis*, or vestal virgins. The patron deities of the caste, Jakkamma and Bommakka, were women who committed *sati*. "Small tombs called Tîpanjam-kôvils were erected in their honour on the high roads, and at these oblations were offered once a year to the *manes* of the deceased heroines." Another deity, Vîrakâran, was derived from a bridegroom who was killed in a fight with a tiger. Pattâlamma was the goddess who helped the tribe during their flight from the north. Malai Tamburan was the God of the Ancestors.

Closely connected with the Tôttiyans were their domestic servants or Parivârams, who formed a separate caste. Some of them were called Chinna Ûliyams or lesser servants, as they discharged the comparatively low kind of duties, such as palanquin-bearing. The Periya Ûḷiyams or Maniyakârans had more honorable duties to perform. In their marriage customs, in the easy allowance of divorce, in the toleration of the loose marriage tie within the caste, in the recognised right of the Polygar to enjoy their women at will, and in the severity of the punishment inflicted on those who went astray with men of other castes, they in every way resembled the Tôttiyans.[90]

87 Not unoften a family of several brothers had one wife,—a custom sanctioned by the tradition of the Pâṇḍavas. See Wilks I, p. 35; Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*; *Madura Gaz.*, etc. *Madr. Manu.* I, 282.

88 *Cf.* the various chronicles of the Appendix.

89 Nelson, p. 81; the *Polygar Memoirs*, etc.

90 See *Madu. Gazr.* and Thurston's *Castes.* Excommunication was the punishment for immorality out side caste. A mud image of the offender was made and thrown away outside the village as a sign of social death.

The Reddis.

Next to the Tôttiyans, the Reḍḍis[91] were the most prominent Telugu colonists. But the Reḍḍis came without their women; and on account of their marrying Tamil women, they became very much denationalised. They are in consequence an almost different community from the Reḍḍis of the North. They occupied chiefly the region covered by the modern Trichinopoly district, and also parts of Coimbatore and Salem. It seems probable that they immigrated in two different waves. One of them married the women of the lower classes called Pongalas, and so came to be known as Pongala Reddis, while the other married dancing girls and came to be known as Panta Reddis. Next to the Veḷḷâḷas in social rank, they considered themselves superior to all the other Tamil castes. They are a physically fine class, industrious and well behaved. Their chief occupation has been agriculture. Owing to some special social reason they were very friendly to the Chakkiliyans, who were allowed to take part in their marriage negotiations, accompanied their women on journeys, and had the right of receiving alms from them. The Reddis were only partially open to Brahmanical influence. They wore the sacred thread, for example; but this they did only at funerals. They did not allow their widows to marry again; but their ideas of chastity were very loose, except in the case of maids and widows. They had, again, for their deities, Yellamma, Rengaiyamman, Polayamman, and other such non-Brahmanical creations, for propitiating whom they indulged in certain very gruesome rites.

The Teluguised Saurâshtras.

In a survey of the tribal migrations in South India during the Vijayanagar rule the important industrial community of the Teluguised Saurâshtras, the clothiers and master-crafts-men of the Peninsula, cannot be ignored. Centuries back the original habitation of this people had been, as their spoken language Patnûli or Khatri shews, in Gujarât, or Saurâshtra. About the 5th Cent.[92] A.D. they, in response to the invitation of Emperor Kumâra Gupta, the son of the famous Chandra Gupta Vikramâditya, immigrated to Malwa to practise there their art of silk-weaving. For centuries they stayed there. The Musalmân invasion then deprived them of their royal patrons and induced them to cross the Vindhyas. In the kingdom of Dêvagiri they found welcome, but the Musalmân *Nemesis* came there also, and the emigrants had to seek protection further South. The Empire of Vijayanagar had just then been formed and begun to attract to its magnificent capital everything that was grand and good in Indian religion, art, industry, and skill. The Saurâshtras evidently found themselves a highly patronised community there. Nor is it surprising that they experienced such hospitality. The splendour of the imperial court, the gigantic establishment of the imperial harem, the royal practice of making presents to favourites and officers in gorgeous robes, and the love of luxury common in those days, contributed to the enormous increase in the demand for silk clothes; and the Saurâshtras, assured of easy livelihood and substantial recompense, perfected their skill, and satisfied the emperors and the nobles. The period of the Saurâshtras' stay in Vijayanagar, in consequence, was a period of unusual prosperity to them. It was evidently during this period that they enlarged their Khatri vocabulary by the addition of a large number of

[91] The Reḍḍis or Kâpus were the landlords and agriculturists of the Telugu country. For their customs see *Gôdâveri Gaz.* p. 55. For a fairly detailed description of them in the south see *Trichi. Gaz.*, 117-18 and Thurston's *Castes and Tribes.*

[92] Mandasor insc. of 473-4. See *Madu. Gaz.* p. 110, which beautifully summarises the history of the community.

Telugu and Canarese words, and at the same time imbibed the customs and habits of the Telugus. With the advance of time, the Saurâshtras, thanks to the close political relationship which, as we have seen, existed between Vijayanagar and the South Indian kingdoms, migrated, in large numbers, to the basins of the Kâvêri and the Vaigai. Wherever there was a chiefdom or a viceroyalty, wherever there was likely to be a demand for fine robes[93] and garments, wherever there as the surety of royal patronage, they settled. The Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya kingdoms, the Kongu and Mysore regions, became in this way centres of industrial activity, and the silk and laced cloths of Madura especially became famous throughout the world.

Other Telugu Communities.

It is not possible to go into the history of the other Telugu communities who occupied the various parts of the South. It is plain that a number of Telugu Brahmans both of the Vaidîka and the Niyôgi classes, must have come to the South in the wake of the immigrating Pôlygars. Then again there were professional castes like the Uraḷis or Uppiliyans,[94] the traditional manufacturers of salt and salt-petre; the Kavarais, many of whom were sellers and manufacturers of bangles ; Telugu spinners, dyers and painters; the Sêniyans or Telugu weavers; Telugu barbers, leather workers, washermen; the fickle but industrious O ḷḍans, whose services in tank-digging and earth-working has made them highly useful in an age of utilitarian public works; the Dombans or jugglers; and lastly beggars attached to the superior castes. All these had generally their caste heads; and there were caste assemblies, which met at need and enquired into social complaints and grievances. These caste-assemblies[95] freed the State largely from the necessity of administering justice as between persons of the same caste. Cases involving different castes or communities, however, came before the king for decision. As a matter of fact, each caste had its own self-government; and as each caste generally colonized in a separate village, caste government came to be more or less identical with village self-government.

Canarese Immigrants.

It has been already pointed out that the Telugus were not the only northerners who migrated to the South in this age. Side by side with them there came large numbers of Canarese, of all grades and professions of life. They were of course not so numerous as the Telugus, nor so influential, but they were none the less conspicuous in the northernising of the South. The districts of Coimbatore and Salem, in particular, the hilly regions which divided the kingdom of the Pâṇḍyans from Travancore, became the scenes of their colonisation. The vast majority of them were known by the caste title of Kâppiliyans, while others were known as Aṇuppans. A number of traditions exist in connection with their migrations. The Kâppiliyan tradition regarding their migration to this district is similar to that current among Tôttiyans (whom they resemble in several of their customs), the story being that the caste was oppressed by the Musalmâns of the north, fled across the Tungabadra and was saved by two *pongu* trees bridging an unfordable stream which blocked their escape. They travelled, say the legends, through Mysore to Conjeeveram,

[93] The Saurâshtras were so indispensable in silk-weaving that even Haidar Ali established a colony of them in Mysore and gave them special facilities.

[94] The habits and customs of all these can be fully understood from Thurston's *Castes*, which is based on all the information it is possible to get.

[95] Nelson points out, for example, that *panchâyats* or juries of leading men decided civil disputes among Tôttiyans. Examples may be multiplied, but are unnecessary.

thence to Coimbatore and thence to this district. The stay at Conjeeveram is always emphasised, and is supported by the fact that the caste has shrines dedicated to Kânchî Varadarâja Perumâl.[96] The same, with slight modifications, is told of the Aṇuppans. Both the communities had a close resemblance to the Tôttiyans in their customs and practices. Like the latter they carried the custom of marriage between a man and his paternal aunt's daughter to an absurd extreme, thereby reducing marriage to polyandry within the family, while prescribing severe chastisement to the exercise of it beyond it. Both were non-Brahmanical in their marriage rites,[97] though in detail they differed from one another. Both had very curious ceremonials to be done at the attainment of age by a girl. Both sanctioned the remarriage of widows, though the Kâppiliyans seem to have been more restrictive in their regulations in regard to this. Early in their history they seem to have split up into those two endogamous divisions known as *Dharmakaṭṭu* and *Mûṇukaṭṭu*, into which they are divided even in the present day. Both the Canarese and the Tôttiyans, again, worshipped *satis*, and observed festivals in their honour. The Kâppiliyans however were not inclined to ancestor-worship to the same extent to which the Tôttiyans were. Both were indifferent to the burial or burning of the dead. Both, again, had "an organisation mind," that is, had *panchâyats* which settled all matters concerning them, the Jâti Kavuṇḍan or Peria Danakkaran of the Canarese corresponding to the Mêttu Nâiken of the Telugus. Like the Tôttiyan Polygars, the Kavuṇḍan chiefs of Kombai, Dêvaram and the adjoining Pâlayams had a number of *parivârams* or followers, who formed a distinct caste and closely imitated them in their customs and rites [98] .

The rise of Caste jealousies.

The advent of the Vadugas into the Tamil lands was necessarily productive of occasional caste quarrels and popular disunions. There had been enough bickerings among the indigenous communities of the land, as between the Maravas and Kaḷḷas for example, the Veḷḷâlas and Paḷḷis, the Pariahs and Paḷḷas, and so on. There had been enough social unrest caused by the right and left hand disputes;[99] and the range of those disputes was increased by the northerners. Proud and unscrupulous, the new colonists looked on the Tamils as a conquered race, while the Tamils, sullen and repentant, attributed their fall to want of organization and not of valour, and hated their late adversaries and present rulers. The hatred between the Marava aud Tôttiya especially was inexhaustible, and conflicts between their chiefs in regard to their relative status seem to have been frequent. The Polygarmemoirs tell us of such squabbles, and they also glaringly illustrate the national solidarity of each community in opposing the other. The advent of the Saurâshtras, again, was followed by certain social disputes between them and the Brahmans, which have not died even now. The great ambition of the Saurâshtras was to get themselves recognised as Brahmans.[100] Claiming to be the descendants of a sage named Tantravardhana,—literally one who improves threads, they adopted the titles of Aiyar, Aiyangâr, Âchârya, 'Sâstri, etc.,

96 *Madu. Gaz.* p. 108.

97 For a comparison of the rites and ceremonies, see *loi. cit.* and Thurston.

98 Among other Canarese tribes who immigrated to the Kongu country may be mentioned the Toreyas. See *Thurston* and *Salem Manual.*

99 The literature on this subject is fairly voluminous, but it would be out of place to enter into the various theories which have been suggested in regard to them. See *Madr, Manu.* I, p. 69 ; Taylor's *Raiscatal,* III.

100 That is why they now object to being called Patnûlkârans, which name, they say, belongs only to the Sêniyas, Kaikôḷas and other 'low caste' weavers.

to the indignation of the Tamil Brahmans. Taunted with the fact that their non-Brahmanical occupation was an incontrovertible proof of their non-Brahmanical birth, they skilfully gave currency to plausible legends which shewed that their occupation was a pure accident, was the result of a misfortune and not a symbol of their social status. They had a curse to that effect, they said, during their stay at Dêvagiri. Here, they say, they had occupied a number of streets on condition that they were to supply a number of silk cloths every year for the Dîpâvali festival to the goddess Lakshmî of the place ; but the failure to do so on one occasion induced divine anger and the consequent decree that they ought not to be regarded as Brahmans. Another version, as given in the *Skanda Purâṇa,* attributes their social degradation to the indignation of sage Durvâsas, whose request to them to bear the cost of a temple they unwisely ignored. A third version says that once Indra performed a sacrifice in Saurâshtra; that in the course of his religious observances he distributed monetary gifts to all Brahmans, but that the Saurâshtras refused to take them in their unwise pride. The insulted god of the Dêvas thereupon cursed them to become poor, to be gluttons, and to swerve from Brahmanical ways of life. A fourth account attributes their social fall to Paraśu Râma. It is said that he performed a ceremony to his father in Saurâshtra, and invited the Brahmans of that region to it, but they refused. The sage therefore pronounced the decree that they should not only become poor, but leave their homes and wander without a settled home for centuries. More remarkable than these legends is the story of the *Skanda Purana,*—that the Delhi Emperor despatched one of his generals to bring certain Saurâshtra women to his harem; that the Saurâshtras resisted, but could hardly stand before their adversaries; that many of the ladies then committed *sati*, or were killed by their defeated husbands or brothers; that the Musalmâns thereupon vowed to kill every Saurâshtra Brahman in the country; that a horrible massacre ensued, and Saurâshtra blood ran like water; that most of them preferred death to dishonour, but that about 7, 500 of them, more fond of life than of honour, bartered their safety for social dignity, cast away the sacred thread, pretended to be Vaiśyas and traders, assumed Vaiśya names and titles, and ultimately left their homes in search of new and happier homes. The account of Musalmân oppression and consequent emigration may be true, but it is inconsistent with the theory of ancient emigration.

Whatever the fact was, the Saurâshtras never relaxed their efforts to demonstrate their alleged Brahmanical origin. The obstinacy of the southern Brahmans in denying it and the indifference of other classes who called them Chettis, only went to increase their efforts to declare their social rank. And they were not quite without success. Their light complexion, their handsome and regular features, their orthodoxy, their charities, their liberality in the maintenance of temples and the conduct of festivals, their assumption of Brahman titles, names and customs, and above all, the state patronage under which they lived, enabled them to counter-balance, to a certain extent, the opposite tendencies engendered by their occupation, by the observance of certain curious rites which shewed their foreign character, and by the sturdy conservatism of their women who clung, in spite of their husbands' movements with the times, to old customs, their old language, and their old methods of dressing. Not infrequently the disputes between the Saurâshtras and the Brahmans reached an unpleasant crisis, and the State had to intervene. A remarkable instance of such a crisis and such an intervention occurred in the regency of Mangammâḷ. We are informed that, in that reign, "eighteen of the members of the

(Saurâshtra) community were arrested by the governor of Madura for performing the Brahmanical ceremony of *upâkarma,* or renewal of the sacred thread. The queen convened a meeting of those learned in the *Śâstras* to investigate the Patnûlkarans' right to perform such ceremonies. This declared in favour of the defendants; and the queen gave them a palm leaf award accordingly, which is still preserved in Madura.[1]" From this time onward the caste followed "many of the customs of the southern Brahmans regarding food, dress, forms of worship and names, and has recently taken to the adoption of Brahmanical titles, such as Aiyar, Âcharya and Bhâgavatar.[2] Similar acts of state interference or arbitration made the conflicts between the various communities less serious than they would otherwise be, and before long the close proximity of the conquerors and the conquered, the services of the former in exploiting the country and increasing its resources, the growth of mutual acquaintance, the community of action and interest as against outsiders, and other causes contributed to greater cordiality among them; and the advent of the Badugas thus came to mean no other thing than an innocent complication of an already highly complex plethora of castes and tribes.

(*To be continued.*)

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.[1]

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

The word '*Pahâṛî*' means 'of or belonging to the mountains,' and is specially applied to the groups of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan hills extending from the Bhadrawâh, north of the Panjâb, to the eastern parts of Nepâl. To its North and East various Himalayan Tibeto-Burman languages are spoken. To its west there are Aryan languages connected with Kâshmîrî and Western Pañjâbî, and to its south it has the Aryan languages of the Panjâb and the Gangetic plain, *viz* :—in order from West to East, Pañjâbî, Western Hindî, Eastern Hindî and Bihârî.

The Pahâṛî languages fall into three main groups. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kurâ or Eastern Pahâṛî, commonly called Naipâlî, the Aryan language spoken in Nepâl. Next, in Kumaon and Gaṛhwâl, we have the Central Pahâṛî languages, Kumaunî and Gaṛhwâlî. Finally in the West we have the Western Pâhâṛî languages spoken in Jaunsâr-Bâwar, the Simla Hill States, Kulu, Mandi and Suket, Chambâ, and Western Kashmîr.

As no census particulars are available for Nepâl we are unable to state how many speakers of Eastern Pahâṛî there are in its proper home. Many persons (especially Gôrkhâ soldiers) speaking the language reside in British India. In 1891 the number counted in British India was 24,262, but these figures are certainly incorrect. In 1901 the number was 143,721. Although the Survey is throughout based on the Census figures of 1891, an exception will be made in the case of Eastern Pahâṛî, and those for 1901 will be taken, as in this case they will more nearly represent the actual state of affairs at the time of the preceding census.

---

[1] *Madu. Gaz.* I, p. 111. [2] *Madu. Gaz.* I, p. 111.

[1] This article is an advance issue of the Introduction to the volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India* dealing with the Pahâṛi Languages.

Central and Western Pahâṛî are both spoken entirely in tracts which were subject to the Census operations of 1891, and these figures may be taken as being very fairly correct. The figures for the number of Pahâṛî speakers in British India are therefore as follows:—

Eastern Pahâṛî (1901)	143,721
Central Pahâṛî (1891)	1,107,612
Western Pahâṛî (1891)	816,181
TOTAL	2,067,514

It must be borne in mind that these figures only refer to British India, and do not include the many speakers of Eastern Pahâṛî who inhabit Nepâl.

To these speakers of Western Pahâṛî must be added the language of the Gujurs who wander over the hills of Hazâra, Murree, Kashmîr, and Swat and its vicinity. Except in Kashmîr and Hazâra, these have never been counted. In Kashmîr, in the year 1901, the number of speakers of Gujurî was returned at 126,849 and in Hazâra, in 1891, at 83,167, and a mongrel form of the language, much mixed with Hindôstânî and Pañjâbî is spoken by 226,949 Gujars of the submontane districts of the Panjâb, Gujrât, Gurdâspur, Kâṅgṛa, and Hoshiârpur. To make a very rough guess we may therefore estimate the total number of Gujurî speakers at, say, 600,000, or put the total number of Pahâṛî speakers including Gujurî at about 2,670,000.

It is a remarkable fact that, although Pahâṛî has little connexion with the Pañjâbî, Western and Eastern Hindî, and Bihârî spoken immediately to its south, it shows manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Râjputâna. In order to explain this fact it is necessary to consider at some length the question of the population that speaks it. This naturally leads to the history of the Khaśas and the Gurjaras of Sanskrit literature. The Sanskrit Khaśa and Gurjara are represented in modern Indian tongues by the words Khas, and Gûjar, Gujar, or Gujur respectively. The mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahâṛî is spoken belongs, in the West, to the Kanêt and, in the East, to the Khas caste. We shall see that the Kanêts themselves are closely connected with the Khaśas, and that one of their two sub-divisions bears that name. The other (the Râo) sub-division, as we shall see below,[2] I believe to be of Gurjara descent.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent[3] references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khaśa (खश), with variants such as Khasa (खस), Khasha (खष), and Khaśîra (खशिर).[4] The earlier we trace notices regarding them, the further north-west we find them.

[2] See the continuation of this article in the next number.

[3] Authorities on Kanêt and Khas :—Cunningham, Sir Alexander,—*Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. XIV, pp. 125 ff. Ibbetson, Sir Denzil,—*Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 268. Atkinson, E. T.—*The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, North-Western Provinces), Allahabad, 1884, pp. 268-70, 375-81, 439-42, etc. (see Index). Stein, Sir Aurel.—Translation of the *Râja-Taraṅgiṇî*, London, 1900, Note to i, 317, II, 430, and elsewhere (see Index). Hodgson, B. H.—*Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Népál. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal II (1833), pp. 217 ff. Reprinted on pp. 37 ff. of Part II of *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepál and Tibet* (London, 1874). Vansittart, E.,—*The Tribes, Clans, and Castes of Népál. Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, LXIII (1894), Part I, pp. 213 ff. Lèvi, Sylvain,—*Le Népal*, Paris, 1905. Vol. I., pp. 257, ff., 261-267, 276 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 216 ff., etc. (see Index.)

[4] *E.g. Mahâbhârata*, VI, 375:—*Daradâḥ Kâśmîrâḥ . . . . Khaśîrâḥ*, Dards, Kâshmîrîs, and Khaśîras. Regarding the equation of the last named with Khaśas, cf. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purâṇa* II, 186.

Before citing the older authorities it may be well to recall a legend regarding a woman named Khasâ of which the most accessible version will be found in the *Vishnu Purâṇa*,[5] but which also occurs in many other similar works. The famous Kaśyapa, to whom elsewhere is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmîr, had numerous wives. Of these Krôdhavaśâ was the ancestress of the cannibal Piśitâśîs or Piśâchas and Khasâ of the Yakshas and Râkshasas. These Yakshas were also cannibals,[6] and so were the Râkshasas.

In Buddhist literature the Yakshas correspond to the Piśâchas of Hindû legend.[7] Another legend makes the Piśâchas the children of Kapiśâ, and there was an ancient town called Kâpiśa at the southern foot of the Hindû Kush.[8] That the Piśâchas were also said to be cannibals is well known, and the traditions about ancient cannibalism in the neighbourhood of the Hindû Kush have been described elsewhere by the present writer.[9] Here we have a series of legends connecting the name Khasâ with cannibalism practised in the mountains in the extreme north-west of India, and to this we may add Pliny's remark[10] about the same locality,—'next the Attacori (Uttarakurus) are the nations of the Thuni and the Forcari; then come the Casiri (Khaśîras), an Indian people who look towards the Scythians and feed on human flesh.'

Numerous passages in Sanskrit literature give further indications as to the locality of the Khaśas. The *Mahâbhârata*[11] gives a long account of the various rarities presented to Yudhishṭhira by the kings of the earth. Amongst them are those that rule over the nations that dwell near the river Sailôdâ where it flows between the mountains of Mêru and Mandara, *i.e.* in Western Tibet.[12] These are the Khasas . . . . . the Pâradas (? the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas[13] and the Taṅgaṇas.[14] Especially interesting is it to note that the tribute these people brought was Tibetan gold-dust, the famous *pipîlika*, or ant-gold, recorded by Herodotus[15] and many other classical writers, as being dug out of the earth by ants.

In another passage[16] the Khasas are mentioned together with the Kâśmîras (Kâśhmîrîs), the inhabitants of Urasa (the modern Panjab district of Hazara), the Piśâchas, Kâmbôjas[17]

---

5 Wilson, II, 74 ff.

6 *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, III, xix, 21. They wanted to eat Brahmâ himself!

7 So Kalhaṇa, *Râjataraṅgiṇî*, i. 184, equates Yaksha and Piśâcha. See note on the passage in Stein's translation.

8 Thomas in *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 461.

9 *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 285 ff.

10 XVI, 17; McCrindle,—*Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 113. Is it possible that 'Thuni and Forcari' represent 'Hûṇa and Tukhâra'?

11 II, 1822 ff.

12 II, 1858. *Cf.* Pargiter. *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*, p. 351.

13 *Vide post.*

14 The Τάγγανοι of Ptolemy. The most northern of all the tribes on the Ganges. They lived near Badrînâth. Here was the district of Taṅgaṇapura, mentioned in copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Paṇḍukêsvara near Badrînâth (Atkinson, *op. cit.* p. 357).

15 III, 104.

16 VII, 399.

17 According to Yâska's *Nirukta* (II, i, 4), the Kâmbôjas did not speak pure Sanskrit, but a dialectic form of that language. As an example, he quotes the Kâmbôja *śavati*, he goes, a verb which is not used in Sanskrit. Now this verb *śavati*, although not Sanskrit, happens to be good Eranian, and occurs in the Avesta, with this meaning of 'to go.' We therefore from this one example learn that the Kâmbôjas of the

(a tribe of the Hindû Kush), the Daradas (or Dards) and the Śakas (Scythians), as being conquered by Kṛishṇa.

In another passage Duḥśâsana leads a forlorn hope consisting of Śakas,[18] Kâmbôjas,[18] Bâhlîkas (inhabitants of Balkh), Yavanas (Greeks), Pâradas,[18] Kuliṅgas (a tribe on the banks of the Satlaj[19]), the Taṅgaṇas,[18] Ambashṭhas (of the (?) middle Panjâb, probably the Ambastai of Ptolemy),[20] Piśâchas, Barbarians, and mountaineers.[21] Amongst them,[22] armed with swords and pikes were Daradas,[23] Taṅgaṇas,[23] Khaśas, Lampâkas (now Kâfirs of the Hindû Kush),[24] and Pulindas[25].

We have already seen that the Khaśas were liable to the imputation of cannibalism. In another passage of the *Mahâbhârata,* where Karṇa describes the Bahîkas in the 8th book, they are again given a bad character.[26] Where the six rivers, the Śatadru (Satlaj), Vipâśâ (Bias), Irâvatî (Ravi), Chandrabhâgâ (Chinab), Vitastâ (Jehlam), and the Sindhu (Indus) issue from the hills, is the region of the Âraṭṭas, a land whose religion has been destroyed.[27] There live the Bâhîkas (the Outsiders) who never perform sacrifices and whose religion has been utterly destroyed. They eat any kind of food from filthy vessels, drink the milk of sheep, camels, and asses, and have many bastards. They are the offspring of two Piśâchas who lived in the river Vipâśâ (Bias). They are without the *Vêda* and without knowledge.

Hindû Kush spoke an Aryan language, which was closely connected with ancient Sanskrit, but was not pure Sanskrit, and which included in its vocabulary words belonging to Eranian languages. We may further note that Yâska does not consider the Kâmbôjas to be Aryans. He says this word is used in the language of the Kâmbôjas, while only its (according to his account) derivative, *śava,* a corpse, is used in the language of the Aryas.

Again in the same passage Yâska states that 'the northerners' use the word *dâtra* to mean 'a sickle'. Now we shall see that in Western Pahâṛî and in the Piśâcha languages generally, *tr* continually becomes *ch* or *sh.* Thus the Sanskrit word *putra,* a son, becomes *puch* or *push* in Shiṇâ. We may expect a similar change to occur in regard to the word *dâtra.* This word actually occurs in Persian in the form *dâs,* but the only relation of it that has been noted in the Pisâcha dialects is the Kâshmîrî *drôt,* which is really the same word as *dâtra,*with metathesis of the *r.*

18 See above.

19 *I. e.,* if they are the same as the Kaliṅgas of *Mârk. P.,* LVII, 37.

20 VII, 1, 66.

21 VII, 4818.

22 VII, 4848.

23 See above.

24 *Mârk. P.,* LVII, 40, and Pargiter's note thereon.

25 There were two Pulindas, one in the south and another in the north. See Hall on Wilson, *Vishṇu P.,* Vol. II, p. 159.

26 VIII, 2032 ff. A clan of the Bahîkas is the Jartikas (2034), who perhaps represent the modern Jaṭṭs. If they do, the passage is the oldest mention of the Jaṭṭs in Indian literature.

27 Note that their religion has been destroyed. In other words they formerly followed Indo-Aryan rites, but had abandoned them. They are not represented as infidels *ab initio.* In this passage the Âraṭṭas are mentioned in verses 2056, 2061, 2064, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2081, 2100 and 2110. The name is usually interpreted as meaning 'a people without kings', but this is a doubtful explanation.

The Prasthalas,[28] the Madras,[29] the Gandhâras (a people of the north-west Panjâb, the classical Gandarii), the people named Âraṭṭas, the Khaśas, the Vasâtis, the Sindhus and Sauvîras (two tribes dwelling on the Indus), are almost as despicable.[30]

In the supplement to the *Mahâbhârata*, known as the *Harivaṁśa*, we also find references to the Khaśas. Thus it is said[31] that King Sagara conquered the whole earth, and a list is given of certain tribes. The first two are the Khaśas and the Tukhâras. The latter were Iranian inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshan, the Tôkhâristân of Musalmân writers.

In another place,[32] the *Harivaṁśa* tells how an army of Greeks (Yavanas) attacked Kṛishṇa when he was at Mathurâ. In the army were Śakas (Scythians), Tukhâras,[33] Daradas (Dards), Pâradas,[33] Taṅgaṇas,[33] Khaśas, Pahlavas (Parthians), and other barbarians (Mlêchchhas) of the Himâlaya.

Many references to the Khaśas occur in the *Purâṇas*. The most accessible are those in the *Vishṇu* and *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇas*, which have translations with good indexes. I shall rely principally upon these, but shall also note a few others that I have collected.

The *Vishṇu Purâṇa*[34] tells the story of Khasâ, the wife of Kaśyapa, with her sons Yaksha and Râkshasa and her Piśâcha stepson already given. It also tells (IV, iii) the story of Sagara, but does not mention the Khaśas in this connexion, nor does the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* in the corresponding passage (IX, viii). The *Vâyu Purâṇa*, on the other hand, in telling the story mentions the Khaśas, but coupling them with three other tribes. Of these three, one belongs to the north-west, and the other two to the south of India, so that we cannot glean from it anything decisive as to the locality of the Khaśas.

A remarkable passage in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* (II, iv, 18) gives a list of a number of outcast tribes, which have recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Kṛishṇa. The tribes belong to various parts of India, but the last four are the Âbhîras,[35] the Kaṅkas,[36] the Yavanas, and the Khaśas (*v. l.* Śakas). Here again we have the Khaśas mentioned among north-western folk.

Again in the story of Bharata, the same *Purâṇa* tells how that monarch conquered (IX, xx, 29) a number of the barbarian (Mlêchchha) kings, who had no Brâhmaṇs. These were the kings of the Kirâtas, Hûṇas, Yavanas, Andhras, Kaṅkas, Khaśas, and Śakas. The list is a mixed one, but the last three are grouped together and point to the north-west.

---

[28] Locality not identified.

[29] In the Panjâb, close to the Ambashṭhas (see above). Their capital was Śâkala, the Sagala of Ptolemy. In verse 2049 of the passage quoted, we have a song celebrating the luxury of Śâkala.—"When shall I next sing the songs of the Bâhîkas in this Śâkala town, after having feasted on cow's flesh, and drunk strong wine? When shall I again, dressed in fine garments, in the company of fair-complexioned large sized women, eat much mutton, pork, beef, and the flesh of fowls, asses and camels? They who eat not mutton live in vain." So do the inhabitants, drunk with wine, sing. "How can virtue be found among such a people?'

[30] At the time that the *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa* was written, the Bâhîkas were not altogether outside the Aryan pale. It is there (I, vii, iii, 8) said that they worship Agni under the name of Bhava.

[31] 784.

[32] 6440.

[33] See above.

[34] I, xxi.

[35] On the Indus, the Abiria of Ptolemy.

[36] Kaṅkas have not been identified, but in the list of nations who brought presents to Yudhishṭhira already mentioned (*Mahâbhârata*, II, 1850) they are mentioned together with the Sakas, Tukhâras, and Rômas (? Romans), *i. e.* as coming from the north-west.

The *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa* (LVII, 56) mentions the Khaśas as a mountain (probably Himalayan) tribe. In three other places (LVIII, 7, 12 and 51) they have apparently, with the Śakas and other tribes, penetrated to the north-east of India. This would appear to show that by the time of the composition of this work the Khaśas had already reached Nepâl and Darjeeling, where they are still a numerous body.[37]

We may close this group of authorities by a reference to the *Laws of Manu*. Looking at the Khaśas from the Brahmanical point of view, he says (X, 22) that Khaśas are the offspring of outcast Kshatriyas, and again (X, 44), after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kâmbôjas,[38] Yavanas,[38] Śakas,[38] Pâradas,[38] Pahlavas,[38] Chînas,[39] Kirâtas,[40] Daradas[38] and Khaśas are those who became outcast through having neglected their religious duties,[41] and, whether they speak a barbarous (Mlêchchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus. Here again we see the Khaśas grouped with people of the north-west.

Two works belonging at latest to the 6th century A.D. next claim our attention. These are the *Bharata Nâṭya Śâstra* and the *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ* of Varâhamihira. The former[42] in the chapter on dialects says, 'The Bâhlîkî language is the native tongue of Northerners and Khaśas.' Bâhlîkî, as we have seen above, is the language then spoken in what is now Balkh.[43] Here again we have the Khaśas referred to the north-west.

Varâhamihira mentions Khaśas several times. Thus in one place (X, 12) he groups them with Kulûtas (people of Kulu), Taṅgaṇas (see note[44]), and Kâśmîras (Kâshmîrîs). In his famous chapter on Geography, he mentions them twice. In one place (XIV, 6) he puts them in Eastern India, and in another (XIV, 30) he puts them in the north-east. The latter is a mistake, for the other countries named at the same time are certainly north-western.[44] The mistake is a curious and unexpected one, but is there nevertheless, and

[37] *Vide post.*

[38] See above.

[39] Usually translated 'Chinese,' but I would suggest that in this and similar passages, they are the great Shiṇ race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.

[40] At present mostly in Nepâl.

[41] So Kullûka.

[42] xvii, 52. *Bâhlîkabhâshôdîchyânâṁ Khasânâṁ cha svadêśajâ*: I am indebted to Dr. Konow for this reference.

[43] Lakshmîdhara, a comparatively late Prakrit Grammarian, says that the language of Bâhlîka (Balkh), Kêkaya (N. W. Panjâb), Nepâl, Gandhâra (the country round Peshâwar), and Bhôta (for Bhôṭa, *i.e.*, Tibet), together with certain countries in South India is said by the ancients to have been Paiśâchî See Lassen, *Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ*, p. 13, and Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 27.

[44] The whole passage (29 and 30) runs as follows :—' In North-East, Mount Mêru, the Kingdom of those who have lost caste (*nashṭarâjya*), the nomads (*paśupâlas*,? worshippers of Paśupati), the Kîras (a tribe near Kashmîr, Stein, *Râja Taraṅgiṇî*, trans. II, 217) the Kâśmîras, the Abhisâras (of the lower hills between the Jehlam and the Chinab), Daradas (Dards) Taṅgaṇas, Kulûtas (Kulu), Sairindhras (not identified), Forest men, Brahmapuras (Bharmaur in Chamba), Darvas (close to Abhisâra), Ḍâmaras (apparently a Kashmîr tribe, Stein II, 304 ff.), Foresters, Kirâtas, Chînas (Shins of Gilgit, see note[39], or Chinese), Kauṇindas (see below), Bhallas (not identified), Paṭôlas (not identified), Jaṭâsuras (? Jaṭṭs), Kunaṭas (see below), Khasas, Ghôshas and Kuchikas (not identified).' It will be seen that every one of the above names which has been identified belongs to the North-West.

moreover Varâhamihira is not alone in this. Bhaṭṭôtpala, in his commentary to the *Bṛihatsaṁhitâ,* quotes Parâśara as saying the same thing.[45]

In the section dealing with those men who are technically known as 'swans,'[46] Varâhamihira says that they are a long-lived race ruling over the Khaśas, Sûrasênas (Eastern Punjab), Gândhâra (Peshawar country), and the Gangetic Dôâb. This passage does not give much help.

Kalhaṇa's famous chronicle of Kashmîr, the *Râjataraṅgiṇî,* written in the middle of the 12th century A.D., is full of references to the Khaśas, who were a veritable thorn in the side of the Kashmîr rulers. Sir Aurel Stein's translation of the work, with its excellent index, renders a detailed account of these allusions unnecessary. It will be sufficient to give Sir Aurel Stein's note to his translation of verse 317 of Book I. I have taken the liberty of altering the spelling of some of the words so as to agree with the system adopted for this survey :—

"It can be shown from a careful examination of all the passages that their (the Khaśas') seats were restricted to a comparatively limited region, which may be roughly described as comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pîr Pantsâl range, between the middle course of the Vitastâ (or Jehlam) on the west, and Kâshṭavâṭa (Kishtwâr) on the east.

"In numerous passages of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* we find the rulers of Râjapurî, the modern Rajaurî, described as 'lords of the Khaśas,' and their troops as Khaśas. Proceeding from Râjapurî to the east we have the valley of the Upper Âns River, now called *Panjgabbar* . . . . as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the east lies *Bâṇaśâla,* the modern *Bânahâl,* below the pass of the same name, where the pretender Bhikshâchara sought refuge in the castle of the 'Khaśa-Lord' Bhagika . . . . The passages viii, 177, 1,074 show that the whole of the valley leading from Bânahâl to the Chandrabhâgâ (Chenab), which is now called 'Bichhlârî' and which in the chronicle bears the name of *Vishalâṭâ,* was inhabited by Khaśas.

"Finally we have evidence of the latter's settlements in the Valley of Khaśâlaya . . . . Khaśâlaya is certainly the Valley of Khaiśâl (marked on the map as 'Kasher') which leads from the Marbal Pass on the south-east corner of Kashmîr down to Kishtwâr . . . .

"Turning to the west of Râjapurî, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parṇôtsa or Prûnts mentioned in the person of Tuṅga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be

Regarding the Kauṇindas or Kuṇindas, it may be mentioned that Cunningham (*Rep. Arch. Surv. India,* XIV, 125) identified them with the Kanêts of the Simla Hill States, whose name he wrongly spells "Kunet." The change from 'Kuṇinda' to 'Kanêt' is violent and improbable, though not altogether impossible. It would be simpler to connect the Kanêts with Varâhamihira's Kunaṭas, but here again there are difficulties, for the *t* in 'Kanêt' is dental, not cerebral. Such changes are, however, not uncommon in the 'Piśâcha' languages.

45 A similar but fuller list is also given in Varâhamihira's *Samâsasaṁhitâ,* in which the Khaśas are classed with Daradas, Abhisâras and Chînas.

46 LXVIII, 26.

chosen Queen Diddâ's all-powerful minister. The Queen's own father, Siṁharâja, the ruler of Lôhara or Lôharin, is designated a Khaśa, ... and his descendants, who after Diddâ occupied the Kashmîr throne, were looked upon as Khaśas.—That there were Khaśas also in the Vitastâ valley below Varâhamûla, is proved by the reference to Vîrânaka as 'a seat of Khaśas' . . . . . . Of this locality it has been shown . . . that it was situated in the ancient *Dwâravatî*, the present Dwârbidî, a portion of the Vitasta valley between Kathai and Muẓaffarâbâd.

"The position here indicated makes it highly probable that the Khaśas are identical with the modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill-chiefs and gentry in the Vitastâ valley below Kashmîr belong. The name *Khakha* (Pahâṛi; in Kâshmîrî sing. *Khokhu*, plur. *Khakhi*) is the direct derivation of *Khaśa*, Sanskrit *ś* being pronounced since early times in the Panjâb and the neighbouring hill-tracts as *kh* or *h* (compare Kâshmîrî *h* < Sanscrit *ś*).

"The Khakha chiefs of the Vitastâ valley retained their semi-independent position until Sikh times, and, along with their neighbours of the Bomba clan, have ever proved troublesome neighbours for Kaśhmîr."

We have already noted that another name for the Khaśas was Khaśîras. The name Kaśmîra (Kashmîr) is by popular tradition associated with the famous legendary saint Kaśyapa, but it has been suggested, with considerable reason, that Khaśa and Khaśîra are more probable etymologies. At the present day, the Kâshmîrî word for 'Kashmîr' is '*kashîr*,' a word which is strongly reminiscent of Khaśîra.[47]

Turning now to see what information we can gain from classical writers, we may again refer to Pliny's mention of the cannibal Casiri, who, from the position assigned to them, must be the same as the Khaśîras. Atkinson in the work mentioned in the list of authorities gives an extract from Pliny's account of India (p. 354.) In this are mentioned the Cesi, a mountain race between the Indus and the Jamna, who are evidently the Khaśas. Atkinson (*l. c.*) quotes Ptolemy's Achasia regio as indicating the same locality, and this word not impossibly also represents 'Khaśa'. Perhaps more certain identifications from Ptolemy are the Κάσιοι Mountains and the country of Κάσια.[48]

In other places[49] he tells us that the land of the Ὀττοροκόῤῥοι (Uttarakurus) and the city of Ὀττοροκόῤῥα lay along the Emodic and Seric mountains in the north, to the east of the

[47] The change of initial *kh* to *k* is not uncommon in Piśâcha languages. Thus, the Sanskrit *khara*, an ass, is *kur* in Bashgalî Kâfir, and in Shiṇâ a language very closely connected with Kâshmîrî, the root of the verb meaning 'to eat' is *ka* not *khâ*.

[48] *Serica* VI, 15, 16, in Lassen *I.A.* I², 28.

[49] VI, 16, 2, 3, 5, 8; VIII, 24, 7, in Lassen *I.A.*, I², 1018.

Kasia mountains. The latter therefore represent either the Hindû Kush or the mountains of Kashgar in Central Asia.[50]

To sum up the preceding information. We gather that according to the most ancient Indian authorities in the extreme north-west of India, on the Hindû Kush and the mountainous tracts to the south, and in the western Panjâb there was a group of tribes, one of which was called Khaśa, which were looked upon as Kshatriyas of Aryan origin. These spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit, but with a vocabulary partly agreeing with that of the Eranian Avesta. They were considered to have lost their claim to consideration as Aryans, and to have become Mlêchchhas, or barbarians, owing to their non-observance of the rules for eating and drinking observed by the Sanskritic peoples of India. These Khaśas were a warlike tribe, and were well known to classical writers, who noted, as their special home, the Indian Caucasus of Pliny. They had relations with Western Tibet, and carried the gold dust found in that country into India.

It is probable that they once occupied an important position in Central Asia, and that countries, places and rivers, such as Kashmîr. Kashgar in Central Asia, and the Kashgar of Chitral were named after them. They were closely connected with the group of tribes nicknamed 'Piśâchas' or 'cannibals' by Indian writers, and before the sixth century they were stated to speak the same language as the people of Balkh. At the same period they had apparently penetrated along the southern slope of the Himâlaya as far east as Nepâl, and in the twelfth century they certainly occupied in considerable force the hills to the south, south-west and south-east of Kashmîr.

At the present day their descendants, and tribes who claim descent from them, occupy a much wider area. The Khakhas of the Jehlam valley are Khaśas, and so are some of the Kanêts of the hill-country between Kângrâ and Gaṛhwâl. The Kanêts are the low-caste cultivating class of all the Eastern Himâlaya of the Panjâb and the hills at their base as far west as Kulu, and of the eastern portion of the Kangrâ district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Râjpûts of pre-historic ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanêts as husbandmen. Like the ancient Khaśas, they claim to be of impure Râjpût (*i.e.* Kshatriya) birth. They are divided into two great tribes, the Khasiâ and the Râo, the distinction between whom is still sufficiently well-marked. A Khasiâ observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Râo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasiâ wears the sacred thread, while the Râo does not.[51] There can thus be no doubt about the Khasiâ Kanêts.

[50] According to Lassen, p. 1020, the Κάσια ὄρη of Ptolemy are the mountains of Kashgar, *i.e.* 'Khaśa-gairi,' the mountain of the Khaśas. See, however, Stein, Ancient Khotan, pp. 50 ff. The same name re-appears in Chitral, south of the Hindû Kush, where the river Khônar is also called the Khashgar. For further speculations on the subject the reader is referred to St. Martin, *Mêm. de l' Acad. des Inscr. Sav. Etrang.* I série vi, i, pp. 264 ff., and to Atkinson (*op. cit.*), p. 377.

[51] Ibbetson, op. cit., § 487. Regarding the Râos, see the next instalment of this article.

Further to the east, in Garhwâl and Kumaon, the bulk of the population is called Khasiâ, and these people are universally admitted to be Khaśas by descent. In fact, as we shall see, the principal dialect of Kumaunî is known as Khasparjiyâ, or the speech of Khas cultivators. Further east, again, in Nepâl, the ruling caste is called Khas. In Nepâl. however, the tribe is much mixed. A great number of so-called Khas are really descended from the intercourse between the high-caste Aryan immigrants from the plains and the aboriginal Tibeto-Burman population. But that there is a leaven of pure Khas descent also in the tribe is not denied.[52]

In this way we see that the great mass of the Aryan-speaking population of the Lower Himâlaya from Kashmîr to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśas of the *Mahâbhârata*.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSI HISTORY.

PROF. S. H. Hodivala, M. A., of the Junagadh College has been lately devoting considerable attention to the early history of the Indian Parsis. and read on the 25th of October last, before the "Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Researches" a paper on the "Traditional dates of Parsi History" of which the following is a summary.

The lecturer first pointed out that chronological statements about certain interesting events in the early annals of the Indian Parsis many are found noted down at random on the margins and flyleaves of many manuscripts, but that very few of them are properly authenticated, that some of them are nameless, and even where the name of the writer happens to be known we are left entirely in the dark as to the sources of his infomation or his competence to form a judgment. Moreover, not one of them has been hitherto traced to any book or manuscript written before the middle of the eighteenth century. Lastly, they exhibit among themselves the most bewildering diversity and the same event (the first landing at Sanjân) is placed by one in V. Samvat 772, (A.D. 716) by another in V. Samvat 895, (A.D. 839) and by a third in V. Samvat 961(A.D. 906). There is the same conflict as to the year in which the Persian Zoroastrians were, according to these entries, obliged to abandon their ancestral homes. According to one, it was in 638 V. Samvat (A.D. 582), according to another in 777 V. Samvat (A.D. 721). A much later event, about which for that reason, if for no other, we might suppose they would be in agreement, is the subject of a similar conflict. The old Fire Temple is said to have been brought from Bansdâh to Navsâri according to one of these entries in 1472 V. Samvat (A.D. 1416), but another would place the event three years later, giving the actual day and month, as Rôz Mâhrespand, Mâh Shahrivar, V. Samvat 1475 (A.D. 1419); and not the least instructive fact about these rival dates is that both of them are demonstrably wrong.

The most important of these statements is the one which makes Roz Bahman, Mâh Tir, V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) the date of the first landing of the Parsi "pilgrim fathers" at Sanjân. That the Parsi *roz mâh* here given does not tally with the Hindu *tithi* was proved to demonstration by the late Mr. K. R. Cama in 1870, but the year has for all that been accepted by many inquirers, perhaps only for want of anything more satisfactory to take its place. The earliest authority for this entry hitherto known was the *Kadım Târikh Pârsioni Kasar* a pamphlet on the Kabisâ controversy written by Dastur Aspandiârji Kâmdinji of Broach in A.D. 1826. The lecturer first showed that this entry can be carried back somewhat further, as it occurs in a manuscript of miscellaneous Persian verses belonging to Ervad Manekji R.Unwalla, which is at least a hundred and fifty year old. There can be no doubt that Dastur Aspandiârji

52 Regarding the origin of the Nepal Khas, see Hodgson and Sylvain Lêvi, op. cit.

had seen this number 772 S. somewhere and that he was anxious for polemical purposes to obtain faith and credence for the date, by making it fit in somehow with the then universally accepted figures of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* It is fairly well known that according to that interesting old account of the "Parsi Retreat", the Zoroastrians lived for a hundred years in Kohistân, for fifteen years in Old Hormuz and for nineteen at Diu. Now, if the Dastur had followed the *Kissah* out and out, and added 134 (100+15+19) to A.D. 636—the year of the first decisive victory of the Arabs at Kâdisiya, or to A.D. 641, the date of fatal field of Nehâvend, or to A.D. 651, the year of the Yazdajird's death, the total would have been 770,775 or A.D. 785, but in no case would it have been anything like A D. 716 (772 V. S.). What then was to be done? Why to go back five years—take A.D. 631 the year of Yazdajird's accession as the starting point, borrow the cock and bull story of an astrologer having told Khusru Parviz of the fall of the monarchy from a Musalmân annalist and adopt the inconceivably improbable notion that the Zoroastrians fled from their homes and took refuge in Kohistân *forty-nine years before Yazdajird's accession;* A.D. (631-49)=582 +100 +15+19=716 A.D. =772 V. Samvat. It is needless to state that a date which cannot be made up without being bolstered up by such a supposition must be regarded as absolutely unhistorical. Having thus disposed of the earliest date for the arrival at Sanjân, the Professor took in hand the latest, *viz.*, 961 V. S. (A.D. 905), which is found in a manuscript written about A.D. 1750. The writer first notes that the Atash Beherâm was brought to Navsâri in V. Samvat 1475 (A.D. 1419), and working backwards first on the line of the *Kissah-i-Sanjân* and then diverging from it in two particular items, arrives at V. Samvat 777=(A.D. 721) as the year of the commencement of the Iranian *wanderjahrê*, which is by him made to extend to one hundred and fifty years (including fifty spent in different places), instead of the *Kissah's* century passed in Kohistân. V. S. 777+*50*+100+15+19+300+200+*14*=1475 V. S.=1419 A.D. The lecturer then proceeded to shew the process by which these two new items (*50* and *14* instead of *26*) had been evolved and traced the first to a peculiar construction of some lines in the *Kissah*, and the second to a minor stream of tradition which made fourteen years only and not twenty-six (14+12) elapse between the sack of Sanjân and the transportation of the fire of Beherâm to Navsâri. The next thing pointed out was how 777 V. Samvat, which is by others regarded as the traditional date of the consecration of the first Indian fire temple, was converted by this calculator into the initial year of the Kohistân peregrinations. Last came the date 895 V. Samvat, which is put forward in a MS. copied by an Udvâdâ Dastur in 1816 A.D. It was shown to have been indebted for its existence to the ingenuity of some arithmetician, who, thinking (as many of us also must do) that V. Samvat 772 (A.D. 716) was not only too early, but opposed to all the probabilities of the case, made his own calculations somewhat thus: A.D. 651+54+100+15+19 = 839 A.D. = 895 V. Samvat. Anquetil du Perron was told at Surat in A.D. 1759 that the Fire Temple was brought from Bánsdáh to Navsâri in V Samvat 1472 (A.D. 1416), and the statement occurs also in a Persian poem written about the same time. This date is the simple result of 700—a round number which occurs in a much disputed couplet of the *Kissáh*—having been added to A.D. 716 (772 V. Samvat,) the apocryphal date of the landing. The other figure associated with the Navsâri Fire Temple 1475 V. Samvat= (A.D. 1419) can be shewn to have been made up in two ways—one of which has been already indicated above. The other rests upon an ingenious emendation of the disputed line in the *Kissáh* by which 70 is substitued for 700 ('*haftâd*' for '*haftsad*') combined with the two items of a fifty years cycle of wandering anterior to the Kohistân century, and the substitution of fourteen for twenty-six at the end. A. D 651+50+100+300+200+70+14=1419 A. D.= 1475 V. Samvat.

The Professor summed up by saying that most of these calculations appeared to have been *ex post facto* made up by combining a few generally accepted postulates with certain indeterminate items in that way which best brought up some preconceived answer. In short, he maintained that they were only speculative results arrived at by persons anxious out of a genuine historical curiosity to construct, for the satisfaction of their own understandings, intelligible systems of Parsi chronology, by arranging, altering and modifying the materials at their disposal according to their personal estimates of the probable and the improbable.

At the same time, the Professor emphatically declared that they were honest attempts for the advancement of knowledge, and very much like those mutually contradictory and even demonstrably false schemes of Kiânian, Parthian or Sâssânian chronology, which were associated with the names of so many Oriental and European historians.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from page 142.*)

Religious Effects.

SUCH were the social and political effects of the Vijayanagar conquest of South India. The religious effects were equally noteworthy. During the half century which elapsed between the Muhammadan conquest and the expulsion of Muhammadan power by Kampaṇa, Hinduism, both in its Vaishṇava and Saiva aspects, was in a depressed and precarious condition. Temples were closed or even destroyed, religious processions were disallowed, and forcible conversions to Muhammadanism were attempted and in many cases secured. The gods of Madura, as the chronicles point out, had to be refugees in Travancore,[3] and those of Srîrangam at Tirupati.[4] The great leaders of Hinduism became scattered, and kept their precarious torch of light and learning burning in retired corners, in secluded villages. The great Vêdântâcharya, for example, the apostolic head of the Srî Vaishṇava community at Srîrangam and one of the most profound scholars and philosophic and literary writers of the day, had to retire to the distant and secluded townlet of Satyamangalam[5] and spend his days there in grief owing to the cessation of divine worship in the temple at Srîrangam; while his rival Srî-Vaishṇava teacher Sri-Saila,[6] was carrying on at Âḷvâr Tirunagari and the south, amidst equally depressing circumstances, the development of the more popular form of Vaishṇavism which is adopted by the great Vaishṇava sect of Tengalais. Saivism and the Smârta[7] cult had their doughty champion in Vidyâranya, and he devoted every moment of his life to their revival and extension; but his attention could not have been entirely devoted to this work. From 1336 onward, he had to employ all the versatile qualities and powers of his genius in the organization and the strengthening of the great Hindu Empire which he founded. There is no doubt that his chief object in establishing this power was the expulsion of Muhammadan rule from the south, so as to restore peace to the ancient religion of the Hindu gods, and maintain the safety of Hinduism free from all trouble and disturbance. The realisation of this object necessitated at the time the employment of the resources of his great genius in the firm establishment of the new Hindu kingdom and the organization of its army and military strength, in the construction of frontier defences, the subjugation of neighbouring powers, and so on. And as these naturally could not be effected within less than the period of a generation, the Vijayanagar march to the valley of the Kâvêri[8] could begin only after 1360. In the period between 1327 and 1360, therefore, the religious freedom of the Hindus in the south had completely gone. Madura was a centre of Musalmân influence rather than a stronghold of Saivism, and Śrîrangam was daily subject to the vandalism of the Musalmân governor and his followers. The *Kôyiloḷugu* tells us that the Muhammadan was about to destroy the great shrine, when

3 See the *Pâṇḍ. Chron.* and other MSS.

4 See *Yatîndrapravaṇaprabhâva*, *Kôyiloḷugu*, and the *Guruparamparas* of the Śrî-Vaishṇavâs of S. India.

5 See the *Vadagalai Guruparampara*

6 *Yatîndrapravaṇaprabhâva*.

7 For a short but excellent account of the Smârtas see *Madr. Manu.*, I, p. 87-88.

8 There are some authorities which say that Vijayanagar generals were in the south as early as 1348-9. *E. g.*, the *Kongudêsa Râjâkkal* and *Vadagalai Guruparampara*; but epigraphy clearly proves that their advent was after 1360. Srî-rangam the great Vaishṇava centre seems to have come under Vijayanagar generals only about 1370. See *Kôyiloḷugu*.

the charms of a courtezan and the services of a Vaishṇava Brahman, Singapirân by name, moderated the animosity of the conqueror and made him proceed on moderate lines. A break in this comparative mildness was indeed caused by the attribution of a disease from which "the Mlêccha" suffered to Brahmanical magic and his consequent orders to raze the shrine to the ground; but the importunities of his mistress and the counsels of his servant made him satisfied with the mutilation of various parts and works of the temple instead of a wholesale destruction. The progress of the disease, however, led to the destruction of the gigantic walls of the temple and the utilization of their materials for the construction of a fort at Kaṇṇanûr;[9] but this was discovered to be a blessing in disguise, for the Muhammadan governor from this time onward made his sojourn at Kaṇṇanûr instead of Trichinopoly. The people of Srî-rangam—the remnants of a once teeming crowd—were, in consequence of this, able to carry on their worship, but with their festival idol a refugee in Tirupati, their religious leaders scattered, and their fears alarmed by daily acts of Muhammadan vandalism, their worship was, in the eyes of many, a mockery, and their apparent freedom worse than slavery. The same was the case in every other important place in the south, and everywhere the people were in despair.

It was from this despair and dislocation that Kampaṇa Uḍayâr and his lieutenants freed the people of the south. The expulsion of the Muhammadans by the year 1371 led immediately to the revival of worship and the opening of the closed temples, both Śaiva and Vaishṇava. The deities of Madura, say the chronicles, were brought back from their refuge in Travancore. "Worship was performed once more with extraordinary solemnity and fervour; and that nothing might be wanting to restore confidence and energy to all classes of men, the Brahmans contrived a great miracle significant of the pleasure of the god and of the perpetual regard for his faithful worshippers. Kampaṇa was taken on an appointed day to witness the reopening of the great pagoda, and on his entering and approaching the shrine for the purpose of looking upon the face of the god, lo and behold everything was precisely in the same condition as when the temple was first shut up just 48 years previously. The lamp that was lighted on that day was still burning; and the sandalwood powder, the garland of flowers, and the ornaments usually placed before the idol on the morning of a festival day were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the evening of such a day."[10] Kampaṇa Uḍayār was struck with this remarkable miracle. With great piety and reverence he made the customary offerings, endowed numerous villages to the temple, bestowed many jewels, and established rules and regulations for the regular performance and revival of worship. The same thing was done by Goppanârya in the Vaishṇava stronghold of Śrî-rangam. He cleared it of its Musalmân tyrants, brought back the images of Ranganâtha[11] and Ranganâyaki from Tirupati, and revived the ancient prosperity and busy activity of the shrine. He further made numerous endowments to it and made it, by the influence of his exalted office in the growing Empire, an object of solicitude in the eyes of the imperial rulers. Vaishṇavism in consequence began to shew from this time onward a new energy and vigour, a new spirit of proselytism and progress. The

9 Kaṇṇanûr is a village adjoining Samayâpuram, celebrated in the Carnâtic wars.

10 Nelson's *Madu. Manl.* p. 82. Nelson here gives simply the translation of the MS. chronicles,—as will be seen from a reference to appendix I, Rev. Taylor suspects the existence of secret wickets and private doors known only to Brahmans. *O. H. MSS.*

11 See the various *Guruparamparas*, *Yatîndrapravaṇaprabhâva* and, above all, the *Kôyiloḷugu*; See also *ante*, for epigraphical references.

scenes of religious life on the banks of the Kâvêri came to be reproduced on the banks of the Tungabhadra, and the support of the Tamil kings and chiefs came to have its counterpart in the patronage of the Telugu ones. The despair of Vaishṇava leaders was replaced by the prospect of unlimited triumph. The great Vêdântachârya came back to Srîrangam, and resumed those soul-stirring lectures and disputations which had been the source of so much enthusiasm to his admirers and of so much terror and anxiety to his detractors. By the time of his death in 1371 he had the double satisfaction of seeing Vaishṇavism safe from Musalmân tyranny and Visishtādvaitism from Advaitic dominance; and when fifteen years later Vidyâraṇya breathed his last, he must have died with equal contentment at the bright prospects of Hinduism in general and of Advaitism in particular.

The rise of a popular Vaishnavism or Tengalaism.

The rescue of Hinduism from the tyranny of Muhammadanism was chiefly the work of the orthodox party, both of Vaishṇavism and Saivism, through the agency of the Vijayanagar Empire. But the fruits of victory were to be realised by the people in general. The harmony established by the government led to a popular upheaval in religion, and there was a wide spread movement in the 15th and 16th centuries for the loosening of the reins of orthodoxy. Everywhere there was a cry against the rigidity of the caste system, against the elaboration of ceremonials, against exclusive adherence to Sanskrit at the expense of the vernaculars, and against the tendency to attach more importance to philosophy than to devotion. The people wanted, in other words, less philosophic and more devotional religions. They wanted less ceremony and more feeling in their cults, less formality and more sincerity of belief, less head and more heart. They wanted to see the caste system more in consonance with love of fellowmen, to remove that detestable social tyranny which went on in the name of religion. They wanted vernacular bibles in preference to Sanskrit ones. This widespread popular movement asserted itself both against orthodox Vaishṇavism[12] and orthodox Saivism. The movement against orthodox Vaishṇavism was called Tengalaism. It was organized and led by a great leader named Manavâḷa Mahâmuni, a native of Âḷvâr Tirunagari and a disciple of Srî Saila. About the year 1400 he proceeded[13] to Srîrangam and began to organize his party with such skill and foresight that the orthodox party of Nainâr Âchârya,[14] the son and successor of Vêdântâchârya, lost for ever its old prestige and following. The work of Manavâḷa Mahâmuni was carried on by his successors in the eight Matts[15] he established for the purpose, and though the orthodox party was revived and strengthened by the celebrated

12 In N. India the popular movement was carried on by the Râmânandas, the Kabir Panthins, the Vallabhâchâryas, the Chaitanyas, the followers of Nânak, the Dâdu Panthins, the Mîrâ Bâis, etc. All these belonged to the 15th and 16th centuries. See Monier Williams' *Hinduism* 141-148. For Chaitanya's influence in the south and the rise of the Sâtânis, see *Madr. Manu*, p. 73, 86 and 90.

13 The classical biography of him is called *Yatîndrapravaṇaprabhâvam*, of which there are two editions. Manavâla is considered by the Tengalais to be the incarnation of Râmânuja. He died about 1450 A. D. He is, of course, not the *founder* of Tengalaism, but it was he that gave it a highly sectarian colour: so sectarian, indeed, as to give rise to a new caste altogether. For a short description of the Tengalais see *Madr. Manu*, I, 84. Hopkin's *Religns. Ind. p.* 501 and J. R. A. S., Vol. XIV.

14 Otherwise called 'Varadâchârya.' He organized the worship of Vêdântâchârya in temples, and it is no doubt his zeal for that greatest of orthodox writers that contributed not a little to the strengthening of the rival sect of Tengalaism. Varadâchârya was born about 1320 and died about 1416. His disciple known as Kadâmbi Nainâr was the preceptor (in the Bhâshyas) of Manavâḷa Mahâmuni. See the *Vadag. Gurup.*, 1913 edn. 168-180. For a comparison of the Tengalai and Vadagalai doctrines see *Mysore Census Report* 1891; *Brahmavâdin,* 1912; *Madr. Manu,* I, p. 85 and 89-90. J. R. A. S., 1911.

15 The heads of these were called the *Ashta-dig-gajas*. The most important of them was the jeer of Vânamâmalai or Nânguneri in Tinnevelly District.

Âdi Vaṇ Saṭagôpa Swâmi of Ahôbilam,[16] yet the attraction which Tengalaism possessed among the masses, its tactful alliance with a large number of the temple authorities and of the ruling princes of the day, its skill in organization, its comparative laxity in caste matters, its advocacy of the vernacular bibles, naturally made it stronger and stronger in the land; so that by the end of the 15th century there was perhaps an equal number of followers among the two sects. The princes were of course divided between the two, some professing Vadagalaism as the Sanskrit school came to be called, and others Tengalaism. The Emperors professed the former, as they had for their teachers a very orthodox Vadagalai family of Conjeeveram known as the Tâtâchâryas,[17] and as they were the special worshippers of the deity of Ahôbilam, a seat of Vadagalai influence. But the majority of the Polygars and minor chieftains seem to have been naturally attracted to the more popular religion. One of the Mâvalivâṇa[18] kings is actually said to have lifted up the palanquin of Manavâḷa Mahâmuni. It is not improbable that many of the Tôttiya chiefs were likewise brought under Tengalaism,—a phenomenon which explains the profession of the Tengalai cult by them to-day.

The rise of Śaiva-Siddhântism.

The popular movement in Śaivism or Śaiva-Siddhântism as it was called, revived by the famous Meykaṇḍa[19] Deva, the author of *Sivagnanabodham,* the philosophic bible of that creed, in the 13th century, made rapid progress in this period. Meykaṇḍa Deva had adopted the Viśishṭâdvaitic philosophy of Râmânuja, but made Śiva instead of Vishṇu the Supreme Being. His system is thus the same as Râmânujâ's system, but with Śaiva terminology. His great achievement was to make Śaivism the religion of the masses as distinct from the religion of the higher castes as formulated by Śankarâchârya, Vidyâraṇya and other Advaitins. Meykaṇḍa's work was continued by a number of saints, chiefly non-Brahman. The famous Pattiragiriyar,[20] the fanatical Śiva Vâkya, the reformed

---

16 He lived in the latter part of the 15th and the earlier part of the 16th century. He was the disciple of Gatikâ atam Ammâḷ, who was the disciple of Varadâchârya, the son and successor of Vêdântâchârya. He established his celebrated Matt at Ahôbilam, the god of which place, Narasimha Perumâḷ, was his tutelary deity. Many miracles are attributed to Satagopa See *Sats mpr dây i Muktâv li* for an account of his life and his successors in the Ahôbila Matt. Adi Van Satagopâ's disciple was Tholappâchârya, the author of *Smriti Ratnâkara* and the preceptor of the Vijayanagar Emperor. (See insc. regarding Kamalîpuram tank near Hampi). Even non-Brahmans were converted by Satagôpa, and many of the princes and Polygars who came to the south were devotees of Ahôbila Narasiṅgaperumâḷ. That is why the Tôttiyans built temples to him wherever they settled.

17 A number of epigraphical references prove this. See section II, *ante*.

18 See the *Yatîndrapravaṇaprabhâva.*

19 The date of Meykaṇḍa Dêva has long been one of doubt and controversy. Prof. Seshagiri Śâstri says he was the disciple of Paranjôtimunivar, the author of *Tiruviḷaiyâdal Purânam,* who, he says, lived about 1550 in the court of Ati Vîra Râma Pâṇḍya. (See his *Rep. Sans. Tam. MSS.* 1896-7, p. 52 and 56.) The author of the *Madras Manual* also thinks that the Siddhar School was after Ativîra Râma Pâṇḍya; but he assigns Ativîra Râma to the 11th century, about 1040 A. D. (See Vol. I, p. 57 and 120.) Mr. Gôpinatha Rao has given epigraphical and other arguments to shew that he lived about 1236 A. D. (*Madr. Review,* 1904).

20 Gover attributes Pattiragiriyar to the 10th century (See his *Folksongs,* 158). Anavaratavinayakam Pillai in his edition of Paṭṭiṇattu Piḷḷai's works (1907) says that as Paṭṭiṇattu Piḷḷai refers to Varaguṇa in the 9th century and as some of his works are referred to by Nambiâṇḍâr Nambi in the 11th century, Paṭṭiṇattu Piḷḷai must have lived in the 10th century, and so also Pattiragiriyar his disciple. From the fact that many of Paṭṭiṇattu Piḷḷai's works are not referred to in the 11th *tirumurai* and from his style, the majority of the scholars attribute him and his school to the 15th and 16th centuries. See *eg*. Dr. Caldwell's *Dravid. Gram.,* p. 116. Caldwell, it should be noted, divides later Tamil literary history into two cycles,—the literary, wherein he includes Ativîra Rāma Pāṇḍya and the mystic, wherein he brings in the *Sittars*. The latter, he points out, pretend to be Śaivites, but philosophically nonsectaries. He attributes *Sivagnâna bôdham* to the 16th century and the *Sittars* (Tirumāla, Pattiragiriyar, Śiva Vākya, etc) to the 17th century (*Ibid,* p. 146, and 1.88-9). For the alleged connection between the Siddhar school and Christianity, see Caldwell's *Dravid. Gram.,* 116; Barth's *Religions of India,* p. 210 and Hopkins' *Religions of India,* p. 482. The Siddha movement is described in detail in the last chapter.

Paṭṭinattu Piḷḷai, the scholarly Paranjodhimunivar, and the earnest Aghôra Śivâchârya and Sivagrayôgîn are typical examples. They all declared a crusade against Brahmanical superiority. They condemned idol-worship, and held that religion ought to be a thing of feeling and not *observance*. They looked with abhorrence on the narrow view of limitation on which the worship of God in the form of an image was based. "Those who really know where the shepherd of the world lives, will never raise their hands to any visible shrine," nor "Are the gods of man's making helpful in the matter of salvation ?" Can these artificial gods, Śiva Vâkyar asks, who owe their existence or non-existence, their elevation or neglect to the piety or caprice of men ; can these, made and unmade, baked and unbaked move of themselves? Can they free themselves when bound? What is the use of decking stones with flowers? What true religion is there in the ringing of bells, the performance of set obeisances, the going around fanes, the floating of incense, the offerings of things arranged as if in a market? Śiva Vâkya ridiculed even the *yogin* and his 96 rules of procedure. He ridiculed those who believed that the carriage of *linga* on the neck was true piety. He had no faith in self-mortification or in the efficacy of *mantras*. He held that pilgrimage was of no use. "Can a bath in the Ganges turn black into white?" he asks. The transformation of a sinner into a saint is not possible by that process. "Shun illusions, repress the senses, then the sacred waves of Kâśi will, he says, swell within your own breast." In short, to Śiva Vâkya, his own thoughts are the flowers and ashes to be offered to the Lord, his own breath is the *linga*, his senses are the incense, and his soul the light, and his God is not the artificial image in the temple, but a wholly spiritual object,—"the original, the endless, whom no mind understands. He is not Vishnu, nor Brahma, nor Śiva. In the beyond is He, neither black nor white, nor great nor little, nor male nor female,—but stands far, far, and far beyond all beings' utmost pale." Pattiragiriyâr was less fighting and more pathetic in his appeal. He prays to his Lord to bend his mind like a bow, to bind his senses to it as strings and impel the arrows of his thoughts to Him alone. He asks: when will the senses be annihilated, when will his pride be subdued, and when will his tired being be steeped in sleepless sleep ?" "When, he asks again and again, will he cleave through birth's illusions and attain the last spiritual state, the acme of spiritual perfection from which there is no return? When will he be freed from the opium-like things of the world for the nectar-like things of God ?" He finds all written wisdom useless as a guide to the identification with the divinity. He cannot find, inspite of immense poring into it, truth therein. He therefore yearns for the time when he can burn the *Śâstras*, deem the *Vedas* lies, and exploring the mystery, reach bliss, when the soul, suffering like a fish in a net will get freedom and happiness, when the carnal lusts will end, and " I with eyelids dropped, to heaven ascend and with God's Being my own being blend." The wailings of Paṭṭinattu Piḷḷai were even more pathetic. No man had a truer idea of the illusion of earthly happiness, and a better capacity to weave fine ideas into "fine patterns of thought," though sometimes, in the opinion of Mr. Caldwell his productions are more "melodious verbiage than striking thought."[21] When speaking of idol-worship, for example, he points out how God's presence is found not in stone or copper, chiselled or furbished by tamarind, but "in speech, in the *Vedas*, darkness, heavens, the hearts of ascetics and the loving mind." Idols, he vowed never to adore. Equally vehement is his hatred of earthly life and career. "What

21 *Ind. Ant.* I. p. 198. Dr. L. D. Barnett is of opinion that the Southern school of Saiva Siddhântism had in reality its origin in the north. For a detailed consideration of the question. See *R. A. S. J.* 1910 ; *Siddhântadîpika*, June 1910. For a few examples of the writings of Paṭṭiṇattu Piḷḷai and others see Gover's *Folksongs*.

is there in the body, he asks in one place, that men should love and cherish it so much ? It is a property claimed by various agents,—by fire, by worms, by the earth, by kites, jackals and curs. Its ingredients, moreover, are nasty and of bad odour. To love it, therefore, is the greatest of anomalies, of inexplicable inconsistencies. As is the body, so is every other thing of man. His habitation, his fame, his women, his children, his beauty, his wealth, nothing abides. The moment he is dead, he is, to his mother, an object of contempt. To his sons, " who encircle the pyre and " fall the wonted pots, his memory is more a burden than a pleasure." "There is no love, therefore, concludes Paṭṭinattu Piḷḷai, as the love of God. It is the most enduring, eternal and pleasure giving. " It is the sole support of his life. Vows and austerities, *Vedas* and *Purânas,* offerings and prayers, sandals and ashes, *mantras* and mortifications, all these are, in his opinion, " nothing but Godward perfidy."[22] It is the love of the Lord that is everything.

The Policy of Vijayanagar.

With tender solicitude the Vijayanagar sovereigns fostered all these various aspects of religious activity. Their attitude towards the two great religions of Hinduism was one of inexhaustible generosity and boundless encouragement. And they shewed it in various ways. They first built temples and towers, walls and *maṇṭapas,* and constructed cars and vehicles. They organized festivals at state expense. They reared gardens of useful trees. They made numerous endowments of land. On all sacred occasions, on days of eclipses, on the anniversary days of the deaths of royal personages, they made various gifts to temples in the form of lamps, cows, gold, etc. They interfered in the management of the temples and looked after their proper maintenance.[23] They even remitted revenues amounting to thousands of *varâhas* on behalf of temples. Nowhere else in the world's history do we find such a close alliance between the state and the church, such a hearty co-operation between temporal and spiritual leaders. True, Vijayanagar was pursuing no new policy. The idea of the close connection between royalty and religion is as old as Indian history; nevertheless the policy of Vijayanagar seems to have been singularly liberal and broadminded. The Emperors seem to have extended their patronage not only to sects of Hinduism. Their range of patronage knew no bounds, knew no petty partialities. A remarkable proclamation of Dêva Râya in the 14th century declares the unity of the Jain and Vaishṇava religions, and the consequent necessity on the part of the adherents of the two religions to abstain from conflicts[24] Examples of endowments even to mosques are not wanting and prove the nobility of a power, which valued harmony above everything else among the various peoples and creeds of Empire.

The services of Vijayanagar to art and industries, to literature and culture were equally great, but space forbids an attempt to dwell on them. Nor is it my province to do so. The foregoing survey of the social, political and religious effects will suffice to point out the atmosphere in which the Nâik Râj was established, the policy which it inherited, and the problems it had to solve: The other effects—on art, on painting and sculpture, on architecture and literature—will be incidentally illustrated in the course of this treatise. With these remarks we shall proceed to consider the circumstances under which the Nâik dynasty was founded in Madura.

22 *Ind. Ant.* I. p. 197-204.

23 See the *Kôyiloḷugu* for examples of such interference.

24 *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIV, 233-5.

THE PAHARI LANGUAGE.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K. C. I. E.

(*Continued from page 151.*)

While Sanskrit literature[53] commencing with the *Mahâbhârata* contains many references to the Khaśas, until quite late times it is silent about the Gurjaras. They are not mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata* or in the *Vishṇu, Bhâgavata*, or *Màrkaṇḍêya Purâṇa*. In fact the earliest known reference to them occurs in the *Śrîharshacharita*, a work of the early part of the 7th century of our era.

According to the most modern theory, which has not yet been seriously disputed, but which has nevertheless not been accepted by all scholars, the Gurjaras entered India, together with the Hûṇas and other marauding tribes, about the sixth century A.D. They rapidly rose to great power, and founded the Râjpût tribes of Râjputâna.[54] The Gurjaras were in the main a pastoral people, but had their chiefs and fighting men. When the tribe rose to power in India, the latter were treated by the Brâhmaṇs as equivalent to Kshatriyas and were called Râjpûts, and some were even admitted to equality with Brâhmaṇs themselves, while the bulk of the people who still followed their pastoral avocations remained as a subordinate caste under the title of Gurjaras, or, in modern language, Gûjars, or in the Panjâb, Gujars.

So powerful did these Gurjaras or Gûjars become that no less than four tracts of India received their name. In modern geography we have the Gujrât and Gujrânwâla districts of the Panjâb, and the Province of Gujarât in the Bombay Presidency. The Gujrât District is a Sub-Himalayan tract with a large proportion of Gujars. It is separated by the river Chinâb from the Gujrânwàla District, in which Gujars are more few. In the Province of Gujarât there are now no members of the Gûjar caste, as a caste, but, as we shall see later on, there is evidence that Gûjars have become absorbed into the general population, and have been distributed amongst various occupational castes. In addition to these three tracts Al-Birûnî (A.D. 971-1039) mentions a Guzarât situated somewhere in Northern Râjputâna.[55]

In ancient times, the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjâb comprised territory on both sides of the Chinâb, more or less accurately corresponding with the existing Districts of Gujrât and Gujrânwâla. It was conquered temporarily by Śaṅkaravarman of Kashmîr in the 9th century.[56] The powerful Gurjara kingdom in South-Western Râjputâna, as described by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century, had its capital at Bhinmâl or Śrîmâl, to the North-West of Mount Abu, now in the Jodhpur State, and comprised a considerable amount of territory at present reckoned to be part of Gujarât, the modern frontier between that Province and Râjputâna being purely artificial. In addition to this kingdom of Bhinmâl, a southern and smaller Gurjara kingdom existed in what is now Gujarât from A.D. 589 to 735. Its capital was probably at or near Bharôch. Between these two Gurjara States intervened the kingdom of the princes of Valabhi, and these princes also seem to have belonged either to the Gurjaras or to a closely allied tribe.[57]

[53] Authorities on the connexion of Ràjpûts and Gurjaras or Gûjars :—

Tod, J.,—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, London, 1829-32. Introduction. Elliot, Sir H. M., K.C.B.,—*Memoirs on the History, Folklore and Distribution of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India.* Edited, etc, by John Beames. London, 1859. I, 99 ff., etc., (see Index). Ibbetson, Sir Denzil, K.C.S.I.,—*Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography*. Calcutta, 1883, pp. 262 ff. [Jackson, A.M.T.],—*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I., App. III. (by A. M. T. J.), Account of Bhinmâl, esp. pp. 463 ff. Smith, Vincent A.—The *Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj*, J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 53 ff. Bhandarkar, D. R. —*Foreign elements in the Hindu Population. Indian Antiquary*, XIL. (1911), pp. 7 ff. esp. pp. 21 ff.

[54] See Mr. V. Smith's note below.

[55] *India* (Sachau's translation, I, 202). Mr. Bhandarkar (l.c., p. 21) locates in the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. The Gujurî dialect spoken in the hills of the North West Frontier Province is closely connected with the Mêwâtî spoken in Alwar at the present day. On the other hand, as stated in a private communication, Mr. Vincent Smith considers that it must have been at or near Ajmer, about 180 miles to the North-East of the old capital Bhinmâl.

[56] *Râjataraṅgiṇi*, v. 143-150, and Stein's translation, I, 99.

[57] *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 3, 4.

The Gurjaras who established the kingdoms at Bhinmâl and Bharôch probably came from the West, as Mr. Bhandarkar suggests. The founders of the Panjab Gurjara kingdom which existed in the 9th century presumably reached the Indian plains by a different route. There is no indication of any connection between the Gurjara kingdom of the Panjâb and the two kingdoms of the widely separated Province of Gujarat.[58]

As may be expected, the Gûjar herdsmen (as distinct from the fighting Gurjaras who became Râjpûts) are found in greatest numbers in the north-west of India from the Indus to the Ganges. In the Panjâb they are mainly settled in the lower ranges and submontane tracts, though they are spread along the Jamna in considerable numbers. Gujrat District is still their stronghold, and here they form 13½ per cent. of the total population. In the higher mountains they are almost unknown.

In the plains tracts of the Panjâb they are called 'Gujars' or 'Gujjars' (not Gûjars), and they have nearly all abandoned their original language and speak the ordinary Panjâbî of their neighbours.

On the other hand, in the mountains to the north-west of the Panjâb, *i.e.*, throughout the hill country of Murree, Jammu, Chhibhal, Hazâra, in the wild territory lying to the north of Peshawar as far as the Swat river, and also in the hills of Kashmîr, there are numerous descendants of the Gurjaras still following their pastoral avocations. Here they are called 'Gujurs' (not 'Gujar' or 'Gûjar') and tend cows. Closely allied to them, and speaking the same language, is the tribe of Ajaṛs who tend sheep.

The ordinary language of the countries over which these last mentioned people roam is generally Pusḥtô or Kâshmîrî, though there are also spoken various Piśâcha dialects of the Swât and neighbouring territories. In fact, in the latter tract, there are numerous tribes, each with a Piśâcha dialect of its own, but employing Pusḥtô as a *lingua franca*. The Gujurs are no exception to the rule. While generally able to speak the language, or the *lingua franca*, of the country they occupy, they have a distinct language of their own, called Gujurî, varying but little from place to place, and closely connected with the Mêwâtî dialect of Râjasthânî, described on pp. 44 ff. of Vol. IX, Pt. II of the *Survey*. Of course their vocabulary is freely interlarded with words borrowed from Pusḥtô, Kâshmîrî, and what not; but the grammar is practically identical with that of Mêwâtî, and closely allied to that of Mêwâṛî.

The existence of a form of Mêwâtî or Mêwâṛî in the distant country of Swat is a fact which has given rise to some speculation. One sept of the Gujurs of Swat is known as 'Chauhân,' and it is known that the dominant race in Mewar belongs to the Chauhân sept of Râjpûts. Two explanations are possible. One is that the Gujurs of this tract are immigrants from Mêwât (or Alwar) and Mewâr. The other is that the Gurjaras in their advance with the Hûṇas into India, left some of their number in the Swât country, who still retain their ancient language, and that this same language was also carried by other members of the same tribe into Râjputânâ.

The former explanation is that adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith, who has kindly supplied the following note on the point :—

"The surprising fact that the pastoral, semi-nomad Gujur graziers and Ajaṛ shepherds, who roam over the lower Himalayan ranges from the Afghân frontier to Kumâon and Gaṛhwâl, speak a dialect of 'Hindî,' quite distinct from the Pusḥtô and other languages spoken by their neighbours, has been long familiar to officers serving in the Panjâb and on the North-Western Frontier.[59] In 1908 the *Linguistic Survey* made public the more precise information that the grammar of the speech of the still more remote Gujurs of the

[58] The above account of the early history of the Gurjaras is based on information kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. V. Smith.

[59] Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjâb Ethnography* (1883), p. 265.

Swât Valley is almost identical with that of the Râjpûts of Mêwât and Mêwâṛ in Râjputânâ, distant some 600 miles in a direct line.[60] In the intervening space totally different languages are spoken. Why, then, do the Muhammadan Gujur herdsmen of Swât use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindû Râjpûts of Mêwâṛ ? The question is put concerning the Gujurs of Swât, because they are the most remote tribe at present known to speak a tongue closely allied to the Mêwâtî and Mêwâṛî varieties of Eastern Râjasthânî.

"But dialects, which may be described as corrupt forms of Eastern Râjasthânî, extend along the lower hills from about the longitude of Chambâ through Gaṛhwâl and Kumâon into Western Nepâl, so that the problem may be stated in wider terms, as :—' Why do certain tribes of the lower Himâlaya, in Swât, and also from Chambâ to Western Nepâl, speak dialects allied to Eastern Râjasthânî, and especially to Mêwâtî, although they are divided from Eastern Râjputânâ by hundreds of miles in which distinct languages are spoken ?'

"It is not possible to give a fully satisfactory solution of the problem, but recent historical and archæological researches throw some light upon it. All observers are agreed that no distinction of race can be drawn between the Gûjars or Gujurs and the Jâṭs or Jaṭṭs, two castes which occupy a very prominent position in North-Western India. It is also agreed that several other castes in the same region, such as Ajaṛs, Ahîrs and many more, are racially indistinguishable from the Jaṭṭs and Gûjars. The name Gujar appears in Sanskrit inscriptions as Gurjara, and nobody can doubt that the modern Gûjars represent the ancient Gurjaras. Long ago the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson recognized the fact that in the Panjâb it is impossible to draw distinctions in blood between Gûjars and many clans of Râjpûts, or, in other words, local enquiry proves that persons now known as Râjpûts may be descended from the same ancestors as are other persons known as Gûjars.[61] Mr. Baden Powell observed that ' there is no doubt that a great majority of the clan-names in the Panjâb belong both to the " Râjpût" and the " Jâṭ" sections. And this indicates that when the numerous Bâla, Indo-Scythian, Gûjar and Hûṇa tribes settled, the leading military and princely houses were accepted as " Râjpût," while those who took frankly to cultivation, became " Jâṭ".[62] Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar has demonstrated recently that the ancestors of the Râṇâs of Udaipur (Mewâṛ) were originally classed as Brâhmaṇs, and were not recognised as Râjpûts until they became established as a ruling family.[63] In fact, there is abundant evidence to prove that the term ' Râjpût' signifies an occupational group of castes, which made it their principal business to rule and fight. That being the traditional business of the ancient Kshatriyas, castes known as Râjpût were treated by the Brâhmaṇs as equivalent to Kshatriyas, and superior in rank and purity to castes engaged in agriculture. We may take it as proved that there is nothing to prevent a Râjpût being descended from a Brâhmaṇ, a Gûjar, a Jaṭṭ, or in fact from a man of any decent caste. Consequently the Gujur herdsmen and Ajaṛ shepherds of Swât may well be the poor relations of the Râjpût chivalry of Mêwâṛ, and the present divergence in social status may be the result of the difference of the occupations to which their respective ancestors were called by Providence.

"If the Swât Gujurs and the Mêwât and Mêwâṛ Râjpûts come of one stock, it is not so wonderful that they should speak a language essentially one. Certainly there is no difficulty in believing that all the Himalayan tribes, both in Swât and east of Chambâ, who speak forms of Râjasthânî, may be largely of the same blood as the Râjpûts of Eastern Râjputânâ. Of course, I do not mean that a pure race is to be found anywhere in India—almost every caste is of very much mixed blood.

60 *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX, Part II (1908), p. 323. [In the passage quoted from Vol. IX of the *Survey*, the particular Râjasthânî dialect was Jaipurî. But further enquiry has shown me that Mêwâtî and Mêwâṛî are more akin to Gujurî than is Jaipurî. This is a matter of small importance. Jaipur lies between Mewât and Mewâr.—G. A. G.]

61 Ibbetson, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

62 ' Notes on . . . the Râjpût Clans (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 534).

63 ' Guhilots ' (*J. Proc., A. S. B.*, New Ser., Vol., V. (1909), pp. 167-187); ' Âtpur Inscription of Saktikumâra', *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIX (1910, p. 186). [So, in *Mahâbhârata* VIII, 2076. a Bahlîka Brâhmaṇa may, if he choose, become a Kshatriya.—G. A. G.]

"Not only are the Jaṭṭs, Gûjars, Ajaṛs, etc., related in blood to the Râjpûts, but we may also affirm with confidence, that that blood is in large measure foreign, introduced by swarms of immigrants who poured into India across the north-western passes for about a century, both before and after 500 A.D. The Gurjaras are not heard of until the sixth century, but from that time on they are closely associated with the Hûṇas (Huṇs) and other foreign tribes, which then settled in India and were swallowed up by the octopus of Hinduism—tribes insensibly, but quickly, being transformed into castes. It is now certain, as demonstrated by epigraphical evidence, that the famous Parihâr (Pratîhâra) Râjpûts were originally Gurjaras or Gûjars; or, if we prefer, we may say that certain Gurjaras were originally Pratîhâras; and it is practically certain that the three other 'fire born' Râjpût clans—Pawâr (Pramâr), Solaṅkî (Chaulukya), and Chauhân (Châhamâna)—were descended, like the Parihârs, from ancestors belonging to a Gurjara or cognate foreign tribe.

"We are not able to identify the locality beyond the passes from which these ancestors came, nor do we know what tribal names they bore before they entered India, or what language they then spoke.[64] Further, it is not possible at present to be certain concerning the road by which the Gurjaras, Hûṇas, etc., entered India. Probably they came by many roads. But the legend locating the origin of the fire-born clans at Mount Âbû and much evidence of other kinds indicate that the principal settlements of the foreigners were in Râjputânâ, which became the great centre of dispersion.

"We know that as early as the first half of the seventh century, Bhinmâl (Śrîmâla) to the north-west of Mount Âbû, was the capital of a kingdom ruled by Vyâghramukha Châpa. The Châpas were a subdivision of the Gurjaras. A coin of Vyâghramukha was found associated with numerous slightly earlier Hûṇa coins of the sixth and seventh centuries on the Manaswâl Plateau in the outer Siwâlik Hills, Hoshiyârpur District, Panjâb, which at that period undoubtedly was under Hûṇa-Gurjara rule. Early in the eighth century, Nâgabhaṭa I, a Gurjara, who had then become a Hindû, established a strong monarchy at Bhinmâl, where Vyâghramukha had ruled a hundred years earlier. Nâgabhaṭa's son, Vatsarâja, greatly extended the dominions of his house, defeating even the king of Eastern Bengal. In or about 810 A.D., Nâgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarâja, deposed the king of Kanauj and removed the seat of his own government to that imperial city. For more than a century, and especially during the reigns of Mihira-Bhôja and his son (840-908 A.D.), the Gurjara-Pratîhâra kingdom of Kanauj was the paramount power of Northern India, and included Surâshṭra (Kâṭhiâwâṛ) within its limits, as well as Karnâl, now under the Government of the Panjâb.

"I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Râjputânâ, from the sixth century onwards adopted the local language, an early form of Râjasthânî, with great rapidity. They brought, I imagine, few women with them, and when they formed unions with Hindû women, they quickly learned the religion, customs, and language of their wives. I am inclined to believe that during the period of Gurjara rule, and especially during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Râjasthânî language must have been carried over a wide territory far more extensive than that now occupied by it. It seems to me that the Gujurs and Ajaṛs of Swât, and the similar tribes in the lower Himâlayas to the east of Chambâ, should be regarded as survivals of a much larger population which once spoke Râjasthânî, the language of the court and capital. For one reason or other the neighbours of those northern Gujurs and Ajaṛs took up various languages, Pushtô, Lahndâ, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought from Râjputânâ, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mêwât. If this theory be sound, the forms of the Himalayan Râjasthânî, should be more archaic than those of modern Mêwâtî or the other

64 I have a suspicion that they may have been Iranians, perhaps from Sîstân, but I cannot profess to prove that hypothesis.

dialects of Râjputânâ, just as in Quebec French is more archaic than current Parisian.[65] I do not see any other way of explaining the existence of the Râjasthânî 'outliers,' if I may borrow a convenient term from the geologists. The historical indications do not favour the notion that the Gurjaras, etc., came *viâ* Kábul and thence moved southwards, dropping settlements in the Lower Himâlayas; they rather suggest immigration from the west by the Quetta and Kandahâr routes or lines of march still further south. Settlements dropped among the Himâlayan Hills by invaders speaking a Central Asian language could not possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Râjputânâ. The ancestors of the Swât Gujurs must have spoken Râjasthânî and have learned it in a region where it was the mother tongue. The far northern extensions of that form of speech must apparently be attributed to the time when the Gurjara kingdom attained its greatest expansion. We know from inscriptions that the dominions of both Mihira-Bhôja and his son, Mahêndrapâla (*cir.* 840-908 A. D.), included the Karnâl district to the north-west of Delhi.

"My answer to the problem proposed at the beginning of this note, therefore, is that the Gujurs, etc., of the lower Himâlayas, who now speak forms of Râjasthânî, are in large measure of the same stock as many Râjpût clans in Râjputânâ, the Panjâb, and the United Provinces; that their ancestors emigrated from Râjputânâ after they had acquired the Râjasthânî speech; and that the most likely time for such emigration is the ninth century, when the Gujara-Râjpût power dominated all northern and north-western India, with its capital at Kanauj.[66]"

Turning now to the other explanation, we may premise by stating that the Gurjaras may possibly have entered Râjputânâ from two directions. They invaded the Sindh Valley, where they have practically disappeared as a distinct caste, the Gakkhars, Janjûâs, and Paṭhâns being too strong for them.[67] But their progress was not stopped, and they have probably entered the Gujarât Province and Western Râjputâna by this route. In Gujarât they became merged into the general population, and there is now in that province no Gûjar caste, but there are Gûjar and simple Vâṇiâs (traders), Gûjar and simple Sutârs (carpenters), Gûjar and simple Sonârs (goldsmiths), Gûjar and simple Kumbhârs (potters), and Gûjar and simple Salâṭs (masons).[68]

Gûjars, as distinct from Râjpûts, are strong in Eastern Râjputâna, their greatest numbers being in Alwar, Jaipur, Mewâr, and the neighbourhood. Here they are a distinct and recognised class, claiming to be descended from Râjpûts.[69] These must have come along the other supposed line of advance from the north. Several Gûjar-Râjpût tribes, such as the Châlukyas, Châhamânas (Chauhâns), and Sindas, came to Râjputâna from a mountainous country called Sapâdalaksha.

[65] [As a matter of fact Gujurî *is* more archaic in its forms than its nearest congener, modern Mêwâtî. See the Gujurî section below.—G. A. G.]

[66] For historical, epigraphical, and numismatic details, see V. A. Smith—
"The Gurjaras of Râjputâna and Kanauj" (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., April, 1909);
"White Hun Coins from the Panjâb" (*Ibid.*, Jan. 1907);
"White Hun Coins of Vyâghramukha" (*Ibid.*, Oct. 1907);
"The History of the City of Kanauj, etc." (*Ibid.*, July 1908).
D. R. Bhandarkar—
"Foreign elements in the Hindu Population" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 7—37). Mr. Bhandarkar (p. 30) thinks that Eastern Rajasthânî is derived from Pahâṛî Hindî; but I do not think he can be right.

[67] Ibbetson, *l. c.*, p. 263. Mr. Vincent Smith is of opinion that the position of their principal settlement, that at Bhinmâl, North-West of Mount Abû, indicates that the Gurjaras came from the West, across Sindh, and not from the North down the Indus Valley. They could have entered Sindh either *viâ* Makrân, as the Arabs did later in the end of the 7th century, or through Balûchistân by roads further north. If they came from Sîstân and spoke an Eranian language, they would soon have picked up an Indian tongue. On this theory, the Gujars of the Panjâb would have entered that province from the south, proceeding up the Indus Valley. Mr. Smith points out that the Panjâb Gurjaras probably are a later settlement. We hear of them first in the Kashmîr chronicles in the 9th century.

[68] Bhandarkar, *l. c.*, p. 22.

[69] In 1901, the total number of Gûjars in Râjputâna was 462,739. Of these, 46,046 were enumerated in Alwar, 184,494 in Jaipur, and 50,574 in Mewâr. Bharatpur, adjoining Alwar, had 44,875.

Mr. Bhandarkar[70] has shown that this Sapâdalaksha included the hill-country from Chamba on the west, to Western Nepâl on the east, thus almost exactly corresponding with the area in which Western and Central Pahâṛî are now spoken. Now, in this tract at the present day it may be said that, while there are plenty of Râjpûts, there are no Gûjars. The main population is, as we have seen, Khaśa, in which the non-military Gûjars must have been merged.[71] The Sapâdalaksha Gûjar-Râjpûts, on the other hand, have provided Mewâr with its Chauhâns. We have seen that one of the Swât Gujur septs is also called Chauhân, and the second of the two explanations for the presence of the Gujurs in their present seats is that they are not a backwash of immigration from Râjputâna, but are the representatives of Gurjaras who were there left behind while the main body advanced and settled in Sapâdalaksha. Instead of taking to agriculture and becoming merged in the population, they retained their ancestral pastoral habits and their tribal individuality.[72]

We have seen that there were originally many Râjpûts in Sapâdalaksha. In the times of the Musalmân rule of India many more Râjpûts from the plains of India took refuge amongst their Sapâdalaksha kin and there founded dynasties which still survive. Particulars regarding these will be found in the Introduction to the three Pahâṛî languages and need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that it is plain that down even to the days of late Musalmân dominion the tie between Sapâdalaksha and Râjputâna was never broken. And this, in my opinion, satisfactorily explains the fact of the close connexion between the Pahâṛî languages and Râjasthânî.

We thus arrive at the following general results regarding the Aryan-speaking population of the Pahâṛî tract.

The earliest immigrants of whom we have any historical information were the Khaśas, a race hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking an Aryan, but not necessarily, an Indo-Aryan, language. They were followed by the Gurjaras, a tribe who invaded India about the sixth century A. D. and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapâdalaksha. At that time, they also spoke an Aryan, but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan, language.[73] Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the preceding Khaśa population. Others were fighting men, and were identified by the Brâhmaṇs with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded Eastern Râjputâna from Sapâdalaksha, and, possibly, Western Râjputâna from Sindh, and founded, as Râjpûts, the great Râjpût states of Râjputâna.[74]

70 *l. c.* pp. 28 ff. *Sapâdalaksha* becomes in modern speech *sawâ-lâkh*, and means one hundred and twenty-five thousand, a reference to the supposed number of hills in the tract. At the present day the name is confined to the '*Siwâlik*' hills.

71 We see traces of this merging in the great Kanêt caste of the Simla Hills. It has two divisions, one called Khasiâ and the other Râo (Ibbetson l. c. p. 268). The former represent the Khaśas, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Râos are Gûjars who have become merged into the general population and have adopted a name Râo, indicating their closer connexion with the Râjpûts.

72 The writer's personal opinion upon this disputed point is given at length near the end of this article (p. 166).

73 It is possible that the Gurjaras, at the time that they first entered the hills, did not speak an Indo-Aryan language. We are quite ignorant on the point. But this must not be taken as suggesting that the languages of their descendants, the Râjpûts and the Gujurs, is not Indo-Aryan. It is now-a-days certainly Indo-Aryan, and belongs to the Inner-Group of these languages.

74 It is interesting, on this point, to note that the Central Pahâṛî of Kumaun and Garhwâl (*i.e.*, of Eastern Sapâdalaksha) agree with Eastern Râjasthânî in having the genitive postposition *kô* and the verb substantive derived from the *achh*, while in the Western Pahâṛî of the Simla Hills (*i.e.*, Western Sapâdâlaksha) the termination of the genitive is the Western Râjasthânî *rô*, while one of the verbs substantive (*â*, is) is probably of the same origin as the Western Râjasthânî *hãĩ*. As for Gujarâtî, the genitive ends in *nô*, and the verb substantive belongs to the *achh* group. West of Western Pahâṛî we have the Pôṭhwârî dialect of Lahndâ. Here also the genitive termination is *nô*, but the verb substantive differs from that of Gujarâtî. On the other hand Gujarâtî agrees with all the Lahndâ dialects in one very remarkable point *viz.*, the formation of the future by means of a sibilant. We thus see that right along the lower Himâlaya, from the Indus to Nepal, there are three groups of dialects agreeing in striking points with, in order Gujarâtî, Western Râjasthânî and Eastern Râjasthânî.

The Khaśas were, we have seen, closely connected with the tribes nicknamed 'Piśâchas' or cannibals, of North-Western India. I have elsewhere contended, and I believe proved, that the wild tribes of the extreme North-West, immediately to the South of the Hindû Kush, are modern representatives of these ancient 'Piśâchas,' and I have classed the languages now spoken by them and also Kâshmîrî, as belonging to the 'Piśâcha Group.' This Piśâcha Group of languages possesses many marked peculiarities strange to the Aryan languages of the Indian Plains, and several of these are clearly observable in the various forms of Western and Central Pahâṛî,—strong in the extreme west, but becoming weaker and weaker as we go eastwards. It is reasonable to infer that in this we have traces of the old language of the Khaśas, whom Sanskrit tradition makes to be related to the Piśachas.[75] But the Pahâṛi languages, although with this Khaśa basis, are much more closely related to Râjasthânî. This must be mainly due to the Gûjar influence. We have seen that the Gûjars occupied the country, and became absorbed in the general population, but at the same time they must have given it their language. Then there was a constant reflux of emigration on the part of the Gûjar-Râjpûts from Râjputâna and the neighbouring parts of India. These re-immigrants became, as befitted their Kshatriya station, the rulers of the country and to-day most of the chiefs and princes of the old Sapâdalaksha trace their descent from Râjpûts of the plains. The re-immigration was increased by the oppression of the Mughul rule in India proper, and there are historical notices of tribe after tribe, and leader after leader, abandoning their established seats in Râjputâna, and seeking refuge from Musalmân oppression in the hills from which they had originally issued to conquer the Gangetic Valley.[76]

In Sapâdalaksha proper (the hill-tract with Chamba for its western and Kumaon for its eastern extremity) the Khaśas and the Gûjars have kept themselves comparatively pure from admixture with the Tibeto-Burmans who overflowed from beyond the Himâlaya and also occupied the southern slope of the range. Here the Aryans succeeded in arresting their Tibeto-Burman competitors in the race for possession. On the other hand, in the east, in Nepâl, the Tibeto-Burmans forestalled the Khaśa-Gûjars, and when the latter entered the country they found the others already in possession of the chief valleys. The bulk of the population of Nepâl is Tibeto-Burman, and the Khas conquerors have ever been in a minority. The result has been a considerable racial mixture, which is well described by Hodgson and Professor Sylvain Lévi in the works mentioned in the list of authorities. Most of the Khaśas of Nepâl are of mixed descent. Here it is unnecessary to do more than record the fact, and to refer the ethnologist to the works above mentioned for particulars. What concerns us now is the language, and that has followed the fate of the Khas-Gûjar tribe. While still distinctly allied to Râjasthânî, the Aryan language of Nepâl presents a mixed character. Not only many words, but even special phases of the Grammar, such as the use of the Agent case before *all* tenses of the transitive verb, and the employment of a complete honorific conjugation, are plainly borrowed from the speech of the surrounding Tibeto-Burmans. These changes in the speech are increasing with every decade, and certain Tibeto-Burman peculiarities have come into the language within the memory of men alive at the present day.

[75] Attention will frequently be called to these Khaśa traces in dealing with each language in the following pages. See especially the section devoted to Western Pahâṛî.

[76] For details, see the Introductions to each of the three Pahâṛî Groups.

The question of the language spoken by the Gujurs of Swât is different and more difficult. Two opposing theories have been given in the preceding pages, and the present writer will now attempt to give his own views on the subject. It must, however, be observed that these views are founded on imperfect materials, and are only put forward as what seems to him to be the best explanation till further materials become available.

We do not know what language was spoken by the Gurjaras of Sapâdalaksha. It has been stated that it was not necessarily Indo-Aryan. This is true merely as a confession of ignorance. We simply do not know. All that we can say is that in some respects (such as the use of *handô* as a postposition of the genitive, the form *chhaũ*, for the verb substantive, and the use of *lô* to form the future tense) its modern descendant, Râjasthânî, shows points of agreement with the Piśâcha languages of the north-west.

These Sapâdalaksha Gurjaras came into Eastern Râjputâna, and their language there developed into Modern Râjasthânî. But as has been shown in the part of the *Survey* dealing with Râjasthânî, this is not a pure language. The Gurjaras settled among a people speaking an Indo-Aryan language of the Inner Group akin to Western Hindî. They adopted this language, retaining at the same time many forms of their own speech The result was Râjasthânî, a mixed language in which, as has been shown elsewhere, the influence of the Inner Group of Indo-Aryan languages weakens as we go westwards. In the north-east of Râjputâna, in Alwar and Mewât, the influence of the Inner Group is strongest.

Now the Gujurs of Swât speak this mixed Mêwâtî Râjasthânî, and not the language of the Sapâdalaksha Gurjaras, whatever that was. Of this there can be no doubt. Swât Gujurî therefore must be a form of Mêwâtî Râjasthânî, and we cannot describe the latter as a form of Swât Gujurî, for we know that it originally came from Sapâdalaksha, not from Swât.

Mr. Smith has described how the Gûjars of Râjputâna can have entered the Panjab, and, whether the details of his theory are correct or not (and the present writer, for one, sees no reason for doubting them), we may take it, that the main point,—their entry from Râjputâna—is proved.

We are thus able to conceive the following course of events. The Mewât Gûjars went up the Jamnâ Valley, and settled in the Panjâb plains. There they amalgamated with the rest of the population and lost their distinctive language. Some of them settled in the submontane districts of Gujrât, Gujrânwâla, Kângrâ, and the neighbourhood. Here they partially retained their old language, and now speak a broken mixture of it, Pañjâbî, and Hindôstânî. The use of Hindôstânî forms in this mongrel submontane Gujarî, far from the River Jamnâ, on the banks of which Hindôstânî has its proper home, is most suggestive.

Finally, other Gûjars, more enterprising than their fellows, went on further into the mountains, beyond the submontane tract, and are now-a-days represented by the Gujurs of Swât, Kashmîr, and the neighbourhood.

These last wander free over the mountains of their new home, and have little intercourse with the other inhabitants of the locality. They have hence retained the original language which they brought with them from Mewât. But even here we shall see in the specimens sporadic waifs picked up on their journey—stray Hindôstânî and Pañjâbî forms, retained like solitary flies in amber, within the body of the Gujur speech.

THE DATE OF MAHAVIRA.

BY JARL CHARPENTIER, PH. D., UPSALA.

(Continued from page 133.)

From this point the various chronological documents ought to be considered separately, and I shall begin here with the Brahmanical tradition as incorporated in the *Vâyu Purâṇa*.

According to this text the above-mentioned, Darśaka (or Harṣaka)[64] after a reign of 25 years was succeeded by Udaya (or Udayâśva), who reigned 33 years ; after him came Nandivardhana and Mahânandin, to whom a reign of altogether 85 years is assigned. Mahânandin was the last king of the Śâiśunâga dynasty, and after him the nine Nandas, Mahâpadma, etc., reigned during two generations altogether 100 years ; of the Mâuryas, who followed the last Nanda, Candragupta reigned 24, Bindusâra 25, and Aśoka 36 years. If we now sum up the different reigns from Ajâtaśatru down to the accession of Aśoka, it makes altogether 317 years; and if we take for granted, that Buddha died eight years after the accession of Ajâtaśatru, this would place Aśoka just 309 years after the Nirvâṇa, which is simply impossible, for even if we could use the Ceylonese era, according to which Buddha died 544 B. C. this would correspond to 234 B. C., and we know, that Aśoka had been anointed more than 12 years before a date which fell between 260 and 258 B. C. And, if we take 477 B. C. as the year of the Nirvâṇa, the accession of Aśoka would fall in 168 B. C., which is still more absurd.

So there must be an error in the *Purâṇas*, and I think it is rather easily detected. That there were two generations of Nandas, including a father and nine sons, the last of whom was called Mahâpadma, is related not only in Brahmanical, but also in Jain and (to a certain extent) in Buddhist texts. Moreover, Hemacandra and other Jain authors assert expressly, that Udaya or Udâyi was the last of the Śâiśunâgas. Now, it is obvious that names like Mahânandin and Nandivardhana have nothing in common with the Śâiśunâgas, but look suspiciously like Nanda, and *Mahânandin* may even be a sort of shortening for the fuller *Mahâpadma Nandarâja.*[65] From this and from the great exaggeration in years I conclude, that the *Purâṇa* has twice counted the reigns of the Nanda dynasty, which is quite possible, as there seems to have been a great confusion prevailing in matters concerning their history. Moreover, the number of years (100) seems very suspicious as allotted to a father and nine sons, for it would give just ten years to each. From these instances I venture to draw the conclusion, that Mahânandin and Nandivardhana originally represented the two generations of Nandas, reigning 85 years,[66] and that the 100 years attributed to the Nandas is an interpolation based on oblivion and misunderstanding of the real facts. If then we eliminate the 100 years of the Nandas, the time between the death of Buddha and the accession of Aśoka would be 209 years instead of 309, which would place his date in 268 B. C. according to the adjusted chronology. But now the Buddhists, who may have had after all, the best information concerning Aśoka, tell us, that he reigned 4 years before his coronation and 37 years after it, which is fairly near the 36

64 In the *Viṣṇu-Purâṇa* his name is Darbhaka, *Cf.* **Müller**, *Ancient Skt. Lit.* p. 296.

65 *Nandarâja* is mentioned twice in the inscription of Khâravela and in Kâuṭilîya p. 429. *Nandrus* is an evident emendation of (*vide* **Gutschmid**) for **Alexandrus** in Justin XV, 4. I am absolutely at a loss to understand what *Xandramas* or *Agrammes*, which was the name of the last king of Magadha before Candragupta according to Diodoras XVII, 93 and Curtins IX, 2, might be in Sanskrit. Ξανδραμης seems to contain a Sanskrit *candra* °or perhaps *caṇḍa*° but nothing can be made out of this, as there is no such name amongst the Nandas.

66 Two generations reigning for 85 years may seem to be a rather incredible event, but it is by no means impossible as Mr. **Vincent A. Smith** has supplied in his *Early History of India*, p. 40, examples from English history illustrating the length of reigns, I need only call attention to the fact that the reigns of Henry VIII and his children covered a period of no less than 94 years (1509-1603), and that Henry VIII was born 112 years before the death of Elizabeth.

years mentioned in the *Purâṇa*. If so, we must increase the 36 by five years, which would bring his accession to the throne to 273 B. C., which is nearly coincident with the date calculated from the inscriptions, 276-274 B. C.

So far concerning the Brahmanical tradition. The Jain records consist mainly in the *versus memoriales* treated of above, and the traditions incorporated in Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, but these must be considered later on, and so I pass now to the statements of the Buddhists, as we find them related in the Ceylonese chronicles. Here we must begin with the *Mahâvaṃsa*, as the statements there are at least clear, whilst the *Dîpavaṃsa* gives several utterly confused traditions.[67]

According then to the *Mahâvaṃsa* II, 25 *sq.* and IV, 1 *sq.*, V. 14 *sq.*, Bimbisâra reigned 52 years, and was succeeded by his son and murderer Ajâtaśatru, who reigned 8 years before and 24 years after the death of Buddha, or altogether 32 years. The princes after Ajâtaśatru may have been rather faint supporters of the Buddhists religion, for the *Mahâvaṃsa* IV, 1 *sq* calls the following a '*pitughâtakavaṃsa*,' a 'lineage of parricides', and tells that one after another succeeded to the throne by slaying his father and predecessor. They were: Udayabhaddaka, reigning 16 years, Anuruddhaka and Muṇḍa together 8 years[68] and Nâgadâsaka 24 years. After these monsters, of whom the last was slain by the infuriated people, a righteous minister, Susunâga, reigned 18 years, and was succeeded by his son, Kâlâsoka, whose reign lasted 28 years. In the eleventh year (*atîte dasame vasse*, IV, 8) of his reign the second council was convoked at Vesâli, 100 years after the Nirvâṇa of Buddha. Kâlâsoka was succeeded by his ten sons, who reigned 22 years, and these by the nine Nandas, reigning another 22 years.[69] After the dethronement of the last Nanda by Câṇakya, Candragupta reigned 24 years. His son Bindusâra reigned 28 years, and was succeeded by Aśoka, who, after having murdered his 99 brothers, was anointed king 218 years after the Nirvâṇa. All these dates fit fairly well to each other, but the 'error' in the *Samantapâsâdikâ* mentioned above shows undoubtedly that the tradition is not on all points to be trusted, and we may perhaps, after all, not attach too much weight to the report that Aśoka was anointed just 218 years after the death of Buddha. However, there is one date, which may have been at least approximately known by the Buddhists, and that is the year of the second Council. That it took place 100 years A. B. is asserted by the *C. V.* XII, 1, 1, and it does not matter here if that is not the quite correct date, or even if the Council never

[67] I cannot consider here the *Divyâvadâna*, which states that Aśoka reigned 100 years after Buddha (pp. 368, 379 etc.) and gives on pp. 369, 430 an utterly incredible list of kings, which is in contradiction with all other records. According to this list the rulers of Magadha were the following: Bimbisâra, Ajâtaśatru, Udâyin (Udayibhadra), Muṇḍa, Kâkavarṇin, Sahâli, Tulakuci, Mahâmaṇḍala, Prasenajit, Nanda, Vindusâra, Aśoka, Sampadî (son of Kunâla and grandson of Asoka), Vṛhaspati, Vṛhasena (!), Puṣyadharman and Puṣyaratha. I only point to the fact, that in this list, Candragupta is forgotten, from which its value may be judged.

[68] In the *Samantapâsâdikâ* 3213 ff. Buddhaghosa assigns to these rulers 18 years instead of 8: a very remarkable tradition as it is in contradiction with the total sum of years between Buddha and Aśoka. This seems to point to a grave uncertainty in the Ceylonese tradition.

[69] It has not been observed before, as far as I know, that the Jain tradition has preserved a faint recollection of Kâlâsoka and his successors. In *Upâṅga* 8 and 9 (*nirayâvalî*) it is spoken of prince *Kâla* and his 9 brothers, whom the tradition makes out to be step-brothers of *Ajâtaśatru*, and later on of his 10 sons, two of whom bear the names *Mahâpadma* and *Nandana*. This shows a certain coincidence with other relations of the Nandas, albeit in an utterly confused form.

took place,[70] for the main question is that the date was an important starting point in the Ceylonese chronology, and I am firmly convinced that the monks in Ceylon also knew from old traditions, that this centenary fell just after the tenth year of Kâlâsoka's reign. I only emphasize once more the deviating statement of Buddhaghosa which must perhaps induce us to alter in some way the list of rulers before Kâlâsoka. But the events previous to his time do not, of course, affect the date of the great Aśoka, as there was, no doubt, a clear tradition that his *abhiṣeka* took place 118 years after the second Council and A. B. 218. Counting according to the adjusted chronology, this would fix the date of the *abhiṣeka* in 260-59 B. C., which is impossible to judge from the inscriptions.

It is true, that Aśoka always does count from the year of his *abhiṣeka*, as is clearly seen from all the dated inscriptions[71]; but we have calculated above, that his coronation must have taken place between 272-270 B.C. This would, no doubt, imply that the death of Buddha happened between 490-488 B. C., a date which does not coincide with the calculations of General Cunningham and Professor Max Müller. But here the following point of view ought to be considered.

Aśoka was, according to the Buddhist reports, an unbeliever during the first part of his reign, and he was converted three years after his coronation.[72] Now this is of great interest, as it will probably be in agreement with the statements of Aśoka himself. The well-known introduction to the Rock-Ed. XIII tells us that '*a[stava]ṣa abhisita[sa de]vana priasa Priadraśisa raño ka[liga vijita]*'[73]; so the conquest of Kâliṅga must have taken place between 264-262 B. C., and immediately afterwards the king began to repent the slaughter and bloodshed that had taken place and became to a certain degree a convert. Now he further tells us, in the Sahasrâm etc., edicts, that he was during more than 2½ years a rather luke-warm lay-follower, but had since that time during more than a year been an energetic member of the community (*adhikân[i] aḍhâtiyâni vasâni ya hakaṃ (upâsake) no tu kho bâḍhaṃ pakaṃte husaṃ ekaṃ sa(ṃ) vacharaṃ sâtireke tu kho sa(ṃ)vachar[a]ṃ yaṃ mayâ saṃghe upayîte bâḍhaṃ ca me pakaṃte*). This implies, that more than 10½, say about 11, years had elapsed since the coronation, and consequently about 15 years since the accession, before he became a really faithful convert to Buddhism. And in the Rock-Ed. VIII he tells us that in his eleventh year he 'set out for the *saṃbodhi*' (*ayâya saṃbodhiṃ*), which fairly corresponds to the statement of the Sahasrâm edict.[74] If now we compare the three years after the coronation spoken of by the *Dîpavaṃsa* and the 'more than 2½ years' of the Sahasrâm edict, it cannot be denied that they present a striking resemblance, and I do not hesitate to conclude that in reality they point to the same event.[75] But this leads us further

[70] This is, of course, not my opinion, as I feel by no means convinced by the various theories adduced principally by **R. O. Franke** to invalidate the Buddhist tradition on this point.

[71] Dates from the year 8 (conquest of Kaliṅga) in Rock-Ed. XIII to the year 26 (Pillar-Ed. I, IV and V) and 27 (Pillar-Ed. VII).

[72] *Dîpav.* VI, 18; also the corrupt verse VI, 24 speaks of the conversion three years after the *abhiṣeka*.

[73] *Shahbâzgarhî* : *Ep. Ind.* II, 462.

[74] I have here fully made use of the very clear and convincing statements by Dr. **F. W. Thomas**, *J. A.* 1910, p. 507 sq.

[75] There are further proofs of coincidence between the Buddhist scriptures and the edicts which seem to be quite undeniable. The *Divyâvadâna, e. g.* knows of the existence of religious edicts, and makes their number be 84,000, a phantastical exaggeration; but it speaks in connexion with them (pp. 419, 429 etc.) of the institution of the *Pañcavârṣika*, which must be the same thing as the *dharmayâtrâ*, taking place every fifth year according to Rock-Ed. III and IV. Moreover, *Divyâvad*, p. 407 tells us that Kuṇâla was sent by his father to Takṣaśilâ as governor (Hem. *Pariśiṣṭap*, IX, 14 *sq.* says to Ujjayinî), which certainly reminds us of the expression in the Ed. I of Dhauli and Jaugada: *Ujeni(te) kumâle* and *tâkhasilâte* (*Kumâle*). The coincidence between *Divyâvad*, p. 390 and the Rummindeî inscription suggested by **Barth**, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73 and **Bühler**, *Ep. Ind.* V., p. 5, is denied by **Pischel** *S. B. Pr. A. W.* 1903, p. 731, and is rather uncertain. But it is a matter of fact that the *Divyâvadâna* tells us of Aśoka's pilgrimage to the holy places.

to the conclusion, that the Ceylonese chronicles—or rather their source the old *Aṭṭhakathâ*—were under a certain misunderstanding, when they spoke of 218 years between the Nirvâṇa and the *abhiṣeka* of Aśoka. The 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhiṣeka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kâliṅga or to the first conversion, or to both these events. And it must be conceded, that for the Buddhists the conversion was of infinitely more importance than the *abhiṣeka*, and that this may have been originally the point in the life of Aśoka, from which they started their chronological and historical records concerning him. As for the conquest of Kaliṅga it was probably of no importance in chronological calculations, but merely in connection with the conversion, and there is in my opinion no single trace of an era founded upon the incorporation of Kaliṅga in the realm of Aśoka, either in Kaliṅga itself or anywhere else."[76]

If, then, 218 years of the Ceylonese chronicles did originally refer to the conversion, and not to the coronation of Aśoka, this event would have taken place in 259 B. C., and the final conversion about three years later, or 256 B. C., *i. e.*, if we accept the year 477 B. C. for the death of Buddha. But this seems to be some years too late, as the conquest of Kaliṅga must have been completed at latest in 262 B. C. However, we must notice two facts, which possibly might bring the dates into full agreement with each other: (1) as stated above there is a disagreement between Buddhaghosa and the chronicles which may be of certain importance, and (2) the *Mahâvaṃsa* attributes to Bindusâra a reign of 28 years, whilst the Brahmanical sources, which may be more correct here, give him only 25, or three years less. These slight differences taken together may involve the conclusion, that the 218 years are in reality a little exaggerated, and so I find in this no objection, but rather a confirmation, of the correctness of the adjusted date 477 B. C.

The relations of the *Mahâvaṃsa*, albeit in some points a little incredible, seem to be very clear, when we turn to the *Dîpavaṃsa*, which gives us a most confused description of the different kings and their reigns. As far as I have been able to find a way through these entangled statements, there seem to be two main traditions concerning the kings of Magadha, of which the first is desperately confused, and the second is muddled up in a strange way with the calculations of the reigns of Ceylonese kings. To commence: two cardinal points stand out in the *Dîpavaṃsa*, as well as in the *Mahâvaṃsa*, *viz.*, that the second Council was held 100 years after Buddha, when ten years and 15 days had elapsed of the reign of Aśoka, son of Susunâga,[77] and that the second Aśoka was anointed 218 years after Buddha.[78] What the *Dîpavaṃsa* supplies, in scattered notices from III, 56 ff. onwards as far as VI, 1 ff., where the reign of Aśoka begins, is that Bimbisâra reigned 52 years, Ajâtaśatru 8 years before and 24 years after the Nirvâṇa=32 years and Udaya (-bhadda) 16 years[79]: but Anuruddhaka

[76] I agree with Dr. Fleet *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 242 ff.824 ff, that the inscription of Khâravela does not give us any right to presume the existence of a Mâurya era, although I find his interpretation of line 16 in that inscription absolutely inacceptable. Dr. Fleet translates: 'he produces, causes to come forth (*i.e.*, revives), the sixty-fourth chapter (or other division) of the collection of seven Aṅgas.' What does this mean? The seven first *aṅgas* have never, as far as I know, been taken as forming a unity in the canon, and could not well do it, as *Uvâsagadasâo* is in composition far more similar to VIII and IX than to VI; and presuming that the canon existed in its present shape at that time —which is most incredible—the 64th Chapter would correspond to *Bhagavatî*, *saya* 5, which Khâravela would have 'revived.' This is absurd. Moreover, *aṅgas* 9-11 do not contain 75 *adhyayana's*, for 33+10+20 make 63. But I shall deal with this subject in another connexion. That Candragupta did not found any Mâurya era seems clear, as Aśoka never makes use of it; and moreover the statement of Megasthenes in Pliny VI, 17 (21), that at his time the Hindus reckoned 153 kings from 'father Bacchus' down to Alexander during a time of 6451 years, seems to be a distorted record of the reckoning of the Kaliyuga, or the use of some Lâukika era., *Cf.* also Arrian, *Ind.* ch. 8.

[77] *Dîpav.* IV, 44; V, 25.

[78] *Dîpav.* VI, 1 ff.

[79] *Dîpav.* IV, 38; V, 97.

and Muṇda, who reigned together 8 years according to the *Mahâvaṃsa*, are totally omitted by the *Dîpavaṃsa*, and from V, 78 it seems absolutely necessary to conclude, that *Dîpavaṃsa* makes Nâgadâsa the immediate successor of Udaya; as for Nâgadâsa, he reigned at least 21 years,[80] as is seen from XI, 10. Susuṇaga reigned ten years,[81] and was succeeded by Kâlâsoka; but I am not aware of any statement in the *Dîpavaṃsa* concerning the length of his reign. Kâlâsoka must have been confounded with his father Susuṇâga in V, 99, when it is said that:

Susunâgass' accayena honti te dasa bhâtaro |
Sabbe bâvîsati vassaṃ rajjaṃ kâresu vaṃsato ||

for clearly by this are indicated the ten sons of Kâlâsoka, reigning 22 years according to the *Mahâvaṃsa*. The Nandas are totally lacking, Candragupta reigned 24 years, and Bindusâra is only mentioned, in V, 101; VI, 15, as the father of Aśoka without any further notice of the length of his reign[82].

As for Aśoka himself, he reigned 37 years (V, 101), was anointed 218 years after Buddha, and converted three years after his coronation, etc.: all well-known statements. But, beside the clearly corrupt verse VI, 24:

paripuṇṇavîsavassamhi Piyadassâbhisiñcayuṃ |
pâsaṇḍaṃ pariganhanto tîṇi vassam atikkami ||

where the 20 years refer to an unknown event, there is another manifestly confused statement regarding the time of Aśoka. For in V, 102, it is said, that Tissa died in Aśoka's 26th year, but in VII, 32, in his 8th year. I am not able to make out how these contradicting statements may have originated.

In XI, 1 ff., we find the kings of Ceylon, who were in old times as remarkable for their long reigns as afterwards for the speed with which they succeeded each other. V. XI, 8 ff. states that Vijaya began his reign in the 8th year of Ajâtaśatru,[83] and died after having been king 38 years in Udaya's 14th year. After an interregnum of about one year Paṇḍuvâsa was anointed in Udaya's 16th year, and died after a reign of 30 in the 21st year of Nâgadâsa. After him Abhaya became king, and reigned for 20 years; and after him there was an interregnum of 17 years, during which Pakuṇḍaka or Paṇḍukâbhaya 'lived as a robber' (*coro âsi*, XI, 2); having put seven of his maternal uncles to death (XI, 3), and having been anointed at Anurâdhapura he reigned 70 years, and died in the fourteenth year of Candragupta, leaving the crown to his son Muṭasîva, who reigned 60 years, and died 17 years after the coronation of Aśoka[84]. These accounts would place Candragupta in about 315/314 B. C., and the coronation of Aśoka in 257 B. C., but both dates are too late. Now, it is nearly impossible, that Pakuṇḍaka who was 37, when he was crowned, should have reigned 70 years, and have had a son reigning after him for 60 years.[85] But where the error lies is not easily ascertained. However, the miscalculation is rather small, and after all the Ceylonese Chronicles do not form an obstacle to retaining the adjusted date, 477 B. C.

If we now sum up the results of this short investigation, we have found that Aśoka's coronation must have taken place between the years 272-270 B.C., and his real accession to the

80 If Nâgadâsa was really the successor of Udaya, he must have reigned 40 years; for Kâlâsoka had reigned 10 years and 15 days at the centenary of the Nirvâṇa.

81 *Dîpav.* V, 97.

82 But this may be calculated from XI, 12-13 (v. below), and seems to have been about 29 years.

83 He came to Ceylon in the last year of Buddha, *Dîpav.*, IX, 40, on the very night of Buddhas' death, according to *Mahâv.* VII, 1 ff.

84 From this statement the date of Bindusâra can be calculated; he seems to have reigned 29 years.

85 It is, however, remarkable that more than one classical author speaks about the high age reached by the inhabitants of Taprobane: *Cf.*, *e. g.*, Pliny, VI, 22 (24)

throne about four years earlier, or 276-274 B.C. If, to obtain a more fixed date, we take the last of these years, and suppose that Aśoka became king in 274 B.C., and reigned after that time 41 (4+37) years, he must have died 233 B.C. I further think, that the Brahmanical statement concerning Bindusâra is more correct than the Buddhist, and that the absolutely longest duration of his reign that we can assume is 25 years ; this would fix his time between 299-274 B.C., and I should rather prefer to think that he began to reign some years later. Candragupta would have reigned between 323-299 B.C., and this seems to me to be very probable ; for from Justin XV, 4, I fail to draw any other conclusion than that Candragupta became king of Magadha a certain time ere he conquered the western provinces[86], even if he really did see Alexander before that time.[87] If Megasthenes, as seems sure, came in 303-302 B.C. to the court at Pâṭaliputra[88] and lived there some years, the earliest date for Candragupta's death may be 299 B.C., for Megasthenes certainly speaks of him as being alive.

The space of 164 years between 477 and 323 B.C. would then be filled up by Ajâtaśatru and his lineage and the Nanda Kings. Ajâtaśatru is said to have reigned 24 years after Buddha, and so we may probably fix his death at about 453 B.C. ;[89] Udaya or Udâyi, however, who was, in my opinion, certainly the last of the Śaiśunâgas, is said by the Purâṇa to have reigned 33, by the Ceylonese chronicles only 16 years. But here also we must consider, the testimony of the Jains, with which I shall deal below, and it seems rather to confirm the Puranic view. It is certain from the *Dîgha Nikâya*, that Udâyi was thought to have been born and to have already attained some age when Ajâtaśatru visited Buddha ; but notwithstanding this he may have reigned about 30 years. This would bring us down to roughly 425 or 420 B.C., or 100 years before Candragupta. And this time may have been filled up principally by the Nandas, who reigned according to Hemacandra 95 years (see below), and according to what I have tried above to make out from the *Purâṇa* about 85 years. As concerns Susunâga the name is very suspicious, for Siśunâga was founder of the dynasty to which Bimbisâra, etc., belonged ; if Kâlâsoka really existed, he may have been a Nanda. As the dynasty of the Śaiśunâgas may thus have ceased about 420 B.C., and this is not very much at variance with the statement of Hemacandra regarding the time of Nanda's accession, I think that date may as an approximation be approved. And I find no objection whatever to accepting the year 477 B.C. as the most probable date for the Nirvâna of Buddha.[90]

[86] The opinion of Mr. **Vincent A. Smith**, *Early History*, p. 115 sq. is the opposite one, but I cannot approve it.

[87] Plutarch, *Alex.* ch. 72.

[88] **Smith,** *l. c.* p. 118 sq.

[89] These 24 years show a remarkable coincidence with the statement of the *Purâṇas* that Ajâtaśatru reigned for 25 years. Does this really imply the use of a reckoning from the Nirvâṇa of Buddha, existing in the time in which the Puranic list of kings originated ? There is, of course, another coincidence in the 36 years of Asoka in the *Purâṇa* and the 37 years after his coronation by the Buddhists.

[90] As for the reasons adduced by Mr. **Vincent A. Smith**, *Early History*, p. 42 f., for dating the Nirvâṇa at 487/86 B. C., they do not seem to be convincing at all. Concerning Vârṣagaṇya and Vindhyavâsa, they were contemporaries of Vasubandhu, and are said in Chinese sources to have lived '900 years after the Nirvâṇa; but **M. N. Pêri**, *B E F E O.* XI, 339 ff., has showed with sufficient evidence, that the Chinese authors placed the Nirvâna at the beginning of the sixth century B. C., and that Vasubandhu really lived before 350 A. D. As for the 'dotted record' at Canton, finished in 489 A. D., and indicating the year 486 B. C. as the Nirvâṇa, it seems at first rather important ; but when we consider, that the Buddhists of different schools have all gone astray about the date, and that no one of them, as far as I know, has ever counted with the year 486 B. C., it seems very strange if just this single record should have kept the right date. Paramârtha, for instance, who lived 499-569, tells us that one of his works was completed 1265 years A.B. (**Pêri** l. c., p. 361). As for the tradition that Aśoka lived 250 years after the Nirvâṇa, and was a contemporary of She-hwang-ti (246-210 B. C.), this would bring the date back to 496 B. C. (246+250). As for the reasons of Mr. **V. Gopala Aiyyer**, *Ind. Ant.* XXXVII, 341 ff., they are based on the wrong interpretation of 256 in the Sahasrâm. Ed., and on too uncritical acceptance of the dates given in the Ceylonese Chronicles.

If then 477 B.C., is the most credible date for the death of Buddha that seems to be available, he must have been born about 557 B.C., as he was 80 years old when he died. And as the Pâli texts—our only source on this subject—inform us that he was 29 years old at the time of his renunciation, and 36 when he attained Buddhahood, this last event must have happened about 520 B.C. From these calculations, which cannot be very wrong, it is quite clear that if Mahâvîra had died 527 B.C., as one tradition asserts, he and his great rival would absolutely never have come into contact with each other, and all the statements of the Pâli texts concerning Nâtaputta and his followers would be only fancy and invention from the beginning to the end, which seems a quite unjustifiable supposition.

Thus we have seen that if Buddha died 477 B.C., as he may really have done, there is no possibility of 527 B.C., being the right date for Mahâvîra; and we have seen above that this date, based on the calculation that Mahâvîra died 470 years before the commencement of the Vikrama era, rests on no solid ground. So there is no doubt that we must reject this date and try to obtain another, which fits better with the chronological calculations. As such a date has already long ago been suggested by Professor **Jacobi**,[91] I have here merely to lay stress upon his arguments and try to confirm them by some new reasons.

III.

The Jain tradition according to Hemacandra and the real date of Mahavira.

Hemacandra (A.D. 1088-1170), the greatest of all Jain writers, in his *Sthavirâvalîcarita*, usually called *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, has given a sort of history of the time between Bimbisâra and Samprati, the grandson and successor of Aśoka. This often very fanciful and legendary historical record is given as a sort of appendix to what is the real object of the poem, the history of the old Jain patriarchs or pontiffs. But I am rather convinced that, confused and legendary as the record may be, it contains here and there some hints of real historical value, which may be used for the calculation of Mahâvîra's date.

Sreṇika (=Bimbisâra) and his son Kûṇika (=Ajâtaśatru) are well-known to the Jains, but the dates of their reigns are, as far as I know, never given. In VI, 21 ff., Hemacandra tells us how Kûṇika died in Campâ, and was succeeded by his son Udâyin, who founded the new capital, Pâṭaliputra. This king was a stout Jaina, and became very powerful, but he met with a sad fate, for the son of a king, whom he had deposed, managed to get into his palace disguised as a Jain monk, and murdered him. Udâyin had no heirs and consequently the five royal appurtenances were sent out to find a successor to him. The choice was rather strange, for it fell upon a certain Nanda, the son of a courtesan by a barber (VI, 231 ff.), and he was consequently anointed king. This took place 60 years after the death of Mahâvîra, according to VI, 243 :

anantaraṃ Vardhamânasvâminirvâṇavâsarât |
gatâyâṃ ṣaṣṭivatsaryâm esa Nando' bhavan nṛpaḥ ||

This first Nanda seems not to be very unfavourably judged by Hemacandra, and this may lead us to believe that he was thought to have been to some degree a protector of the Jain faith. Such a suggestion seems really to be confirmed by a document of great value, the inscription of Khâravela at Udayagiri. For there he speaks twice of a *Na(ṃ)darâja*, who must, of course, have been a member of the Nanda dynasty ; and although the first passage is by no means clear, and the second one badly mutilated, the latter seems to tell us that Khâravela 'made the king of Magadha bow down at the feet of the highest (or first Jina), brought away (?) by Nandarâja' (*pâde va(ṃ)dâpayati Naṃdarâjanitasa agajinasa*) ; the *agrajina* may be Mahâvîra or Ṛṣabha, it does not matter which, but so much seems clear, that a Nanda king had taken away an idol of a Jina[92] during a raid into Kaliṅga. And why should he have chosen so strange an object, if he had not been a believer in the Jina? Moreover,

[91] *Kalpas.* p. 8 ff.

[92] A curiously similar instance is told about Pradyota and Udayana in **Jacobi's** *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, p. 31 *sq*.

Udâyin, the predecessor of Nanda, was a faithful Jaina, and Ajâtaśatru may have been something of the same.[93] No wonder then that the Buddhists style them 'a lineage of parricides', which elsewhere is only known to suit Ajâtaśatru.

Thus sixty years elapsed between the Nirvâṇa of Mahâvîra and the accession of Nanda. This period was evidently, according to the Jains, filled up by part of the reign of Kûṇika (Ajâtaśatru) and the whole reign of Udâyin, and I have tried above to prove, that Udâyin was most probably the last of his dynasty. Now if Buddha died, as I think proved, in 477 B.C., Ajâtaśatru must have become king 485 B.C., *i.e.*, eight years before the Nirvâṇa. The first enterprise of the new ruler was a war with the old king of Kosala, the brother of his father's second wife. Now the *Bhagavatî*, *Saya* XV,[94] states that the heresiarch Gosâla, the bitter rival of Mahâvîra, died at Śrâvasti, just after that war,[95] and that Mahâvîra survived him for 16 years. That this statement coincides with the other dates given concerning Gosâla is seen from the fact that he claimed to have attained Jinahood two years before Mahâvîra, when the latter was 40 years old, and that after that time they did not see each other for 16 years. Their next and last meeting did not occur before the year of Gosâla's death. So Mahâvîra must have been 56 years old, when Gosâla died, and as he attained the age of 72, he consequently did survive him for 16 years.[96] These 16 years bring us down to a time shortly after 470 B.C., say about 468-67, and this coincides quite with the date proposed by Professor **Jacobi** for the death of Mahâvîra on the authority of Hemacandra. There is no exact statement, as far as I know, that Mahâvîra died during the reign of Kûṇika-Ajâtaśatru, but there is also nothing said concerning an interview between him and Udâyi; and I think we must rather conclude that the reign of Ajâtaśatru is correctly stated in the Buddhist chronicles to have lasted for about 30 years, but that the reign of Udâyi must have lasted for more than 16, or even more than 33 years, if really there was no one between Ajâtaśatru and him.[97]

The Nandas, served by very clever ministers, descendants of Kalpaka, the minister of the first Nanda, were nine in number. The minister of the last of them was the famous Śakaṭâla, here said to have been the father of Sthûlabhadra, the seventh (or ninth) pontiff of the Jain church, who died 215 (or 219) after Mahâvîra. The stories of Nanda, Śakaṭâla and Vararuci, and of the youth of Candragupta and his connection with Câṇakya seem all to be merely fairy tales: albeit it is remarkable, that they are found already in the commentaries on the *Âvaśyaka Niryukti*, and agree partly with the tales in *Kathâsaritsâgara*, etc., and to a still greater extent with the stories told in the *Mahâvaṃsa ṭikâ* 119, 8 ff.; 121, 22 ff.[98] But this cannot be of any value to us here, and only proves furthermore, that 'some centuries after the beginning of our era popular stories about the epoch of the Nandas and the Mauryas were current in India' (**Jacobi**, *Pariśiṣṭap.* p. 50 n. 2). After all the only useful passage is here the verse VIII, 339:

evaṃ ca śrîmahâvîramukte varṣaśate gate |
pañcapañcâśadadhike Candragupto ' bhavan nṛpaḥ ||

Which **Jacobi**[99] has already emphasised as giving another and better tradition concerning the death of Mahâvîra. The similarity in construction between the expression:

93 **Jacobi**, *Kalpas*, p. 5.

94 Concerning the following *Cf.* Dr. **Hoernle's** *Uvâs* App. I and **Hasting's** *Encyl.* p. 260 *sq.*

95 That it occurred after the war seems clear from the statement of the *Bhug.* p. 1254 *sq.* that an allusion to the war is included in the doctrine of the 'eight finalities' of Gosâla. *Cf.* **Hoernle** *l. c.* p. 263.

96 *Cf.* **Hoernle** *Uvâs.* II, p. 110.

97 If Ajâtaśatru survived Buddha for 24, he must have survived Mahâvîra for 14 years, if we accept the year 467 B.C. for the latter, and then Udâyi would have reigned for 46 years according to the statement of Hemacandra concerning 60 years between the death of Mahâvîra and Nanda's accession. This seems to be a very long time, for he is spoken of as a boy already at his father's interview with Buddha, some 30 years before his own accession to the throne (*D. N. I*, 50).

98 *Cf.* **Turnour** *Mahâvaṃsa I*, p. XXXIX ff. and **Geiger**, *Dîpav.* and *Mahâv.* p. 42 ff. The agreement between this text and the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* extends to the most trifle details. The *Mahâvaṃsaṭikâ* seems to be late (**Geiger** *l. c.* p. 37), but it contains old material.

99 *Kalpas*, p. 8 ff.

Candragupto ' bhavan nṛpaḥ.

and the end of verse VI, 243 :

eṣa Nando ' bhavan nṛpaḥ

is scarcely fortuitous, and seems to infer the conclusion, that Hemacandra borrowed such verses *verbatim* from an older source, or perhaps translated them from old chronological *gâthâs* in Prâkrit. As Hemacandra only tells us that Candragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusâra (VIII, 445), and the latter again by his son Aśokaśrî (IX, 14 ff.), who in his turn left the throne to his grandson Samprati[100], the son of Kuṇâla (IX,35 ff.), and a faithful Jaina, without giving their dates or any further references to chronology, we may assume with **Jacobi** that he took as correct the tradition of 255 years elapsing between the accession of Candragupta and the Vikrama era. This would then make up the time between the death of Mahâvîra and the accession of Vikrama till 255+155=410 years, and involve the conclusion that **Mâhâvîra died 467** B.C., which in my opinion is the date best fitted for all circumstances connected with it, and may be deemed the right one.

This gives, in conformity with the tradition reported by Merutuṅga, 312 B.C. as the year of Candragupta's accession: a rather puzzling date. For I do not believe in the suggestion that the Mâurya era was made to begin in 312 B.C., to make it to coincide with the Seleucidan era ; for if Candragupta, as we know, expelled Seleucus from India, and even took from him a part of his Bactrian Dominions, there is no reason whatsoever why he should have adjusted his era after that of a conquered enemy. Moreover, Candragupta probably never founded a new era (*cf.* above p. 170). But as Candragupta now is said to have been anointed king in 155 after Vîra, this may stand in connexion with some event of great importance to the Jains, and I think it does so too.

The time of Candragupta was undoubtedly a period of affliction and distress for the Jain church. Not only is it very probable that the royal protection of the sect ceased, for, although the Jains themselves claim Candragupta to have been a believer and even a monk during his last years, there is little doubt that the policy of Câṇakya was by no means favourable to the heretical sects,[1] and in fact the connexion of the Jains with Eastern India, which ceases completely after Aśoka (with the single exception for the reign of Khâravela, whose time is uncertain), seems even earlier to become rather faint. But also under the reign of Candragupta happened the dreadful famine of 12 years, which is represented as having caused the schismatic movement, that marks, no doubt, the commencement of the Śvetâmbara and Digambara sects. At the time when Candragupta became king, the Jain church was for one of the few times in its long history governed by two pontiffs, Sambhûtavijaya and Bhadrabâhu ; but the former died exactly in the year after Candragupta's accession, or 156 after Vîra, which may, after all, perhaps be the very same year as Hemacandra, *Pariśiṣṭap.* viii, 339, says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*) ; and so I have no doubt that it is this very event, which has made Hemacandra place the commencement of Candragupta's reign in the very year corresponding to 312 (or 311) B. C., instead of ten or eleven years earlier. For Sambhûtavijaya's death marks the end of a period in the history of Jainism. It is true that Bhadrabâhu, who died fifteen years later, and Sthûlabhadra, who became his successor, knew both the 14 *pûrvas*, the latter,

[100] The mention of **Sampadi** as successor of Aśoka in *Divyâvad.* p. 430 receives a certain importance from this. As was known from the Nâgârjuni inscriptions, that Aśoka was succeeded in Magadha by *Dasaratha*, of whom the Jains know nothing, the suggestion of Mr. **Vincent A. Smith,** *Early History* p. 181, that the empire was divided at the death of Aśoka into an Eastern and a Western part, seems to me therefore probable. The constant connexion of Kuṇâla, the father of Samprati, with Ujjayinî and Takṣâśila points to the same fact ; and this perhaps accounts for the 108 years, which the Jains attribute to the Mâuryas, for the dynasty may have ceased to rule earlier in the Western parts than in Magadha, where it was overthrown by Pusyamitra about 185 B. C. However, it is remarkable that *Pûsamitta* (*Puṣyamitra*) is mentioned in the chronological verse by Merutuṅga as having reigned 30 years, and at a period which must coincide with 204—174 B. C. I cannot account for this statement, which seems to be contradictory to the chronology afforded by the *Mahâbhâṣya* and the date of Menander.

[1] *Cf.* **E. Thomas,** Records of the Gupta dynasty p. 17 *sq.*; **Jacobi,** *Kalpas.* p. 8 n. 1 ; **Vincent A. Smith,** *Early History* pp. 38 n. 1; 40. n. 1; 187 n. 2 and **Fleet,** *J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 825 n. 2.

however, with the restriction not to teaching the last four of them to others. So the Digambaras consider Bhadrabâhu as the last *śrutakevalin*, while the Svetâmbaras consider Sthûlabhadra as such[2]. It seems from this that Bhadrabâhu was a more important person than Sambhûtavijaya, and no doubt he was; but after all Bhadrabâhu was, albeit the pontiff of the whole church, something of a sectarian, for he left behind a party of his followers in Magadha, when he himself went to the south. And that party, which withdrew with him, did not afterwards approve of either the conduct of the monks who remained at home, or their canon. And as Bhadrabâhu afterwards went away to Nepal, and was not very willing to help the council in gathering the sacred texts[3], he seems not to have been in full agreement with their task, or to have fully approved of it. And so, after all, Sambhûtavijaya is in fact the last pontiff of the original old, undivided church, unaltered since the days of Mahâvîra himself, whilst his far more famous colleague Bhadrabâhu came, through the influence of the disturbed period, into a somewhat different position. So I think we might safely conclude that Candragupta was placed in the years of Sambhûtavijaya's death, just in the same way as we have heard Pâlaka become king on the night of Mahâvîra's Nirvâṇa[4].

Other circumstances in favour of 467 B.C. as the year of Mahâvîra's death have been discussed by Professor **Jacobi** in his introduction to the *Kalpasûtra*, and I shall here only dwell shortly on two points, which seem to be of importance for this question.

All Jain tradition from Hemacandra[5] downwards gives 170 after Vîra as the year of Bhadrabâhu's death. This would be 357 B.C., if we accepted the traditional date, but 297 B.C., if we accept the date of Professor **Jacobi**; and the latter is the only possible one, for all Jain tradition also brings Bhadrabâhu into the closest connexion with Candragupta, and this excludes totally the year 357 B. C.

§148 of the *Jinacaritra* of the *Kalpasûtra* tells us that the work was finished 980 years after Mahâvîra, but makes the significant addition that in another recension (*vâyaṇantare*) the number is 993. The commentaries, all going back to the old *cûrṇi*,[6] refer this date to different events:—[7]

(1) The Council of Valabhî under Devarddhigaṇin, where the *Siddhânta* was written in books;

(2) The Council of Mathurâ under Skandila, who probably revised the *Siddhânta*;

(3) The public recitation of the *Kalpasûtra* before king Dhruvasena of Ânandapura, to console him for the death of his son, and

(4) The removal of the *Pajjûsan* by Kâlakâcârya[8].

As for the council of Skandila at Mathurâ, it has here been confused with the far more important and famous one at Valabhî, where the *Siddhânta* was undoubtedly settled in its present shape; but if it ever took place, it was certainly of a far earlier date, and cannot be considered here.[9] But the statements concerning the Council at Valabhî and the public recitation of the *Kalpasûtra* before king Dhruvasena of Ânandapura are of great interest. Unfortunately, we have no statement concerning Ânandapura, except that the commentaries identify it with Mahâsthâna, but this does not help us much. However, we must take in consideration the following facts:—

2 The *Arthaśâstra*, which I prefer to hold for the real work of Câṇakya till it can be fully proved that it is not, contains absolutely nothing of sectarian, or Jain influence, except perhaps the passage p. 55 etc., where Aparâjita, Jayanta and Vâijayanta are spoken of amongst other gods. However, this is in my opinion of no great importance. The *tîrthakara* mentioned on p. 199 etc., may denote a Jain saint, but we must remember that *tîrthika*, *anyatîrthika* is a title given to ascetics of various schools in the Pâli canon.

3 But there seem to be proofs for the fact, that even the Svetâmbaras sometimes considered Bhadrabâhu as the last one, *Cf.* **Jacobi** *Kalpas.* p. 11: *ZDMG.* 38, 14 sq.

4 For all details on this subject see the paper of Professor **Jacobi** on 'the origin of the Svetâmbara and Digambara sects' in ZDMG. 38, 1 ff.

5 *Cf.* above p.

6 *Pariśiṣṭap.* ix, 112.

7 **Jocobi** *Kalpas.* p. 25.

8 **Jacobi**, *SBE.* XXII, 270 n.

9 This Kâlakâcârya is the third in the list of the Jains and, of course, not is the same as the enemy of Gardabhilla, who flourished 470 after Vîra; *Cf.* **Jacobi**, *ZDMG.* 34, 247 ff.

(1) Dhruvasena is by no means a very common name. It belongs to a certain dynasty at Valabhî, and we know, that Dhruvasena I came to the throne in A.D. 526 ;

(2) This Dhruvasena had apparently no son, for he was succeeded in A. D. 540, by hi brother Guhasena[10] ; and

(3) If we take 467 B. C., as the year of Mahâvîra's decease, and count with one redaction of the *Kalpasûtra*—that this version was a really old and valuable one is shown by the fact that it is mentioned in the ultimate redaction of the canon—993 years from that event, we will find a most remarkable coincidence, for 993—467 is=526, or just the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhî.

From these facts I do not hesitate to draw the conclusion, that the great council at Valabhî was held just in the year of Dhruvasena's accession, and that consequently the present text of the life of Mahâvîra in the *Kalpasûtra*, which had been finally settled there, was publicly recited before Dhruvasena. And this forms in my opinion a very valuable confirmation of the suggestion that **the real year of Mahâvîras death was 467 B.C.**

There is only one more question to be dealt with here. It will be immediately pointed out by scholars, who do not find this suggestion acceptable, that it is expressly contradicted by the statement in the Pâli canon concerning Nâtaputta's death at Pâvâ while Buddha was staying at Sâmagâma in the Sâkya-land, consequently before the decease of Buddha himself. I fully admit this, but I believe that a somewhat careful consideration of the question will show that this statement is of no great value.

Evidence—and rather, strong evidence—has been brought forward by Professor **Jacobi** and in this treatise for rejecting the year 527 B. C., and accepting instead, on the authority of Hemacandra, the year 467 B. C. And I must add that I consider this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pâli canon.

The passage is found in *Dîgha Nik* III, 117 sq.; 209 sq. and *Majjh. Nik.*; II., 243 *sq.*[11] and tells us that while Buddha stayed at Sâmagâma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pâvâ, and that the *nirgranthas* were divided by serious schisms and almost on the point of breaking up the whole community. The statement concerning Pâvâ is partly correct, for Mahâvira died, acording to the Jain tradition also, at Pâvâ, and partly wrong, for as I have shown above[12] the Buddhists do not mean the Pâvâ near Râjagṛha, which is still a place of pilgrimage to the Jains, but the little town near Kusinâra, where Buddha took his last meal in the house of Cunda. Even this circumstance arouses suspicion. Moreover, I have pointed out above that the meeting with Upâli, which is said later to have been the real cause of Mahâvîra's death, implies nothing of that sort in the oldest texts. And finally the story concerning the schism makes the report still more suspicious, for the Jain texts know absolutely nothing about this, but seem to represent the state of the community at this event as an entirely peaceful one ; and they generally conceal nothing concerning the schisms. But instead of this, they tell us of two minor schisms occurring as early as during the lifetime of the Prophet,[13] not to mention the everlasting trouble with Gosâla and his followers, finished only by the death of this heresiarch. Accordingly I think, that some faint reports of these schisms reached the authors of the *Nikâyas*, and were confused by them by the similarly somewhat dim knowledge of the death of Nâtaputta at Pâvâ—for which they mistook the place of the same name more familiar to them—with the story told in the canon. After all, I cannot find in this legend an obstacle to the result of the investigation as expounded above, and I wish to note two other circumstances, which fit in very well with the opinion as to Mahâvîra being somewhat later than Buddha.

10 If Skandila, the president of the Council, is the same person as the one mentioned in a *Paṭṭâvali* published by **Klatt**, *Testgruss an Böhtlingk* p. 54 ff., he is said to have died 414 after Vîra, *i.e.*, 113 B.C.

11 That the succession of brothers was no rule in this dynasty is seen from the fact that Guhasena again was succeeded by his son Guhasena II in A.D. 559.

12 Quoted and translated by **Chalmers**, *JRAS*. 1895, p. 665 sq.

13 See p

The Jain creed is called in *D. N.* II., 57 sq.; *M. N.* I., 377; *S. N.* I, 66, etc., *câturyâma* 'consisting in four restrictions.'[14] But this is not the creed of Mahâvîra, who enforced five great vows upon his followers, but of his predecessor Pâr.va the last *tîrthakara* but one. And there seems in fact to be amongst the Jains themselves some confusion concerning the number of the 'great vows.'[15] This is evidently no mistake on the part of the *Sâmañña phalasutta* and other Buddhist texts, but rather depicts the state of things such as it was, when Buddha and Mahâvîra came into closer contact with each other; and from this we may perhaps conclude that Mahâvîra did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

Moreover, Bimbisâra is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajâta'atru does not appear so very much there, which strengthens the statement that Buddha's life was already in the beginning of his reign coming to its end. But in the canon of the Jains' Kûṇika plays a far more important rôle in the life of Mahâvîra, and is certainly taken as much notice of as his father, if not more; and while the Buddhists represent their master as visiting and being visited by these kings in Râjagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, amongst the Jains Campâ, the new capital of Kûṇika, is almost as often mentioned as the scene of the interviews between the king and the prophet. This, too, undoubtedly points to a later period of Ajâta'atru's reign.

I have now reached the end of this investigation. It may be said with justice that most of what it contains has been said in one form or another before; but this is an inevitable evil, common to all such researches of a more general kind. Moreover, I do not regret it, because I have found it most convenient to lay once more before the reader the whole mass of facts, which enables them far better to form a proper opinion, whether it agrees with that suggested above or not. And I think, that the question concerning the date of Mahâvîra is a very important one, and deserves to be discussed with the aid of as much material as may be available. If I cannot expect that all scholars will agree with my conclusion—which is in fact only that long ago suggested by Professor **Jacobi**, which I have tried to confirm by some new arguments—I may at least hope that the preceding discussion may be of some use in drawing the attention of scholars to a problem, which seems for a long time to have been somewhat neglected. New material, not available to me, will perhaps be supplied, and may furnish another solution of the question; for the present I see no possibility of arriving at any solution, harmonising better with the various facts connected with and depending upon the date under consideration.

Note.—It has perhaps occurred to the reader of this paper that I have nowhere quoted the introduction by Professor **Geiger** to his translation of the *Mahâvaṃsa* (London 1912). In fact, I did not read this treatise before I had finished my paper, and consequently some of the conclusions drawn by me are simply repetitions of what has already been proved by Professor **Geiger**. But, notwithstanding the unsurpassed knowledge of this eminent scholar on matters connected with the Ceylonese tradition, I cannot agree with the main result of his chronological investigations. As for my reasons for believing the date of Buddha's death to be 477 B. C. they have been set forth above; and I am not convinced of their incorrectness by the possible existence of a Ceylonese era counting from 483 B. C., traces of which cannot be discovered before the eleventh century A. D., or about 1500 years after Buddha's death. And when Professor **Geiger** fixes the date of A ôka's Coronation to 264 B. C., he has neglected the epigraphical evidence, according to which the 13th year after that event fell between 260 and 258 B. C. And in comparison with the contemporaneous inscriptions the evidence of the Ceylonese chronicles is, of course, valueless.

In concluding this paper I wish to express my most sincere thanks to Dr. **F. W. Thomas**, who has had the great amiability to go through my manuscript in order to correct the numerous passages inconsistent with the usage of the English language.

[14] Cf. **Leumann**, *Ind. Stud.* XVII, 98 ff. [15] Cf. *Câujjâmo dhammo* in *Uttar.* XXIII, 12.
[16] Cf. Dr. **Hoernle** in **Hastings'** *Encyclopædia* I, 264.

MISCELLANEA.

COBRA MANILLA.

IN Hobson-Jobson the name of this snake is derived from Mahrâṭhî *maṇer*, which is said to be connected with Sanskrit *maṇi*, 'a jewel'. But 'Manilla' seems rather to go back to *maṇṇuḷi*, which, according to the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français*, is a corruption of *maṇṇuṇi*, 'earth-eater,' from *maṇ*, 'earth,' and *uṇ*, 'to eat.' In the Madras Presidency this snake is popularly believed to eat earth and to have two heads, one in front and one behind, which it uses alternately for six months! The Anglo-Indian form 'Cobra Manilla' was taken over from Portuguese, where *cobra* means 'a snake' and *manilha* 'a bangle.' As shown above, the second part of the name is due to a popular etymology of the Tamiḻ *maṇṇuḷi*.

E. HULTZSCH.

[This makes the *cobra* manilla to be the well known Indian water snake—the *domunah.*—ED.]

BOOK-NOTICE.

The Bower Manuscript. Facsimile leaves, Nagari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation, with notes, edited by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, C.I.E., M.A., PH.D., Calcutta. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1893-1912, Archæological Survey of India. New Imperial Series. Vol. XXII, Fol. xcviii. 401 pp.

THIS monumental edition of the Bower manuscript is the result of long and laborious work extending over more than twenty years. It commenced in the summer of 1891, and the introductory remarks were written in April 1912. The learned editor has had to contend with very great difficulties, but then his patient and careful work has resulted in adding considerably to our knowledge of ancient Indian medicine and Indian civilisation generally.

Though the discoveries of the first decennium of our century have brought to light fragments which are considerably older than the Bower manuscript, this latter one occupies a unique position, in so far as its discovery and publication in Calcutta, to use the words of the editor, 'started the whole modern movement of the archæological exploration of Eastern Turkestan.' It is not necessary in this short notice to follow the different stages in this development. Suffice it to remind of the fact that these explorations have in a remarkable degree widened the scope of Indian philology and research. We are now able to see, much more clearly than was formerly the case, what a predominent *rôle* Indian civilisation played in Asia at a very early period, and to trace the various elements that contributed to the history of Central and Eastern Asia during long centuries. And from the finds in Turkestan unexpected light has already been thrown on many questions concerning Indian archæology itself, Indian art, Indian literature, and Indian history. Every student of Indian history and archæology will consequently view the Bower manuscript with piety, and greet a careful edition of it, such as the one we owe to the zeal of Dr. Hoernle, with gratitude.

The chief contents of the Bower manuscript are medical, and of considerable interest for the history of Indian medicine That is a consequence of the fact that it seems possible to settle the question about the date of the manuscript with some confidence. The result of a careful study of Indian palæography and the alphabet of the Bower manuscript has led Dr. Hoernle to the conclusion that the time of writing was the second half of the fourth century A. D. The learned editor has succeeded in adducing very valid reasons for this dating. He also tries to show that the writers were natives of India who had migrated to Kuchar. One of them is supposed to hail from the northern, and the two other ones from the southern part of the northern area of the Indian Gupta script. "But the fact that they use birch-bark as their writing material shows that the country, from which more immediately they migrated to Kuchar, must have been Kashmir or Udyâna; and the quality of the birch-bark which they use, suggests that they wrote their respective parts of the Bower Manuscript after their settlement in Kuchar, when their store of birchbark had run short."

It is of course impossible to prove these theses with absolute certainty. We know that the Indian Brâhmî alphabet was introduced into Eastern Turkestan in the Kushaṇa period, and we also know that its Turkestan varieties did not change much in the course of the centuries. It is therefore just possible that the date of the Bower manuscript is a little later than assumed by Dr. Hoernle, and that the scribes were not themselves immigrants from India[1]. However, Dr. Hoernle's theory is, I think the most likely one. Only I should not attach much importance to such features where the alphabet of the Bower manuscript agrees with Śâradâ That latter alphabet seems to have been used over a comparatively wide area, and, moreover, it does not occur in epigraphical records before a much later time.

1 Compare f. i. forms such as *parimûkshayêt* with the common Khotanî change of *ô* to *û*.

At all events, however, the Bower manuscript is much older than anything of the same kind so far found in India. It has already been remarked that it has been written by more than one hand. There seem to have been altogether three scribes, and the last one seems to have been a man Yaśamitra, *i.e.*, Yaśomitra, by name. Dr. Hoernle thinks he may have been a Buddhist monk and probably a man of repute. This he infers from the fact that the manuscripts were found in the relic chamber of a *stûpa*, which he thinks shows that they must have been the property of the person in whose honour the *stûpa* was erected; and to be accorded such an honour that person must have been a monk of acknowledged eminence.' I am afraid that this conclusion is a little rash. The manuscript was evidently deposited as a votive offering, but nothing authorises us to believe that it had belonged to the person in whose honour the *stûpa* was erected.

The manuscript consists of seven different parts, which were put together in the shape of an Indian *pôthî*. A similar book from Turkestan has been illustrated in fig. 6 and 7, of which the latter has been placed upside down. Parts I-III are purely medical; Part I is of a somewhat miscellaneous description, Part II contains a handbook of prescriptions covering the whole field of internal medicine and called *Navanîtaka*; Part III is a fragment of a similar work; Parts IV and V contain two short manuals of cubomancy, and Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of a protective charm against snake bites and other evils.

The most important is Part II, the *Navanîtaka*. This anonymous tract can hardly be younger than about 300 A. D. On the other hand, it quotes copious extracts from works like the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, of which the former is ascribed to a contemporary of Kanishka. It is evident that the existence of a record like the Bower manuscript thus becomes important for the chronology of Indian medicine. From the fact, on the other hand, that Kaṇishka's contemporary Charaka was recognised as a great authority by the author of the *Navanîtaka*, it is not possible to draw any other inference as to the date of Kanishka than that he must have ruled before A. D. 300, supposing that Dr. Hoernle's dating is correct.

The history and chronology of Indian medicine is still far from being settled. Dr. Hoernle's work as editor of the Bower manuscript has naturally led to his taking up the study of these questions on a broader basis in his Osteology of the Ancient Indians and in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. The most important contribution, however, is the edition of the Bower manuscript itself. The excellent facsimile plates will be of the utmost use to the palæographist in settling various questions connected with the Brâhmî alphabet and its history in India and Central Asia. The text itself, with the careful translation and with the copious indexes, will prove extremely useful to the student. It is a consequence of the long duration of the whole work that many points, which from the beginning seemed too difficult, have, in the course of time presented a different aspect, and it is only natural that the editor has, in many cases, arrived at new and better results in the course of his work. In order to bring the whole edition up to date, he has thus reprinted not a few pages, so that the binder may, sometimes, experience some difficulty. Before taking up the study of the work it will also be advisable to consult the list of emendations and misprints in order to avoid unnecessary work and trouble. Everybody who goes to this study and is able to form an opinion of the difficulties that had to be overcome in editing and translating texts dealing with subjects so unsatisfactorily known as Indian medicine and written in an alphabet which was, some twenty years ago, so little known that it baffled the efforts of experienced Indian scholars, will feel sincerely thankful to the editor for the zealous and unremitting work he has devoted to his task. He is himself to be congratulated on the excellent way in which he has acquitted himself of it, and the splendid edition which is now presented to the public is a fine monument of his critical scholarship. Our thanks are also due to the Indian Government, under whose auspices the Bower manuscript has been published. The edition itself bears testimony to the fine spirit prevailing amongst its officers. For everybody knows that much unselfish devotion is needed in order to take up a work of this kind, which must necessarily be slow and which will inevitably prevent the scholar who undertakes it from devoting his spare time to studies that bring more immediate results.

It would not be proper in this place to enter upon a minute discussion of details and to point out such cases where it is now possible to amend Dr. Hoernle's results. He has himself laid before us all the materials upon which such a criticism can be based. For the present the critic must be content to give expression to a feeling of sincere gratitude and admiration. The incessant zeal and the unselfish devotion which have always characterised Dr. Hoernle's work, is preeminently evident in this edition, and is sure to win the highest recognition from scholars and from the Government in whose services it has been completed.

STEN KONOW.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY. DR L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p.* 92.)

CHAPTER III.

Declension of Nouns.

§ 53. Old Western Râjasthânî possesses all the three **genders** of Sanskrit and Apabhramça, and so do Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî. As a rule the Sanskrit gender is retained both in *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*; exceptions, however, are not wanting, as is to be observed in cognate vernaculars. In many of these exceptions, indeed, the change of gender had already been effected in the Prâkrit; in the others it took place subsequently and was brought about either by the influence of a synonym of a different gender or, in the case of a few masculine nouns habitually used in the locative or instrumental, by mistaking for feminine the terminal °*i*, (<°*aï*) of the postpositions, with which they were construed. Illustrations of the different cases are:

kalatra (fem.) "Wife" (Yog. ii, 76; See § 133) < Skt. *kalatra*-(neut.),

kâya (fem.) "Body" (P. 167, 488, 578) < cf. Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî *kâyâ*, (fem.) (*Bhavavairâgyaçataka*, 7) < Skt. *kâya*- (masc.),

deha (fem.) "Ditto" (P. 344) < Skt. *deha*- (masc., neut.),

nâka (neut.) "Nose" (P. 311) < Pkt. *ṇakko* (masc.),

vâṭa (fem.) "Road" (P. 582) < Ap. *vaṭṭâ* (fem.) < Skt. *vartmâ*, nominative from *vartman* (neut.),

vâra (fem.) "Time, turn" < Skt. *vâra*- (masc.),

velu, velaü (masc.) "Creeper" (P. 548 ff.) < Pkt. *velli, vellâ* (fem.),

-*nî pari* (fem.) "Like.." < Ap. .. *paârẽ* < Skt. *prakâreṇa* (masc.) (See §§ 3, 75).

In the case of *vâra* the change of gender was probably brought about through such locative constructions as the following:

âṇî (for *âṇaï*, see § 10, (3)) *vâri* "This time" (P. 315),

bîjî (for *bîjaï*) *vâra* "A second time" (Dd.)

The noun *âgi* "Fire", which in some vernaculars has become feminine, has retained its original masculine gender in the Old Western Râjasthânî (cf. Indr. 83).

§ 54. There are two **numbers**: singular and plural. In the direct cases (nominative, accusative, vocative) nouns often have only one form for both numbers, and in one oblique case (instrumental), a plural inflectional termination has come to be used for the singular also.

§ 55. The declension is partly inflectional and partly periphrastic. For the purpose of studying the former it will be convenient to divide nominal bases into two classes, *viz.* consonantal and vocal. **Consonantal bases** end in a consonant (or conjunct) followed by -*a*, which is dropped before all terminations. This class comprises all so-called "weak" *tadbhavas* and *tatsamas* in °*a*. **Vocal bases** may be subdivided into: a) bases ending in a vowel different from *a*, namely: °*â*, °*i*, °*î*, °*u*, °*û*, and b) bases ending in °*aa* (<Ap. °*aa* < Skt. °*aka*). The former retain their terminal vowel before all terminations, the latter drop the final vowel, just like consonantal bases, and suffix the terminations to the penultimate *a*. In ordinary grammars the latter bases are called "strong". They are all *tadbhavas*, but there is one class of *tatsamas*, viz. *tatsamas* in °*aya*, which is treated exactly like them.

§56. The **Inflectional declension** is limited to the cases following: nominative, accusative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative. Of these the nominative and accusative have the same termination and so have on the whole the instrumental and locative, the confusion having already taken place in the Apabhraṃça. Further, the ablative has lost its original case meaning and has passed into that of the locative, a change of which there are also traces in the Apabhraṃça. In the usual grammars of Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, the instrumental and genitive cases are now termed as agentive and oblique, but I prefer to hold to the older terms, as being more correct from the point of view of historical grammar. Nouns are not all subject to inflection in the same degree. As a rule inflection is common to all nouns in the instrumental, ablative, locative and vocative cases only ; in the other cases only vocal bases are inflected and consonantal remain unchanged. There are, however, some exceptions, chiefly formed by consonantal adjectives which may be inflected in all cases, consonantal nouns which are sometimes inflected in the nominative-accusative singular, and vocal nouns in °*i*, °*u*, which are not inflected in the nominative-accusative and genitive. In the latter three cases, bases in °*î*, °*û* may also optionally remain uninflected and bases in °*â* are uninflected as a rule. Feminine bases in °*â*, °*î* are subject to inflection only in the instrumental and locative, and feminine adjectives in °*î* remain generally unchanged in all cases alike. Let us now proceed to deal with each case particularly.

§ 57. **Nominative-accusative singular.**—(1) Masculine vocal bases take the termination -*u*, from Apabhraṃça -*u* <Skt. -*aḥ*, -*am*. Ex. :

prâhuṇaü Âdi. 51, *velaü* P. 548,
kuçalîu Âdi. 77, *vivekarûpîu hâthîu* Çîl. 1,
pâu Çâl. 26, *râu* Çâl. 109, Vi. 59, Ratn. 150.

Consonantal bases and vocalic bases in °*â* remain uninflected and so bases in °*î* optionally. Ex. :

vidvāsa Âdi. 75, *bâlaka* Kal. 5,
sârathî Çrâ., *râjâ* Âdi. 81.

Rarely consonantal bases take also -*u* Ex. :

Jinavaru Rṣ. 196, *murativantu* Çâl. 28, *bokaḍu* Indr. 77.

In the accusative singular, masculine bases in °*aa* form an exception in that they may optionally take the ending °*aũ* instead of °*aü*. This ought not to be considered as an irregularity, but rather as a survival of the Apabhraṃça habit of representing Sanskrit °*kam* by °*ũ*, instead than by °*u* (See Pischel, § 352). Instances of such nasalized accusatives are chiefly met with in the declension of pronouns and adjectives. Not rarely °*aũ* is contracted to °*ũ*, according to § 11, (3). Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî contract °*aü* into °*ô*.

(2) Feminines have the nominative-accusative identical with the base. Substantival feminine bases end mostly in °*â*, °*î*, rarely in °*a*, °*i*. Adjectival feminine bases end always in °*î*. So °*î* appears to be the termination characteristic of the feminine gender in Old Western Râjasthânî. In Apabhraṃça the °*î* feminine termination had already begun to supersede °*â*, not only in adjectives, but also in substantives (Cf. *bâlî*, Pischel's *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃça*, XVI). Examples of the four classes of feminine bases are :

mâlâ Dd. 5, *kanyâ*, Vi. 125,
ghaḍî Âdi. 20, *pûtalî* Dd. 3,
pîḍa Çâl. 33, *tarasa* P. 541, *âṇa* Çrâ.
sâpiṇi Kal. 35, *tâṇi* P. 366, *koṭi* P. 391, *bhamuhi* P. 564, *seji* P. 344, *vakhâri* Çâl. 110.

Observe that *bhamuhi* and *seji* in the last class are from original nouns in °*â*, viz. < Skt. **bhruvukâ*, *çayyâ* (Pischel, §§ 206, 124). These feminine bases in °*i* have lost the latter vowel in

Modern Gujarâtî, thus: *sâpeṇa, tâṇa, koṭa, seja, vakhâra.* The same has been the case with other vernaculars, as for instance with Hindî, as shown by the Old Baiswâṛî, in which feminine nouns that in Modern Hindî end in °*a* still retain their terminal °*i*.

(3) Neuters are inflected exactly like the masculines, except that they are nasalized. Thus their termination is -*ũ*. Apabhraṃça employed -*u* or -*aṃ* after consonantal bases, and -*ũ* after vocal bases in °*aa*. Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

âûkhũ Daç. viii, 34, *ârogapaṇaũ* Çîl. 3, *mâthaũ* Çrâ., *karaṇḍîũ* Indr. 51, *yuktaũ* Indr. 11.

According to § 11, (3), °*aũ* is liable to be contracted into °*ũ*. Ex. :

pahilũ Daç. iv, *tâharũ* Kal. 7, *kuḍũ* Daç. iv.

In some texts traces are still surviving of the old neuter termination -*ã* < Ap. -*ã*, -*aṃ*. I have met with the following :

jĩ (Kal., passim) < Ap. *jã* < Skt. *yad*,

hûyĩ (Daç.) < Ap. *hûã* < Skt. *bhûtam.*

In Modern Gujarâtî all original neuters in °*aũ* (from bases in °*aa*) have been simplified into °*ũ*, a process, of which there are already traces in the MS. *Up.*, which is dated in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

§ 58. **Nominative-accusative plural.**—(1) Masculine vocal bases add the termination -*â*, which is identical with Apabhraṃça -*â* < Skt. -*âḥ*. Before this termination, bases in °*aa* lose their penultimate vowel (according to §9), and bases in °*î* (°*i*), °*û* (°*u*) optionally insert euphonic *y*. Ex. :

ghoḍâ Indr. 2, *sagâ* Âdi. 13,

paṃkhîâ F 722, 28, *paüliâ* P. 100, *vivahâriâ* F 728, 4, *vâṇiâ* ÂdiC.,

kunthuyâ Daç. iv, *bindûâ* Daç. iv, 8.

Consonantal bases and, optionally, vocal bases in °*i*, °*î*, °*u*, °*û* take no termination. Thus:

cora Kal. 13, *verî* Indr. 8., *paravâdî* Kal. 18.

(2) Feminine bases undergo no change. Thus :

kiḍi Daç. iv, *nadî* F 663, 6, *mâlâ* Kal. 28, *riddhi* Bh. 25.

(3) Neuter bases, when subject to inflection, take -*ã*, a termination which is from Apabhraṃça -*ãĩ* (-*aĩ*) (see §14) < Skt. -*âni*. Examples are :

moṭakã kûḍã Yog. ii, 54, *îḍã viṇâsyã* P. 536, *amhârã karma* Ṣaṣṭ. 55.

§ 59. **Instrumental singular.** For this case there are two terminations, to wit : -*ĩ* (-*i*) and -*iĩ* (-*ihĩ*). The former is from -*ẽ*, the regular Apabhraṃça termination for the instrumental singular ; the latter is from Apabhraṃça -*ihĩ* < Pkt. -*ehiṃ* < Vedic Skt. -*ebhis*, and is therefore a plural termination. Both are used side by side, but the latter is by far the less common, it being generally used only after consonantal bases, whilst the former is used after vocal bases as a rule, and after consonantal bases optionally. With the latter bases, however, the -*iĩ* termination is more common than -*ĩ*. Occasionally consonantal bases take -*aĩ* (< Ap. -*ahĩ*)[22] instead of -*iĩ*, and so do optionally masculine bases in °*â*, °*î*, °*û*. Bases in °*u* generally drop their final vowel and take optionally either -*ĩ* or -*iĩ*. Examples are :

(*a*) in -*ĩ* (-*i*) : Masculines and neuters :

pasâĩ Çâl., *vâĩ* Daç. i, 14, *râĩ* Up. 20, *niçcaĩ* Âdi., Indr., *lobhi* Indr. 24, *sukhĩ* Indr. 71, *vidhâtâĩ* Indr. 90, *pâpii*, P. 248, *âheḍîi* P. 664, *pâṇiĩ* Daç. iv., *gurĩ* Ṛṣ. 9.

Feminines :

mâlâĩ Pr. 2, *mahimâĩ* Çîl. 84, *gâi* P. 21, *sarikhâiĩ* Âdi. 75, *strîi* P. 327, *buddhiĩ* P. 694, Kal. 17.

[22] One instance of the termination -*ahĩ* is in the form *ekahĩ*, which occurs Up. 18.

(b) in *-ii* :

analii Kal. 11, *mithyâtvii* Âdi. 1, *mohii* Bh. 98, *kâmii* Indr. 73, *saṃyamii* Daç. iii, 13, *hâthii* Daç. iv, *pagii* Daç. iv, *hetii* F 583.

(c) in *-aï* :

dehaï Bh. 94, *çokaï* Âdi. 69, *maraṇaï* Indr. 24, *vastraï* Daç. iv, *puṇyaï* F 659, 3, 4, *tâpasaï* P. 664, *râjâaï* ÂdiC., *mantriyaï* Dd 2.

Bases in °*â*, whether masculine tatsamas or feminines, may optionally contract the *-ï* termination with the ultimate °*â* into °*ã*, according to § 14. Examples thereof are very frequent in *Up.* :

mahâtmã Up. 100, *râjã* Up. 113, *nagaranayakã* Up. 164, *Sujyeṣṭã*, ibid.

The old termination *-ihi* has been preserved in the MS. *Vi.* (saṃvat 1485) in the two passages following and in another one, which, it being used in the original plural meaning, will be quoted under the next head :

rûpihi Rambhâ samâṇî " Similar to Rambhâ in beauty " (Vi. 16),

daivihi kidhã chaï je kãma " The things which have been done by Fate " (Vi. 93).

Observe that in both cases the *-ihi* termination is added to consonantal nouns. Nine forms in *-ihi* occur also in the *Vasantavilâsa*(see H. H. Dhruva's *The Gujerati Language of the Fourteenth-Fifteenth Century*, pp. 326-327). Occasionally *-aï* is assimilated to *-ii* (see § 10, (2)) ,thereby giving a termination practically identical with the original *-ii*. For the contraction of *-aï* into *-ï* see §§. 10, (3), 53, 131.

Old Western Râjasthânî °*aï*, which is the regular ending of °*aa* bases in the instrumental singular, is turned into °*ê* in Modern Gujarâtî and into °*ai* in Mârwâṛî. In the former language *-ê* is employed as a general termination after all bases alike (Cf. the Old Western Râjasthânî forms *râjâaï* and *mantrîyaï* quoted above).

§ **60. Instrumental plural.**—This case is generally formed from all bases alike by the addition of *-ê*, a termination, which is derived from Apabhraṃça *-ahi*, by dropping intervocalic *h* (see § 37, (1)) and contracting the two vowels (see § 10, (4)). Apabhraṃ ça had both *-ihi* and *-ahi*, in Old Western Râjasthânî the former gave *-ii* and the latter *-ê*. We have seen that in Old Western Râjasthânî the former came to be used as a singular termination. Instances of plural instrumentals with *-ahi* contracted to *-ê* are already met with in Piṅgala. Thus Piṅgala i, 93 we find *putte* for *puttahi* (Skt. *putrais*). To the same contraction were liable vocalic stems in °*â*, after the latter vowel had been shortened to °*a*. Thus *matte* for *mattăhi* (Skt. *mâtrâbhis*) (Piṅgala i, 196). From the termination *-hi* (Skt. *-bhis*), which Apabhraṃ ça employed after vocal bases, Old Western Râjasthânî derived *-ï*, a termination apparently identical with that of the singular. We thus have in Old Western Râjasthânî two terminations for the instrumental plural, *viz. -ê* and *-ï*. The former is by far the commoner and it has superseded the latter even after vocal bases in °*î*, °*i*, °*û*, °*u*, which, to be regular, ought to have *-ï*. It is clear that in Old Western Râjasthânî *-ê* has become a general termination. The few remnants that are still occurring of *-ï* are naturally confined to bases in °*î*, °*i*, °*û*, °*u*. Vocal bases in °*aa* before *-ê* lose their penultimate vowel according to § 12. Examples are :

(a) in *-ê* : Masculines and neuters :

hâthe P. 318, *diṇe* P. 685, *nayaṇe* F 783, 71, *vidvãse* Yog. i, 16, Kal. 17, *deve* Ṣaṣṭ. 139, *hathiâre* Âdi C., *trîse muhûrte* Çrâ., *beṭe* Daç.X, *pâṇîe* Indr. 9, Bh. 82, *mahâtmâe* Up. 40, *gure* Up. 66, *bhâie*, Up. 25, *vâyue* Up. 182.

Feminines :

jvâlâe Âdi. 38, *nârîe* Indr. 68, *astrîe* Indr. 24.

In poetry *-ê* is optionally shortened into *-ĕ*, *-i*. Thus : *thoḍê dini* P. 166, 264.

(*b*) in *-ĩ* : Masculines and neuters :

vyâdhiĩ Bh. 86, *vivekĩi* Yog. iii, 94, *pâṇĩi* Indr. 62, *sâdhuĩ* F 663, 41, *hetuĩ* F 585, 1.

Feminines :

doriĩ Indr. 2, *çakiniĩ* Indr. 41, *strĩi* Indr. 24.

Of the old *-ihĩ* termination I have noticed the two instances following :

guṇihĩ karî-naï eha samâni " Equal to him in virtues " (Vi. 70),

ghara-nî riddhiihĩ na vâhiyâ " (He) was not seduced by (his) domestic wealth" (Up. 153).

Occasionally, though rather rarely, consonantal bases take *-aĩ* as in the singular. Ex.: *kâṣṭaĩ* Indr. 22, *aṭhîlaĩ* Bh. 78, *kamalaï* Ṛṣ. 58. In Âdi C, one instance occurs of *-aĩ* added to a vocal base, to wit : *ãsûaï*. It is to *-aĩ* that the *-ê* of Modern Gujarâtî is to be traced. Observe that, in the case of vocal bases in °*aa*, Modern Gujarâtî has *â* before the *-ê* termination.

In Old Western Râjasthânî the instrumental being more frequently employed to give the meaning of the agentive, than of the instrumental proper, it is natural that a necessity was felt for establishing a difference between the two functions. This was obtained by adding to the instrumental proper the pleonastic postposition *karî*, which is the instrumental locative form of the past-participle *kariu* " Done " and is identical both in form and in origin with the so-called conjunctive participle of *karavaũ* " To do ". Examples will be found § 70, (1). Occasionally to *karî* the postposition *naï* was also added pleonastically, as in the example from Vi. 70, quoted above. The same in Modern Gujarâtî.

§ 61. **Ablative.** For this case two terminations seem to be used in Old Western Râjasthânî, *viz.* *-ã* and *-ô*. The former is very rarely met with, except in the pronominal declension, where it is added to pronominal bases to form adverbs of place, as in: *tihã, tã, jihã, jã*, etc. (See §§ 89-91). When so suffixed to pronouns, *-ã* is no doubt from Apabhraṃça *-hã* <Pkt. *-mhâ* <Skt. *-smât*, the regular pronominal suffix for the ablative. Thus Old Western Râjasthânî *tihã, tã* are from Ap. *tahã* (Hc., iv, 355) <Pkt. *tamhâ*<Skt. *tasmât*. It is possible that the *-ã* termination, which is suffixed to substantival bases to form ablatives, is also from Sanskrit *-smât*. But against this identification is, perhaps, the fact that such ablatives in *-ã*, which are very rare in the Old Western Râjasthânî and strange to Gujarâtî, are common in Mârwâṛî (and so in Jaipurî), and therefore appear to be a peculiarity of the latter. This leads us to conclude that in this case *-ã* is from *-ahũ*, the Apabhraṃça termination for the ablative plural, and therefore is only apparently identical with the *-ã* of the pronominal declension. The contraction of *-a(h)ũ* into *-ã* is amongst the peculiarities of Mârwâṛî. The ablative in *-ã* having lost its original ablative meaning and passed into that of the locative, scholars have been hitherto deceived into considering it as a real locative and so have perforce been unable to explain its derivation satisfactorily. The change of meaning from the ablative to the locative is a very old one, pronominal ablatives in *-ã* being frequently employed as adverbs of place in Piṅgala (see ii, 51, 182, 183) and so possibly also in *Siddhahemacandra*, iv, 355, whereto the examples, though they are cited as ablatives, may as well admit of the locative meaning.

The only instances of ablatives in *-ã*, which I have noticed in Old Western Râjasthânî, are:

hivaḍã (Çrâ.) <*havaḍã* <*ehavaḍã* " Now " (See §§ 7 (3), 94 (4)),

suṇî siṃha kopã jali thayaü " Having heard [this], the lion burned with anger " (P. 484),

te dukha toḍî sî velã[23] *sahiyã pachî vilaï jâĩ* "These sufferings, after they have been endured for a very short time, pass away " (Ṣaṣṭ 155),

[23] In this particular case *velã* might also be explained as a contraction from the regular locative form *velâĩ* according to § 14.

bhagavanta -kanhā dīkṣâ divarâvî " He caused the Venerable one to give him the *dīkṣâ* " (Âdi C),

sukha -keḍā dukha âvaï, " After pleasure cometh pain " (Up. 30).

Observe that the two last quotations above are from those very MSS., which exhibit a form of Old Western Râjasthânî, that is more closely connected with Mârwâṛî than with Gujarâtî.

The other ablative termination, *i.e.*, *-ô*, is evidently from Apabhraṃça *-ahu*. The only traces of its use, that seem to have survived in Old Western Râjasthânî, are possibly in some adverbial compounds, made up by a substantive, apparently in the ablative, followed by the same substantive, apparently in the locative. Example :

hâthô hâthaï (F 783, 64) <Ap. **hatthahu hatthahĭ* " From hand to hand."

Other examples are :

khaṇḍo khaṇḍi, P. 451, *diso disi*[24] P. 445, *mâho mâhaï* F 783, 28, F 535, ii, 11, *vâro vâra* P. 288.

Cf. the Sanskrit adverbial compounds in °*â*—°*i*, like : *hastâ-hasti* and Prakrit °*â*—°*iṃ*, like : *khaṇḍâ-khaṇḍiṃ* occurring *Uvâsagadasâo*, §§ 95, 99. Ablatives derived from Apabhraṃça *-ahu* (*-ahũ*) have survived in Sindhî, Pañjâbî and Western Hindî. In both the latter languages, such ablatives are commonly employed for the locative. Sindhî uses ablatives in *-ã* and in *-õ* side by side.

For the pronominal base *pota-*, the first syllable of which I derive from an ablative (*appahu*), see § 92.

§ 62. **Genitive singular.** In Old Western Râjasthânî the termination for this case was originally *-ha*, as in Apabhraṃça, and it was appended, it seems, to all bases alike. But this termination went soon out of use, *-ha* possessing a very strong tendency to be dropped without leaving any trace on the word, to which it was suffixed. So this case became apparently without suffix and practically identical with the base. In one case only *-ha* has possibly survived in a contracted form, *viz.*, in the case of bases in °*aa*, which make their genitive (oblique) in °*â* <*°*aaha.*

Of the old form *-ha* of the genitive termination not the least trace has been preserved in Old Western Râjasthânî prose, but in poetry, where archaisms are easily retained and additional syllables are occasionally sought to make up the sum of *mâtrâs* that are required for a verse, *-ha* has not altogether died out. Many instances of its usage I have noted in the MSS. I have seen. A few ones are the following :

vanaha -mâhi " In the forest " (F 728, 16),

supanaha -taṇî " Of the dreams" (F 535, ii, 16),

bâpaha -âgali " Before the father " (Vi. 140),

kaṭakaha-pûṭhi " In the rear of the army " (Kânh. 43),

bharatâraha sarisa " Equal to [her] husband " (Vi. 96),

amha manaha manoratha " Our hearts' desire " (Ṛṣ. 121).

(To be Continued.)

---

[24] Cf. Prakrit *diso disiṃ*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

CHAPTER II.

(*Continued from p.* 158).

THE FOUNDATION OF THE NAIK DYNASTY OF MADURA.

SECTION I.

The Emperor Achyuta Raya 1530-1542.

The Common Version of Achyuta Râya's Character and Administration.

On the death of the great Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya[25] in 1530, the imperial throne of Vijayanagar was ascended by his half brother Achyuta Râya, a person about whose character and capacity a very widespread divergency of opinion exists. According to Nuniz,[26] a celebrated traveller who visited Vijayanagar at this time, and Mr. Sewell who bases his history on the account of that traveller, no worse man than Achyuta could have been chosen for the throne, and no worse misfortune to the empire was possible than his accession. Achyuta, we are told, could neither endure the fatigues of war, nor was fit to perform the duties of peaceful rule. He was endowed with a character which could hardly endear him to his people. His tyranny alienated the nobles around him, and his weakness invited the dominance of the despised Sultân of Bîjâpur. Isma'îl Adil Shah had received humiliating treatment at the hands of Kṛishṇa Dêva, and felt it so much that he had vowed to refrain from wine till he avenged the disgrace and removed the stain of subordination. A fit opportunity presented itself, we are informed, with the accession of the weak Achyuta Râya. The keen Musalmân promptly invaded the Raichur Duâb, captured the coveted towns of Mudkal and Raichûr—never again to come into the hands of the Hindus—and even marched as far as Hospet,[27] which he razed to the ground. This disgrace, together with the general weakness of Achyuta Râya's internal administration, we are further informed, lost for him the esteem, the obedience, and the loyalty of the people. In their hatred, the nobles set up the standard of rebellion. A liberal policy of tact and conciliation would have killed disaffection and restored order; but Achyuta Râya had more pride than wisdom, more passion than tact. Unable to rise to that statesmanship and forgiveness which could forget injury and disarm treason, he brought an eternal ignominy on his name by calling for help, at the cost of the independence of Vijayanagar, his deadliest enemy, Ibrâhîm Adil Shah[28] (1533-1557). The latter was of course too glad to obtain an opportunity of triumph which none of his predecessors had had either by arms or by diplomacy. To be within the city of Vijayanagar, to have the mastery of its internal politics and the emperor for his tool, was a circumstance which the most ambitious of his forefathers had not dreamt. Such a circumstance was practically equal to the subordination of Vijayanagar to Bîjâpur. Ibrâhîm found himself therefore in 1536 as the guest of Achyuta Râya[29] at Vijayanagar. It is true his satisfaction at this achievement received a rude and premature check; for the Hindu nobility suddenly awakened to the seriousness of the situation and, by a timely obedience to their debased sovereign, persuaded him to cancel an engagement, so derogatory to the prestige, and so

---

[25] Kṛishṇa Dêva had a son named Tirumalayya, but he died during his father's life-time. See *Nuniz Chron*; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 186; and *Ep. Rep.* 1912, p 80—81.

[26] See *Forg. Empe*, 366 ff. (Chap. 20-23).

[27] *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 187. Nuniz points out that Achyuta had 200 chiefs and 600,000 soldiers under him, and yet suffered defeat.

[28] See Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol I, pp. 78-112; and Scott's *Dekkan*, Vol I, pp. 261-85 for the details of his reign. Ibrahim came to the throne in Sep. 1534. Note the fact that Ferishta does not mention Achyuta but "Bhoj Trimul Ray" in his place.

[29] See Briggs III p. 83-4 and Scott I 262-265 for a most confused account of the alleged domestic plots, civil wars and disputed successions that are said to have taken place in Vijayanagar. A discussion of this is out of place here. For an attempt at the unravelling of the whole, see *Forg. Empe*, 182 ff; *Ind. Antq.* XXVII, p. 300—1

harmful to the safety, of the empire. But it was easier to invite the Sultân than to expel him. The proud Musalmân had seen with his own eyes the splendour and glory of Vijayanagar, its noble streets, its magnificent palaces, its grand temples, its untold wealth, its busy trade, and the sight was not calculated to smother ambition or encourage sacrifice on his part. Ibrâhîm Adil Shah, however, was a wise opportunist. He had come to help the emperor against his subjects, and he now had no plausible reason for the continuance of his stay. He felt, moreover, that a permanent occupation of the Hindu capital was impossible. He therefore yielded to exigencies, but only after the receipt of about two million pounds (50 lakhs of *huns*) from the imperial treasury to compensate him for his troubles and expenses.

The different Epigraphical Version.

Such is the commonly accepted version of Achyuta Râya's administration; but Mr. Krishna Sastri, the epigraphist of Madras, gives a different picture of the emperor. He points out from the incontrovertible evidences of epigraphy—and these evidences are singularly numerous in the case of Achyuta Râya, —and of contemporary literature, that, whether Achyuta Râya was a tyrant or not, he can, under no circumstances, be called a craven. He might have been wanting in the virtues of a statesman, but he was certainly not wanting in the talents of a soldier. In fact Mr. Kṛishṇa Sâstrî speaks of Achyuta Râya as not only an equal of his illustrious predecessor in prowess but also in popularity[30]. "The way in which people still speak of the happy days of Achyuta Râya Kṛishṇa Râya sufficiently suggests the popularity and the greatness of that sovereign." Far from being the tool of Adil Shah, the inscriptions speak of him during the very first year of his succession, as "the terror to the Tulukkars,"[31] and "the conqueror of the Oddiya forces" and later records call him a universal conqueror and the conqueror of Ceylon. Mr. Kṛishṇa Sâstrî believes that these titles were not idle panegyrics, that the early inscriptions really record an important victory which Achyuta Râya achieved over Bîjâpur and Wârangal which had perhaps taken advantage of Kṛishṇa Dêva's death to make a joint attack on Vijayanagar. It is in the strong hold which Achyuta Râya had over the numerous feudatories in his empire, however, that his martial valour is conspicuous. He made his sovereignty a potent factor throughout South India. His magnificent donations to temples and Brahmans reminded men of the palmy days of his predecessor. 200 feudatory[32] chiefs who maintained an aggregate army of 600,000 men saluted his standard and acknowledged his supremacy.

SECTION II. THE TINNEVELLY CAMPAIGN 1532.

Achyuta Rayas expedition to Tinnevelly.

A remarkable campaign[33] which Achyuta Râya led to the basin of the Tâmraparṇi during the very second year of his accession serves to illustrate his martial capacity and his determination to retain at all costs his hold on the South. This campaign of Achyuta Râya deserves close scrutiny; for it had momentous effects on the history of South India and indirectly led to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty in Madura. Historians or rather epigraphists have been puzzled to account satisfactorily for the expedition; but a careful

---

[30] *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911 p. 85.

[31] This is proved by an inscription at Tiruppanangâḍu dated S. 1453. The emperor boasts of his victories over the Muhammadans and his erection of a pillar of victory in Orissa. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1907 p. 85; *Ibid*, 1911(insc. 250 of 1910); and *Ibid* 1913, p. 123.

[32] Nuniz: *Chronicle.*

[33] The authorities for this are both literary and epigraphical. The chief literary work is *Achyuta Râyâbhyudaya.* The inscriptions are at Conjeeveram, Tiruppanangâḍu, etc. All these have been summarised and commented on in *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1899—1900; 1907; 1908; 1909; 1910; etc; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09; and *Trav. Arch. series.* See also Taylor's *Rais catal.* III, 331. Regarding this important campaign Sewell wrote: "two inscriptions at Conjeeveram, dated respectively in 1532 and 1533, implied that at that period king Achyuta reduced the country about Tinnevelly; but apparently he was not present in person, and nothing farther is known regarding this expedition." (*Forg. Empe,* p. 167). It will be seen that much information has been brought to light after Sewell wrote.

grasp of the circumstances under which the campaign was organized leaves no problem as regards the *causus belli*. Students of epigraphy will easily remember how in the time of Krishṇa Dêva Râya's administration, there ruled in the basin of the Kâvêri and the Vaigai a great Sâḷuva chieftain of the name of Chellappa[34] Vîra Narasiṁha Nâikar, who had gained the first place among Krishṇa Dêva's grandees and who had been only looking for a timely opportunity to declare himself independent. The death of Krishṇa Dêva Râya and the difficulties in which Achyuta Râya was involved with the Sultân and the Gajapati, afforded him the long-wished-for opportunity. Sâḷuva Nâik would probably have been reconciled to subordination and allegiance, if he had been approached with tact and friendship by the new emperor. But immediately after Achyuta Râya's accession, an event happened which had exactly the contrary effect, which did not only increase the vassal's discontent, but drove him into actual rebellion. This was the rise of a formidable rival, Mahâmandaḷêśvara[35] Tirumalaiya Mahârâja, in the court and counsels of Achyuta Râya.

The causes of the Tinnevelly Campaign.

Tirumalaiya was the head of the Salaka chiefs, and had distinguished himself in the camp as well as the court. He was, moreover, closely allied by blood to the emperor, for the latter had married his sister. The Salaka chiefs again, had evidently long been the rivals of the Sâḷuvas, and in the keen race for office and distinction had not unoften perhaps come into conflict. The result of all this was the growing discontent of Sâḷuva Nâik. He could not endure to see himself dethroned from the post of first minister by a rival. He could not follow the imperious lead of a man who obstructed his own views of ambition and chances of distinction, and who, thanks to his family, his tradition, his office, and his kinship with the emperor, was his deadly enemy. Either he or Tirumalaiya must go. They could not live side by side, and as the emperor was naturally partial to the Salaka chief, Sâḷuva Naik felt that he had nothing more to gain by his loyalty to the Empire. From a long-standing feudatory he now changed into an irreconcileable foe, and prepared to gain allies. And they were not wanting. Between Madura and Tinnevelly, there was one of the most turbulent feudatory chiefs of the age—the celebrated Tumbichchi[36] Nâik. A restless and greedy soldier, he was evidently in dispute with his nominal suzerains, the Pâṇḍyan kings. In him Sâḷuva Nâik found a capable colleague and congenial ally. Shortly after, he found an even more capable ally. In the extreme south of the peninsula, the region between the Tâmbraparṇi and the sea, the greedy and aggressive king of Travancore, Udaya Mârtâṇḍa Varma "the greatest and the most illustrious of the early sovereigns of Vêṇâd," was waging a deadly war with the Pâṇḍyans. From very[37] early times the kings of the Pâṇḍyan dynasty and the kings

[34] The inscriptions speak of Chellappa, but the *Achyutarâyâbhyudaya* uses the word Chôḷappa. An example of Vîra Narasiṁha's disobedience is his exaction of *jôḍi* from the village of Tiruppanaṅgâḍu, though this tax had been excused in favour of the temple there.

[35] See *Arch. Surv.* 1908-09, p. 188; *Ep. Rep.* 1911 p. 86. That there were curious disputes between Achyuta and Sâḷuva about grants is clear from a curious inscn (No 83) described in p. 336 of *Rais catal. III.* Achyuta Râya, it will be seen, resumes certain grants as a result of Sâḷuva's representations. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 115 for his genealogy, and *Ibid* 1912, p. 81 for some of his inscriptions.

[36] See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 86 and appendix VI—the *Tinnevelly Pâḷayams*. According to a Mack. MS. (M. 30, p. 85-88), the founder of the Pâḷayam was a servant of Krishṇa Dêva. The MS. says wrongly that he was sent by the emperor with Viśvanâtha Nâik to the south in S. 1331, K. 4510. The date of Krishṇa Dêva and Viśvanâtha as given here is wrong. It is too early by a century. We may suppose that the first of the Tumbichchis came to the south, about 1409 A.D. Then, as a reference to the family memoir will shew, the Tumbichchi Nâik referred to here must be Kumâralinga who ruled from 1502—1535 A.D. Tumbichchi's Pâḷayam included Pêriyûr, Tummaṇa-Nâikenpaṭṭi, Sirumalaipaṭṭi and three other villages.

[37] See Nagam Aiya's *Travancore Manual* I, p. 267, ff. Mr. Nagam Aiya points out that throughout the 15th century the dispute gave rise to war. The kings he attributes to the 15th century are Śrî Vîra-Râma-varma, *alias* Champaka-Râma-varma, the senior Tiruvaḍi of Tiruppâpûr (10 miles south of Trevândrum) who ruled about 1468 *A.D.*; Vîra-Kôdai Âditya-varma (1472—84?) and Vîra-Ravi-varma (1479-1512) in whose time Kâyal was evidently part of Travancore state; Âditya-varma; and Bhûtala-vîra-Udaya-Mârtâṇḍavarma (1494-1535), the conqueror of the Tâmbraparṇi region then reigned. According to Shungonny Menon, the rulers of Travancore in this period were: Venad Mootha Raja 1444-1458; Vira Mârtâṇḍa

of Trâvancore were engaged in this dispute. And now, Udaya Mârtâṇḍa was so much inspired by the desire to achieve a permanent conquest of the region that he seems to have employed all his resources against the Pâṇḍyan Âhava-Râma[38] and had such a triumphant career that, by the year 1530, he had the villages of Brahmadêśam, Shermâdêvi, Ambâsamudram, Kaḷakâḍu, etc., in his hands. The Pâṇḍyan, in alarm, appealed to the emperor for protection. Achyuta Râya commanded the Tiruvaḍi[39a] to disgorge his spoils and surrender his conquests, but the imperial mandate had only the effect of confirming the rebel in his treason and extending the range of his activities. He did not only withhold the customary tribute due to the Empire, but entered into an active alliance with Sâḷuva Nâik and his ally Tumbichchi Nâik. It is not improbable that the Chôḷa princess whom he is said to have married was the daughter of Śâḷuva[39] Nâik. There thus came into existence a powerful confederacy against the Empire in the south,—a chain of enemies from the Kâvêri to the end of the peninsula. Śâḷuva Nâik guarded the districts on the banks of the Kâvêri, Tumbichchi those on the banks of the Vaigai, and Udaya Mârtâṇḍa assailed those on the Tâmbraparṇi. Nothing is known about the attitude of the Vânada[40] Râyars of Madura, and Bôgaiyyadêva-Mahârâja[41] of Trichinopoly in this crisis; but as they were the enemies respectively of Śâḷuva Nâik and Tumbichchi Nâik, they possibly threw in their lot with the Pâṇḍyas and the Empire; but divided from one another by inimical territory and open to raids on every side, they could not make a successful resistance.

Achyuta's Generals: Tirumalaiya and Nâgama Nâik.

There was now no other alternative for Achyuta Râya than to prepare for a decisive blow against the enemies. The Pâṇḍya had to be saved from danger, perhaps from destruction. The prestige of imperial power had to be restored. Delay meant disaster, and Achyuta Râya hastily patched up peace with his adversaries in the north, and himself took the command of the gigantic army which was to chastise the spoliators of the imperial fabric. The ablest generals of the day commanded the different sections of the grand army. Tiru-

Varma 1458-71; Eravi Varma 1478-1504; Mârtâṇḍa Varma 1504; Vira Eravi Varma 1504 1528; Mârtâṇḍa Varma 1528-1537 and Udaya Mârtâṇḍa Varma 1537-1560; Kêrala Varma 1560-3 (See Sewell's *Antiquities*, II p. 238 and Shungonny Menon's *Hist of Travancore* p. 95-6). There are thus two different accounts, the more reliable being Nagama Aiya's, but both agree in regard to a Mârtâṇḍa-Varma in the early years of the 16th century. By the year 1509 he got possession of Kaḷakâḍu, as an inscn in the local Śiva temple shews. Mârtâṇḍa was a liberal donar to temples. Sewell mentions his grants of lands in 1511, 1513, 1521, 1531, etc., to the temples of Śiva, Gomati, etc., in Cape Comorin, Nâgercôil, (Inscn. 63 of 1896), and other places. Kaḷakâḍu seems to have been Mârtâṇḍa Varma's seat of residence. Mr. Nagama Aiya says that he got this place as a dowry of his queen, a Choḷa princess, by name Chôḷakulavalli. "Bhûtala Vîra made Kaḷakâḍu his capital and built in it a new palace." On account of this marriage, Mârtâṇḍa-Varma is said to have called himself *Puli-Mârtâṇḍa*—from the fact that the Chôḷa dynasty had "the leopard" for its insignia. He is also said to have conquered Ceylon and exacted tribute. He maintained 300 female archers. His enlightened religious policy is clear in his Edict of Toleration to the Paravas. See *Trav. State Manu,* I, p. 296. The latest epigraphical reports also contain inscns. concerning him. E. g. 463 and 473 of 1909. See also the *Christ Col. Magaz.*, 1904-5 for an excellent article on the relations between Travancore and Vijiyanagar.

[38] Mr. Gopinatha Rao says the king at this time was Śrîvallabha, Âhavarama's successor. But Śrîvallabha came to the throne only in 1533. It is highly probable, however, that Śrivallabha distinguished himself even in his predecessor's time, and so came to have the title of *Irandakâlameḍutta* and *Pâṇḍya Râjyasthâpanâchârya.*

[39] The writer in the *Christ Col. Mag.* (1904-5) makes a curious mistake in saying that Taylor and Nelson attribute Achyuta's invasion of 1532 to the struggle between Chandra Śêkhara and Vîra Śêkhara. He thinks that the Chôḷa queen referred to was the daughter of Vîra Śêkhara Chôḷa.

[39a]. For the origin of this word see *Indian Antiquary XXIV*, p. 257. *Tiruvaḍi* means *Holy Feet.* As Sundaram Pillai says, the kings of Vêṇâḍ were always known to literature as Vêṇâttuaḍigaḷ, "the Holy feet of Vêṇâḍ." Śri Vîra-Kêrala-Varma (c. 1140) was the first king to bear this title, and Sundaram Pillai sees in it the indication of the expansion of his dominions and the growth of his power.

[40] There is evidence to shew that about this time there was a war between the Vâṇa king and Tumbichchi Nâik. See the *Hist. of the Pâḷayam of the Tumbichchi Nâiks*, Appendix *VI.*

[41] Owing to the absence of epigraphical lore, Caldwell said that it was simply a struggle between the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa. It was Mr. Venkayya that first suggested that the Chôḷa referred to was probably Channaiya, evidently co-ruler with Bôgayyadêva Mahârâja. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that Bôgayyadêva Mahârâja was the successor of the deposed Vîra-Narasimha-Nâyaka. He does not trace any connection between Channayya and Bôgayya. It seems to me that the latter was the contemporary, if not successor of the former and perhaps shared or inherited his dislike of Sâḷuva Nâik. *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 188.

malaiyadêva, the emperor's brother-in -law and the personal enemy of Sâluva Nâik, was the first of the leaders. Equally prominent, if not even more, was a celebrated man who was destined, more than anybody else, to reap rich harvest from this expedition. It was the renowned Nâgama Nâik, the *koṭṭiyam* or store-keeper, according to some, the cattle-keeper according to others, and the finance-minister according to still others, of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya. No figure is more elusive and mysterious in Indian History than this Nâgama Nâik "of the Kâśyapa-gôtra." There is very meagre mention of him in epigraphy[42]. It is from contemporary literature, the Polygar memoirs and the Madura chronicles that we understand that he was one of the most powerful, scheming and enterprising noblemen of the Empire. The *History of the Karnâtaka Governors*[43] tells us that Nâgama became, by his pushfulness, skill and loyalty, one of the most influential grandees of the imperial court. Besides being the leader of 40,000 horse, a corps of 4000 elephants and 10,000 camels, which belonged to the Empire, he had his own army of retainers consisting of 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, for the maintenance of which he was authorised to collect the *peshkus* from all the feudatory states of Vijayanagar from Arcot to Nanji[43a] (Travancore). A man of soaring ambition and formidable valour, Nâgappa was a powerful magnate both as a feudal chieftain and as a guardian of the Empire from its enemies, and he was therefore, as the Kṛishṇâpuram plates seem to inform us, a prominent commander of the Vijayanagar army[44] during this expedition.

(3) Viśvanâtha Nâik.

A third imperial general who loomed large in the eyes of his contemporaries and who evidently had a share in the grand enterprise was the son of Nâgama, Viśvanâtha Nâik[45] by name. Few among the many adventurers who have figured in Indian History as the founders of kingdoms and the architects of their renown, can be compared with this remarkable man and hero, who was to stamp a permanent impression of his existence in history by the firm foundation of a powerful and magnificent line of kings. Though it is a notorious fact that, owing to the caprices of armies, the loose tie of allegiance between princes and vassals, and the weakness of the kings themselves, the dynasties of mediaeval India had, as a rule an extremely ephemeral and precarious existence, and though the establishment of a new dynasty may not be conceived to be noteworthy in an age when the rise and fall of dynasties was a commonplace occurrence, yet there is so much of singular interest in the exploits of Viśvanâtha, that they deserve the close attention, and excite the warm appreciation, of the critical historian. Many lesser men than Viśvanâtha have raised themselves by the strength of their personality or by the support of strong partisans, to the rank and dignity of kings; but few of them have left behind them such lasting monuments of their work, as the founder of the Madura Nâik kingdom has done. His work as a statesman, as an organizer, as a friend of the people and the framer of an administrative system, will be narrated in its proper place; but here it may be noted for a correct understanding of his policy and movements, that he was not a mere soldier capable of gaining the blind devotion of his men, but a statesman endowed with a keen insight into character and a genius for organization. From the first, Viśvanâtha was a cynosure of his countrymen. An idol of his contemporaries, he became a theme for romance and tale even from his birth. The story goes that his

[42] There is an inscn. in his name at Virinchipuram in 1482: the Kṛishṇâpuram plates call him by the title of Pâṇḍya Râjyasthapanâchârya, a title wielded by Achyuta Râya and Srî-Vallabha.

[43] See appendix I for a full translation of this very important MS.

[43a] See *Trav. Arch. Series*. Nâgama had, in consequence of this, the title of *Pâṇḍya-Râjya-Sthâpanâchârya*, like Achyuta Râya and Srîvallabha. It is curious that Mr. Krishna Sastri totally ignores Nâgama's part in this campaign.

[44] The MS calls it *Nanji Nâdu*. It is the tract lying between the Kêrala and Pâṇḍyan kingdoms. For its history see *Travancore State Manual*, I. 260-3. *Ep. Rep.* 1909, p.119; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 191 &c.

[45] *Ep. Rep. 1909*, p. 119; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-09, p. 191 etc.

father Nâgama Nâik had at first no son to inherit his vast estates and to perpetuate the memory of his family, in spite of the many propitiatory offerings and the practice of hard vows with which he implored the favour of the gods ; that he went on pilgrimage to Benares, where by the liberality of his donations, the magnificence of his charities, and the vigour of his penance,[46] he obtained, by the grace of the god Viśvanâtha, the blessing of a son, later on the founder of the Madura Nâik dynasty, whom he christened after the god whose gift he was. The exact date of Viśvanâtha's birth is unknown; but it may be surmised that it was sometime about 1500. A child of penance and prayer, Viśvanâtha foreshadowed his coming greatness even in his youth. He underwent an excellent military and literary training under his father, and developed into a fine scholar and a finer athlete; and by the time he was sixteen, " he was admired for the beauty of his person and his natural as well as acquired knowledge, and was in every respect accomplished." When about twenty years of age, he was introduced by his father to the imperial presence and into the imperial service. A romantic and picturesque story is narrated in the indigenous Chronicles in connection with his advent into the emperor's service. In accordance with the custom of those days, we are told, the emperor brought, as a result of the chase, a wild buffalo from the neighbouring woods, to be offered, on the tenth day of the Navarâtri festival[47], as a sacrifice to Durga, the guardian deity of Vijayanagar, the celebrated Bhuvanêśvari of Vidyâraṇya's devotion and worship. It was widely believed that the efficacy and fruitfulness of the sacrifice depended on the head of the beast's being severed from the body at a single stroke. The superstition of the day held that if the victim had to be struck twice, a disaster was in store for the empire. Now it happened that the buffalo which was led to the sacrificial altar had such long, strong and irregular horns that it became a serious problem how to cut its head off at one stroke. The Emperor, courtiers and people were in despair, when young Viśvanâtha, we are told, came to the rescue. He was, we are further informed, induced by the goddess herself, in a vision, to offer himself as the executioner, provided he was given a particular sword in the king's armoury. When the youth made his appearance before the anxious Emperor and offered his service, he was not believed to be earnest, but the fervent solicitude of the young hero, his earnest offer to sacrifice his life in case of failure, made Kṛishṇa-Dêva agree to try him. And the emperor had no reason to be sorry for his decision. To his unbounded joy and enthusiasm, the young soldier performed his task with remarkable success. As a reward for his service, Kṛishṇa Dêva declared him a public benefactor, a saviour of the State from a catastrophe, and promised him before long, inasmuch as he deserved a crown and kingdom, the dignity of royalty. At the same time he distinguished the favourite's merit by appointing him to the command of a section of the army. As a general, Viśvanâtha's career was a brilliant one. He distinguished himself with such glory in the subjugation of certain enemies[48] of the empire in the north, that the emperor raised him to a high rank, and bestowed on him all honours and privileges as well as the ensigns and trophies which his valour had taken from the conquered chiefs.

(*To be continued*)

46 The *Hist. Carn. Governors* gives details. It points out how Nâgama and his wife bathed daily in the Ganges, ate everyday only three handfuls of rice, and waited on the god Viśvanâtha day and night in the temple. They did so for forty days, when the god appeared to them in a vision, expressed his satisfaction at their penance, promised to give them a sight of his person the next day in the Ganges, and declared that their object would be fulfilled. The next day the pious couple, while bathing in the Ganges, felt a piece of stone coming into contact with their knees. They went to another ghat, but here also the same thing happened, and once again in a third spot. They now found that it was an emerald *linga*. Realising at once that it was the god's fulfilment of his promise, Nâgama returned to his country. About a year afterwards Viśvanâtha was born. The *Mirt. Mss* give a slightly different version. See also the various *Polygar Memoirs*, where there is ample reference to this story.

47 The Navarâtri was the most important festival in the Vijayanagar Empire. Both the imperial and the provincial rulers celebrated it with great splendour. See Sewell's *Forg. Empe*,86, 175 and 376, and *Madr. Manu III*, 285. For stray accounts of the worship of Bhuvanêśvari see *Rais catal. II* 427-55.

48 It is not known who these were. The *Hist. Carn. Governors* says they were feudal chieftains in the north, who withheld the tribute to be paid by them. One of the *Mirtanjiya MSS* says they were the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Kâsmîra, Nêpâḷa, etc This is of course absurd. Taylor suggests that they were the princes of Kondavîḍu, Wârangal, Cuttack and the Bahmani Sultâns. See *O. H. MSS.* II, 143 and appendix 1.

HÂTHAL PLATES[1] OF (PARAMÂRA) DHÂRÂVARSHA
[VIKRAMA] SAMVAT 1237 (1180 A. D.).

BY SÂHITYÂCHÂRYA PANDIT VISHWESHWAR NATH SHASTRI, JODHPUR.

THIS inscription was found in the Hâthal village in the Sirohi State about 3 miles North-West of Mount Âbû. It is engraved on two copper plates, each of which measures about 6½" broad by 5½" high and contains a ring hole but the ring has been lost.

Each plate is engraved on one side only. One of these plates contains 10 lines and the other 11. But the 11th line seems to be a post script, for the letters in this line differ widely from the others.

The characters are Nâgarî of the 12th century. The language is very incorrect Sanskrit. This may be due to the fault of the engraver. It is written in prose throughout except the three imprecatory verses (lines 15 to 20 of the second plate). In respect of orthography the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*.

This inscription is dated Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Kârtika in the [Vikrama] year 1237, and refers to the reign of Dhârâvarsha, who, in this inscription, is styled the descendant of Dhûmaṛâjadeva, Râjâ of Âbû who is described in the inscriptions of Âbû[2] and Girvar[3] as the founder of the Paramâra clan.[4]

The minister, at that time, was Kovidâsa. The day of the charter specified in the inscription is *Devotthânî Ekâdaśî* ; and it says the following with regard to the donee Bhaṭṭâraka Vîsala Ugradamaka, *âchârya* of Śivadharma : (1) That he be granted . . . . in Sâhilvâḍâ. (2) That he be permitted to graze his cattle on the pasture grounds free of charge. (3) That a pasture land be granted him in Kumbhâranulî. (4) That he be granted an area of land which can be tilled with two ploughs in a day. (5) In the 11th line of the second plate, which is supposed to be a postscript it is mentioned that the pastures of Mâgavaḍi and Hâthalaḍi villages also be granted to him.

Lines 5-10 of the second plate contain curses on those princes who would deprive him of these privileges.

Of the localities mentioned here Hâthalaḍi is obviously Hâthal where the plates were found. In the 15th century inscriptions, this village bears the name of Brahmasthâna. This

---

[1] The ink impressions of these plates were kindly given to me by Rai Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

[2] तत्राथ मैत्रावरुणस्य जुव्हतश्चंडोग्निकुंडात्पुरुषः पुराभवत् ॥
मत्वा मुनीन्द्रः परमारणक्षमं स व्याहरत्तं परमारसंज्ञया ॥ ११ ॥
पुरा तस्यान्वये राजा धूमराजाव्हयो भवत् ॥
येन धूमध्वजेनेव दग्धा वंशाःक्षमाभृताम् ॥ १२ ॥
(Unpublished Inscription in the Achaleśvara temple at Âbû).

[3] जयतु निखिलतीर्थैः सेव्यमानस्समन्तान्मुनिसुरसुरपत्नीसंयुतैरर्बुदाद्रिः ।
विलसदनलगर्भादद्भुतं श्रीवशिष्ठः कमपि सुभटमेकं सृष्टवान् यत्र मंत्रैः ॥ ३ ॥
आनीतधेन्वे परनिर्जयेन मुनिः स्वगोत्रं परमारजातिम् ।
तस्मै ददावद्भुतभूरिभाग्यं तं धौमराजं च चकार नाम्ना ॥ ४ ॥
(Pâṭnârâyaṇ Inscription of Girvar). I shall edit this inscription also as soon as possible.

[4] श्रीधूमराजः प्रथमं बभूव भूवासवस्तत्र नरेन्द्रवंशे ।
भूमिभृतो यः कृतवानभिज्ञान् पक्षद्वयोच्छेदनवेदनासु ॥
(*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 210).

name must have been given to it either because it was granted to Brâhmaṇs by Paramâra princes, or because there was a temple of Brahmâ near it which is now in ruins.

Text.

First Plate.

१ ॐ[5] संवत् १२३७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि ११ गुरौ वद्ये[6]
२ ह चाज्ञापलं[7] ॥ समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृ [त] श्रीमदर्बुदा[8]
३ धिपतिश्रीधुमराज[9]देवकुलकमलोषो (द्यो) तनमार्त्त [ण्ड] ड
४ मा [ं] डलिकेसुर[10]शंभुश्रीधारावर्षदेवकल्याणविज
५ यराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनमहं[11] श्रीकाविदे[12] स
६ मस्तमुद्राव्यापारान य (प) रिगंथयतीत्येव[13] काले प्रवर्त्त-
७ माने शा [ा] सनाक्षराणि लिख्यते[14] यथा। अद्य संजा
८ त देवोष्ठनीएकादस्यां[15] महापव्वीण[16] नलिनीदल
९ गतजललवतरलतरं जीवितव्वासिद[17] विधाय[18]
१० परमषैवा[19]चार्यभट्टारकवीसलउग्रदमके

Second Plate.

११ स्य[20]साहिलवाडाग्रामे ... मुक्ति [:] ॥ तथा एतदीयध
१२ णे:[21] गोचरे चरणीया[22] तथा कुंभारतुलिग्रामे सुरभिम
१३ र्यादापर्यंत भूमी दत्त[23] हल २ हलद्वयभूमी[24] शासने
१४ नोदकपूर्व्वं [°] प्रदत्ता:[25] ॥ द्यूतेऽत्रमहं[26] श्रीकोविद से[27]
१५ ठि° जाल्हणौ ॥ मतै ॥ श्रीः ॥ वहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता रा
१६ जभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी तस्य[28] तस्य त
१७ दा फल [ं] ॥ १ ॥ स्वदत्तां[29] परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्वसुंधरां[30] । षष्ठि
१८ वर्षसहष्राणि[31] वल्माया [ं][32] जायते कृमि [:] ॥ २ ॥ ममवंश
१९ क्षये क्षीणे[39] अन्योहनृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं करल
२० ग्नोसि[34] मम दत्तं न लोपयेन्[35] ॥ ३ ॥ शुभं भवतू[36] ॥ छ ॥
२१ मागवाडीग्रामग्रासभूमी दत्ता[37] हातडलीग्रामग्रासभूमी दत्त[38] [ा]

---

[5] Expressed by a sign.

[6] Read गुरावद्ये°

[7] Read चाज्ञापनं

[8] Read °दर्बुदा°

[9] Read धूमरा°

[10] Read °का सुरशंभु°

[11] Read °जीव्यहं

[12] Read कोविदः

[13] Read °पारान्परिपन्थयामीत्येवं

[14] Read लिख्यं°

[15] Read °देवोत्थान्येकादश्यां

[16] Read °पर्व्वणि

[17] Read जीवितव्यमिदं

[18] Read विज्ञाय

[19] Read °मशैवा°

[20] Read °दमकाय

[21] Read °धेनवो

[22] Read चारणीयाः

[23] Read °पर्यन्ता भूमिर्दत्ता

[24] Read °भूमिः शा°

[25] Read प्रदत्ता

[26] Read दूतकोऽत्राहं

[27] Read कोविदः

[28] Read भूमिस्तस्य

[29] Read स्वदत्तां

[30] Read हरेत वसुंधराम्

[31] Read षष्टि वर्ष सहस्राणि

[32] Read विष्ठायां

[33] Read °क्षयेजाते

[34] Read °लग्नोस्मि

[35] Read लोपयेत्

[36] Read भवतु

[37] Read °भूमिर्दत्ता

[38] Read °भुमिर्दत्ता

MISCELLANEA.

"SHANDY" AND "SHINDY".

1. MOFUSSIL residents in Madras know from experience the weekly market at which provisions are purchased for the next week, and which is termed *śandai*. At Ootacamund it lasts till night and winds up with the merry songs of the inebriated Baḍagas who are returning to their distant haunts. The word *śandai* is the Tamiḻ form of Sanskrit *saṁdhâ*, while *śandi* and *śandu* are derived from *saṁdhi*. I have noted the Anglo-Indian form *shandy* = Tamil *śandai* in the following amusing extract from the "Madras Mail" of May 1890, which professes to be a reply to a query that had been inserted by the then Collector of Kurnool.

RABBITS AND GOVERNMENT.

Sir.—"To keep rabbits on the plains," send your boy to the local *shandy* for some string, adjust it in loops and pass them over the heads of the rabbits, draw up and fasten to the legs of a four poster bedstead. This is a most effectual way of keeping rabbits on the plains, and prevent them wandering to the hills. Can Mr. Kough kindly tell a fellow countryman the best means of keeping Government on the plains, especially in April and May."

Erin-Go-Bragh.

2. In the Slang Dictionary (1874) the word *shindy* is explained by 'a row, or noise.' I have found the following instances of its use.

(*a*) In chapter 36 of Thackeray's *Pendennis* (1845-50) the Major's valet Morgan remarks with reference to the French *chef* Mirobalant :—

"At a ball at Baymouth, sir, bless his impudence, he challenged Mr. Harthur to fight a jewel, sir, which Mr. Harthur was very near knocking him down, and pitchin' him out a winder, and serve him right ; but Chevalier Strong, sir, came up and stopped the *shindy*—I beg pardon, the holtercation, sir."

(*b*) Flügel's Dictionary, 4th ed., (1891). "Did you and she have a *shindy* downstairs." "She hated me as much as I did her, we used to have fearful *shindies*."

(*c*) Wright's English Dialect Dictionary (1905) "There did use to be some *shandies* [thus] a Plough Monday" (from Nottinghamshire).

That part of the great Oxford Dictionary which will contain the article 'shindy' is not yet out. The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1911) says :—

"*shindy*, brawl, disturbance, row, noise ; often 'to kick up a *shindy* ;' perhaps from Scotch *shinny* or *shinty*, a kind of hockey."

The derivation suggested here is extremely doubtful, I suspect that *shindy* was originally a British soldier's expression and goes back to its synonym *śaṇḍai*, a word which every master and mistress of Tamiḻ servants cannot help being familiar with. I remember to have heard frequently the phrase *śaṇḍai=ppôḍugiṟâṉ*, he is kicking up a row. Perhaps some of your correspondents will be able to trace the word *shindy* in Anglo-Indian literature. Both *shandy* and *shindy* are missing in Hobson-Jobson.

E. HULTZSCH.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE PURÂṆA TEXT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES edited by F. E. PARGITER. Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1913. XXIV, 97 pp. 5 sh.

The genealogy of old dynasties is one of the traditional topics of the Purâṇas, and the lists of ancient rulers contained in them were at an early date considered as authentic by the Brâhmaṇas. When the later dynasties started the practice of deriving their genealogies from the ancient kings of India, these lists were largely made use of, and we can frequently trace their influence in inscriptions. No critical scholar would think of considering them as authenticated history. On the other hand, they are not merely poetical fictions, and critical scholars like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar have shown to what extent they can be utilised in reconstructing the ancient history of India.

One great difficulty, in making use of these lists, has hitherto been that they have had to be consulted in so many different works, and that these latter ones are not available in critical editions,

Mr. Pargiter, who has long devoted much time to the study of the Purâṇas, has now helped us out of this difficulty. In a handy volume he has brought together the accounts of the dynasties of the Kali Age contained in the Matsya, Vâyu, Brahmâṇḍa, Vishṇu, Bhâgavata and Garuḍa Purâṇas. In addition to the printed editions of these works he has compared a great number of manuscripts, so that it is now easy to see at a glance, in every particular case, how the different sources read.

It will be apparent even from a superficial perusal of Mr. Pargiter's book how much the various accounts agree, and we are forced to the conclusion that they are all derived from a common source. This source must, according to Mr. Pargiter, be the Bhavishya-purâṇa, for we are often told that kings will be enumerated as they have been handed down (*kathita* or *paṭhita*) in the Bhavishya. Now it is a curious fact that the account of the same dynasties actually occurring in the Bhavishya does not agree at all and is evidently very late. There are, as is well-known, two recensions of the Bhavishya-purâṇa, one of which even contains the Biblical history of Adam and Eve. On the other hand, a Bhavishyatpurâṇa is mentioned in the Âpastambîyadharmasûtra, *i. e.*, from a period previous to these dynasties. We thus know that there existed an old Bhavishya-purâṇa, which was added to and recast in the course of time. Mr. Pargiter has not taken up the question about the various recensions which are now available. On the whole, a critical study on the Purâṇas is a great desideratum, and will have to be taken in hand as soon as we get a critical edition of the Mahâbhârata. I should think that Mr. Pargiter must have brought together much materials for such a study. It is to be hoped that he will some day make them available to the student.

Mr. Pargiter contends that the source of these accounts was written in Prakrit and probably in Kharoshṭhî characters. The question about the original language of the Indian epic has often been discussed, and the arguments in favour of the Prakrit hypothesis have usually been the same, and never quite convincing. We cannot overlook the fact that the Indian epics have largely been handed down orally, and that their wording has not been safeguarded in the same way as in the case of the Vedas. Our manuscripts, which are all late, must therefore necessarily present many irregularities. In such circumstances we cannot wonder if we find several Prakritisms in the Purâṇas. The same is, as is well known, the case in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions, and it does not prove that there was once a Prakrit original. The instances of wrong rhythm in the verses are just as little significant, if we remember how late our manuscripts are. We must also remember that the classical Prakrits are not very old forms of speech. If the Indian epics were not originally written in Sanskrit, they must have been written in some old vernacular and not in the Prakrit described in Pischel's grammar. If Mr. Pargiter is right in assuming that *ashṭadaśa* is occasionally misread instead of *abdân daśa*, it should be remembered that *abdân* is Sanskrit and not Prakrit. Everything depends on what is understood under the terms, Sanskrit and Prakrit. If the word Sanskrit is used to denote only the classical Sanskrit of the grammarians and if every thing else is called Prakrit, then Mr. Pargiter may be right. But if we include the Vedic dialects and the epic language of the Mahâbhârata in Sanskrit, then I do not think that we can agree. The Purâṇas are throughout Brahmanical, and the sacred language of Brahmanical literature was Sanskrit, in this wider sense of the word.

The theory that the oldest Puranic account of the dynasties of the Kali Age was written in the Kharoshṭhî alphabet, is based on a still unsafer foundation. That we occasionally find *y* for *ś* and *l* for *ś* in late manuscripts, does not prove anything whatever. If all the Puranic accounts, for instance, had *Ayoka* instead of *Aśoka*, we should have to account for it. But occasional mistakes of this kind do not make it even probable that the account of the Kali Age dynasties was originally written in Kharoshṭhî. It is not the case that " Kharoshṭhî is the oldest Indian script that we know of," and if the accounts of the dynasties of the Kali Age were drawn up or at least closed in the fourth century A. D., the Kharoshṭhî theory becomes very unlikely indeed.

On the whole, I am inclined to disagree with Mr. Pargiter about several questions dealt with in the introduction and the notes. I also think that it would have added to the usefulness of the book if tables of the different dynasties had been added. As Mr. Pargiter's book is, however, it should be received with sincere gratitude. It bears testimony to prolonged and careful work, and the exhaustive critical notes added to the texts are an important feature of the book. A work of this kind has long been wanted, and we must be very thankful to Mr. Pargiter for making it as reliable and handy as he has done.

STEN KONOW.

THE TRUE AND EXACT DAY OF BUDDHA'S DEATH.

BY DIWAN BAHADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L. (MADRAS); LL.B. (LOND.).

THE object of the subjoined chart is to show that the true date of Buddha's death (Tuesday, 1 April, 478 B. C.), is deducible from the eight week-day dates cited in Bishop Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama* (*Trübner's Oriental Series*). The demonstration is accomplished by selecting 5 out of the many dates which have from time to time been associated with Buddha (see a long list of such dates at p. 165 of Vol. II of Prinsep's *Tables*) and testing the week-days of the several occurrences with reference to each of these dates. The dates selected were :—

(1) 1027 B. C., which is the most frequently occurring among the dates collected by Prinsep;

(2) 901 B. C., corresponding to 980 B. C. for the birth, and to 991 B. C., which is said to be quoted by Jachrig from Pallas' Mongol Chronology (Prinsep, *loc. cit.*);

(3) 846 B. C., corresponding to 835 B. C., which is said by Prinsep to be the era adopted at Lhassa and founded on an average of 9 dates : 846 B. C. appears to be the date of "Buddha's appearance" alluded to in a well-known Tamiḻ Buddhistic poem of 8th cent. A. D. called "Maṇimêkhalai;"

(4) 638 B. C., known as the Peguan date ; and lastly,

(5) 478 B. C., Cunningham's second date, which, at p. 22 of *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, Dr. Fleet admits to be an alternative to his own date, 483 B. C., Kârttika śukḷa 8.

In selecting supposed dates for trial, I have endeavoured to limit myself to typical ones, *i. e.* to those which have at least *some* points in their favour. I made an exception in favour of 846 B. C., because, though wide of the mark, it is a curious date and seems to have been adopted by Tamiḻ Buddhists of the 8th century A. D. [I have published a magazine article on this subject, a copy of which I shall be glad to send to any one genuinely interested in it]. Other dates, which might have been selected, had to be rejected *in limine*, because the week-days were obviously unsuitable. This remark applies to 544 B. C., which would give a *Sunday* (instead of Tuesday) as the day of Buddha's death, as well as to 543 B. C., in which the *tithi* and *nakshatra* of Buddha's death concurred on a *Friday*. As

N.B.—The following abbreviations are used in this chart.

1. *su.* for *śukḷa*, the bright fortnight of a lunar month. *Bahula paksha* is not referred to even once in the chart.

2. *f. d. t.* and *f. d. n.* These symbols indicate respectively that a *tithi* or a *nakshatra* ended on the *following day* after that cited as the day of the *tithi* or the day of the *nakshatra*. Ordinarily a *tithi* or a *nakshatra* is cited as belonging to the day on which it comes to end but occasionally, it is cited as belonging to the day when it only commences. "*F. d. t.*" and "*f. d. n.*" mean accordingly "*following day's tithi*" and "*following day's nakshatra.*"

3. The ending moments of *tithis* and *nakshatras* are generally given correct to two decimal places of a day. The key to this system will be found in the author's Eye-table.

Thus ·20 means 12 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise.

4. When both *tithi* and *nakshatra* are cited, the ending moment of the *tithi* is given first, and then the ending moment of the *nakshatra.*

5. The English calendar years cited in pairs run from 1 March to 0 March, (*i. e.* the last day of February). Thus 1096-95 B. C. is the period from 1 March 1096 to 28 February 1095. At the epoch we are considering, this period coincided very nearly with an Indian solar sidereal year.

6. The expression "preceded by an adhika month" draws attention to the circumstance that the lunar year under consideration was one of 13, not of 12, months.

Chart to show that the true and exact day of Buddha's death (1 April 478 B. C.; Tuesday)

8. Week-Day dates in Bigandet's Life of Gaudama.	Supposed central date 1027 B. C.	Supposed central date 901 B. C
1. Kauzda Era given up on Saturday 1st of the moon of Tabaong (=Phâlg). *Reference . Vol. I. p. 13.*	1096-95 B. C. Phâlguṇa (preceded by adhika month) Śukla 1 was Wed Jany. 30, 1095 B C. ; ·39. **N.B.—Abolition of last year of old Kauzda Era.**	1050-49 B. C.; Phâlguṇa (preceded by *adhika* month). Śu 1 was Sat Feb. 1. 1049 B C. Tithi ended at ·21. **N.B.—Abolition of last year of Kauzda Era Sat was prob Âdi Chandrodaya.**
2. Commencement of Eetzana Era-Sunday, 1st of the waxing moon of Tagu (=Chaitra). *Vol. I, p. 13.* *In Vol. II. p. 133, footnote, Bigandet is in obvious error as to this date , see para. (6) of explanatory note.*	1095-94 B. C Chaitra Śukla 1= Friday, Mar. 1 ·12, 1095 B C **N.B —Eetzana Era, year 0. marked by Phâlguṇa Śukla 1 in 1096-95 B C.**	1049-48 B. C. ; Chaitra Śukla 1 = Sunday, 1 Mar 1049 B. C. ; 71. **N B.—Monday was prob. Âdi Chandrodaya** **2 Eetzana Era, year 0 marked by Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 in 1049-48 B. C.**
3. Birth of Buddha year-**68**; Vaiśâkha Pûrṇimâ; Nakshatra "Viśâkha," Friday. *Vol. I, p. 25 Vol. II, p. 71. Conception having taken place under Nak. "Utt Ashadha" in Sravana month and birth under "Visakha," Vaisakha su. 15 is the implied date of birth.*	1027-26 B C Friday, April 11 ; 1027 B C. ; ·34 ; ·16 **N B —Phâlguṇa Śukla 1 in 1028-27 B. C marked year 68, expired. of Eetzana Era. (1096 less 1028).**	980-79 B. C : Friday, April 1, 980 B. C.; ·96 ; t. d. n. 45. **N.B.—1. Nak. "Viśâkha" was current on Friday and ended on Sat. at 45.** **2. Phâlg Sukla 1 in 981-80 B. C. marked Eetzana 68 expired (1049 less 981).**
4. Buddha leaves Kapilavastu—year **96**, Sunday. Âshâḍha Full Moon-Nakshatra "Uttara Âshâḍha"; and enters into solitude next day, Monday. *Vol. I. pp. 62-64 (year 97.)* *Vol. II. p. 72 (year 96.)*	999-98 B C Tithi ended on Sunday June 29, 999 B C. at ·31 and Nakshatra had ended on *Sat.* at ·49. This was Śrâvaṇa full-moon **N B —1. Nak on Sund. was not Uttara Âshâḍha.** **2. Phâlguṇa Śukla 1 in 1000-999 B. C. marked year 96. expired. of Eetzana Era (1096 less 1000) and 97 current.**	952-51 B C ; Sunday, 19 June, 952 B C , 88 ; 80 **N.B —1. This was Âshâḍha full-moon (preceded by adhika month).** **2. Phâlg Sukla 1 in 953-52 B. C. marked Eetzana 96 expired (1049 less 953) and 97 current.**
5. Attainment of perfect wisdom-year—**103**. Vaiśâkha full moon ; Viśakha Nakshatra ; Wednesday. *Vol. I, p. 97 " a little before the break of day."* *Vol. II. p. 76.*	992-91 B. C ; Wednesday, April 14-17, 992 B C =pûrṇimâ ; but nakshatra Viśakha had ended on *Tuesday* at ·77 of day. **N.B.—1. Nak on Wed. was not Viśâkha.** **2 Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 in 993-92 B. C. marked year 103 expired of Eetzana Era (1096 less 993).**	945-44 B C . Wed 4 April 945 B C : 61 ; ·91. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 in 946-45 B. C marked Eetzana year 103 expired (1049 less 946)**
6. Death of Buddha's father Suddhodana.—year **107**; full moon of Wakaong (=Śrâvaṇa): at sun rise on Saturday. *Vol. I. p. 208.*	988-87 B. C. , Friday, June 27 55, 988 B C. ; Śrâvaṇa full-moon. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Śukla 1 in 989-88 B. C. marked Eetzana year 107 expired (1096 less 989).**	941-40 B. C. ; Sunday, July 17 90 , 941 B. C. ; full moon of Śrâvaṇa (preceded by adhika month.) **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 in 942-41 B. C. marked Eetzana, 107 expired (1049 less 942).**
7. Death of Buddha:—year 148 ; Vaiśâkha full-moon. Nak. "Viśâkha" Tuesday : a little before day break. *Vol. II. pp. 69, 78.*	948-47 B. C. ; Tuesday, 7 April, 948 B. C. ; ·84 ; ·97. **N.B —Phâlguṇa Śukla 1 in 949-48 B. C marked Eetzana 148 current or Eetzana 147 expired.**	901-00 B. C. ; Wed. Mar. 29; 901 B. C. ; 21 ; ·99. **N.B.—1. Nak "Visakha" commenced at ·04 on Wed. and was not current on Tuesday.** **2 Phâlg. Su. 1 in 902-01 B. C. marked Eetz. 148 current and 147 expired.**
8. The New religious era commences in the year of Buddha's death 148 on Monday, first of the moon of Tabaong (=Phâlguṇa). *Vol. II, p. 113. The week-day was possibly Sunday which appears in another version recorded by Bigandet ; vide footnote to p. 133, Vol. II, and para.* (6) *of explanatory note.*	949-48 B. C. ; Phâlg. Su. 2=Monday, Jan. 26 ·64, 948 B. C. **N.B.—This was the Phâlguṇa before Buddha's death and marked new era, year 0. Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 in 948-47 B. C. marked year 1 expired of new religious era.**	902-01 B. C. Phâlg. Śu. 1 was Sunday, Jany. 16, 901 B. C. ; ·34 ; the same day was Âdi Chandrôdaya. **N B.—This was the Phâlguṇa before Buddha's death and marked year 0 of the new religious Era. Phâlg. Sukla 1 in 901-00 B. C marked year 1 expired of new religious era**

is deducible from the week-day dates cited in Bishop Bigandet's LIFE OF GAUDAMA.

Supposed central date 846 B. C.	Supposed central date 638 B. C.	Correct central date 478 B. C.
916-15 B. C; Phâlguṇa Śukḷa 1 was Monday, 20 Jany. 915 B. C.; ·71. **N.B—1. Sat. was not Phâlguṇa Sukḷa 1 or 2** **2. Abolition of old Kauzda Era.**	637-36 B. C.; Phâlguṇa Śukḷa 2 ended on Sat. Jan. 26 ·90 636. B. C. **N.B.—Abolition of old Kauzda Era.**	627-26 B. C.; Phâlguṇa Su. 1, (preceded by *adhika* month) ended on Sat. Feb. 4. 626 B. C. at ·39. **N.B.—Abolition of Kauzda Era.**
916-15 B C; Chaitra Su. 1=Wed. Feb. 19 ·10, 915. B C. **N.B.—Sunday was not Âdi Chandrodaya.** **2 Eetzana year 0 marked by Phâlguṇa Sukḷa 1 in B. C. 915-14.**	637-36. B. C.; Chaitra Śukḷa 1 ended on Sunday Feb. 24 ·57, 636. B. C. **N.B.—Eetzana Era, year 0 began on Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 636-35. B. C.**	626-25. B. C. New moon at the beginning of Chaitra month was Sat. March 4 ·99, 626. B. C. Śukḷa 1 ended on Monday, March 6 at ·05 and this was first Chandrôdaya. Śukḷa 1 was current throughout Sunday. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 626-25 B. C. marks Eetzana year 0 (abt. 25 Jany. 625. B. C.)**
846-45 B. C.; Tuesday, April 20; 846 B. C.; ·89; ·21. **N.B.—1 Solar and lunar year began at practically the same moment. The Tuesday was 14 Rishabha; Su. 14 ended on Tuesday at ·08.** **(2). Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 847-46 B. C. marked Eetzana 68 (915 less 847).**	567-66 B. C.; *Thursday*, March 26, 567 B. C.; ·36; Nak. ended on Sat. at ·17. **N.B.—1 Friday was not Vaiśâkha Su. 15.** **2 Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 568-67 B. C. marked Eetzana year 68 expired (636 less 568).**	557-56 B. C.; Friday, 4 Ap. 557 B. C.; ·69; f. d. n. ·31. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 558-57 B. C. marks Eetzana year 68 expired (626 less 558).**
818-17 B. C.; Wed. 9 June, 818 B C; ·48; f. d. n. ·23. **N.B.—This was Âshâḍha full moon but neither tithi nor nak. fell on Sunday.** **2. Phâlg. Su. 1. in 819-18 B. C. marked Eetzana 96 expired (915 less 819) and 97 current.**	539-38. B. C. Srâvaṇa full-moon ended on Monday, 13 July 539 B. C. at ·44 and Nak. "Uttara Âshâḍha" had ended at ·58 on Sunday. Âshâḍha full moon was Sat. Jun. 13 ·97 Nak. "Uttara Âshâḍha" in that month was Monday, June 15 ·28. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 540-39 B. C. marked Eetzana year 96 expired (636 less 540).**	529-28 B. C.; Nija Âshâḍha Full Moon and Nakshatra "Uttara Âshâḍha" ended at ·59 and ·62 respectively of Sunday 22 June, 529. B. C. **N.B.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 530-29 B. C. marks Eetzana 96 expired (626 less 530) and 97 current.**
811-10 B. C.; Sat. 25 Mar.; 811 B. C.; ·19; f. d. n. ·32. **N.B.—Week day was not Wednesday.** **2. Phâlg. Su. 1 in 812-11 B. C. marked Eetzana 103 expired (915 less 812).**	532-31 B. C.; *Tuesday*, 29 March 532 B. C.; ·66; f. d. n. 77. **N.B.—Phâlguṇa Su. 1 in 533-32 B. C. marked Eetzana 103 expired, (636 less 533).**	522-521 B. C.; Wednesday, 8 April. 522 B. C.; ·36; ·74. **N.B.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 523-22 B. C. marks Eetzana 103 expired. (626 less 523).**
807-06 B. C.; Wed. 7 July 807 B. C.; ·17. **N.B. Śrâvaṇa full-moon, but week-day was not Sat.** **2. Phâlg. Su. 1 in 808-07 B. C. Eetzana marked 107 expired (915 less 808).**	528-27 B. C.; Saturday 11 July, 528 B. C.; ·53. **N.B.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 529-28 B. C. marked Eetzana 107 expired (636 less 529).**	518-17 B. C.; Full moon tithi of Śrâvaṇa commenced on Sat. 20 July, 518 B. C. at ·61 and ended on Sund. 21 July at ·51 of day. Saturday, at sunrise of which Suddhodana died, was loosely called Full Moon, altho'this description was properly applicable to night between Sunday and Monday. **N.B.—Phâlg. Su. 1 in 519-18 B. C. marks Eetzana 107 expired (626 less 519).**
767-66 B. C.; Sund. 17 Ap. 767 B. C.; ·14 Nak. "Viśakha" ended on Sat. at ·74. **N.B.—Phâlg. Su. 1 in 768-67 B. C. marked Eetzana 148 current and 147 expired (915 less 768).**	488-87 B. C.; *Wednesday*, April 21, ·97; ·29. 12th day of Rishabha (Solar month). **Note 1. Tuesday was not Vaiś. Su. 15.** **2. Phâlg. Su. 1 in 489-88 B.C. marked Eetzana 147 expired, 148 current (636 less 489).**	478-77 B. C.; "Viśâkha" nakshatra commenced at ·87 on Tuesday, 1 Ap. 478 B. C. and ended at .89 on Wed.; Śukla 15 was current all Tuesday and ended on Wednesday about sunrise. **N.B.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 479-78 B. C. marks Eetzana 147 expired, 148 current.**
768-67 B. C. Phâlg. (preceded by *adhika* month), Śukḷa 1 was Wed. 2 Feb; ·90. **N.B.—Phâlg. Su. 1 in 768-67 B. C. marked year 0 of new religious era and Phâlg. Su. 1 in 767-66 B. C. marked year 1 expired of new era.**	489-88 B. C. Phâlguṇa Śukḷa 1 (preceded by *adhika* month) ended on Monday Feb. 8, 488 B. C. at ·72. **Note.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 489 B. C. marked year 0 of New Religious era. Year 1 expired was marked by Phalg. Su. 1 in 488-87. B.C.**	479-78. B. C. Phâlguna Śukḷa 2=Monday Jany. 20 ·93, 478 B. C. Phâlguṇa Śukḷa 1 ended on Sunday 19 Jany. 478 B. C. at ·89 of the day. **N.B.—Phâlguna Su. 1 in 479-78 B. C. marks year 0 of new religious era. Year 1 expired is therefore marked by Phâlguna Su. 1 in 478-77 B. C.=Eetzana 148 expired (626 less 478).**

regards 483 B. C., I must say, with reference to Bigandet's week-days, that a more improbable year would be difficult to find, since in that year Vaiśâkha pûrṇimâ ended on Saturday March 28·90, while Nak. "Viśâkha" commenced on Sunday, March 29·02 and came to end on Sunday, March 29·98 : in other days, pûrṇimâ and "Viśâkha" Nak., did not concur in Vaiśâkha month of that year for even one second of time. The year, 484 B. C. is a more probable year, because both Vaiśâkha su. 15 and "Viśâkha" Nak. ended in that year on a Tuesday.

An additional reason for selecting (2) 901 B. C., was that if any year was likely to yield week-days identical with those yielded by 478 B. C., it was 901 B. C., on account of a well-known principle in Indian Chronology that week-days, *tithis* and *nakshatras* generally repeat themselves on the same days of the Indian sidereal year once in 423 years. The year 901 B. C. does yield week-days closely similar to those yielded by 478 B. C., except that it fails at the most important point and brings out the week-day of Buddha's death as Wednesday instead of Tuesday.

It will be seen that the only year for Buddha's death which brings out all the week-days correctly is 478 B. C. The number of tests could be multiplied, but we may be fairly certain that the result would always go to confirm 478. B. C.

This being so, it becomes an important question when these week-days were first recorded. Evidently, not during Buddha's life time or shortly after his death, because the week-day, as a detail for ordinary citation was not known in Europe till the 3rd century A. D. and probably was not known in India till at least the 5th century A. D. : indeed, week-day citations are not *commonly* met with in India till the 8th century A. D.—[See on the whole subject of the Indian week-day, Dr. Fleet's valuable articles in Oct. issue of *J. R. A. S.* for 1912 pp. 1039-1052.]

The Burmese chronicle, translated by Bishop Bigandet, is called *Malla-linkara wouttoo* and was composed about A. D. 1773, but Prof. Rhys Davids testifies to the substantial, even verbal, identity of that chronicle with the Jâtaka commentary current in Ceylon in 5th century A. D. (Prof. Rhys Davids, cited by Mr. Harry C. Norman in *J. R. A. S.* 1908 p. 15). We may, therefore, assume that the week-days in Bigandet's *Life of Gaudama* were calculated[1] retrospectively by some one between the 5th and the 8th century A. D. : but even so, we are led to infer that the true date of Buddha's death, though forgotten, as Dr. Fleet has shown, by 1,200 A. D. in Ceylon, had been preserved in the traditions of Buddhists for at least a thousand years after the death of Buddha.

There are certain points worthy of note in the calendar system disclosed by an investigation of these week-days :

(1) In this calendar there runs throughout an implied distinction between the commencement of an *era*, and the commencement of a *year*. The commencement of eras was shifted from time to time, it was śukḷa 1 of Chaitra of a particular year under the Eetzana Era, and under the New Religious Era, it was associated with the date of Buddha's death ; but what is clear is, that the commencement of the *year* was always the

[1] There is just a possibility (though it seems to me highly improbable,) that the author of *Malla-linkarawouttoo* may have himself calculated the week-days in accordance with the modern Burmese Calendar, which has been in use in Burma since 1738 A. D. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxxix (1910), Sir Alfred Irwin has given the elements of the Burmese calendar from A. D. 638 to A. D 1752, but adds : "It is not certain what calendars were actually observed in Burma before the year 1,100 Burmese Era.=A. D. 1,738." I hope shortly to be able to verify and state in this Journal whether, according to the modern Burmese calendar, the week-days in Bigandet could be located anywhere else than in the years shown in the last column of my chart. Bigandet is certainly in error in supposing, in footnote to p. 133, Vol. II, and elsewhere, that they can be located with reference to 543 B. C. as the central date.

same, *i. e.*, śukḷa 1 of Tabaong or Phâlguṇa. As an analogous case, we may cite the era of the reformed English calendar which began on 14 Sep. A. D. 1752, though the commencement of the year was always the same as before, the 1st of January.

(2) Secondly, it is apparent, except in the case of the last date on the chart, that the commencement of the lunar month under this ancient calendar, was śukḷa 1 or (*pratîpada*), as in the present day Indian calendar, and not the first heliacal rising of the moon, as in the Jewish and the Muhummadan calendar. In the excepted case I suspect, as observed in paragraph (6) of this note, a wrong reading in Bigandet's English Translation (Vol. II p. 113) of *Monday* for *Sunday*. On the other hand, the phrase *âdi chandrôdaya diné* quoted by Dr. Fleet from *Dîpavaṁsa* (*J. R. A. S.* 1909), seems to refer, not necessarily to śukḷa 1, as assumed by him, but to the first day when the crescent was actually visible, and in 242 B. C., as shown below, this was actually śukḷa 2. The ordinary rule is, that if śukḷa 1, ends before ·42 of a day, (25 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise) the crescent will rise the same evening and that if śukḷa 1 ends later than ·58 of a day, (35 *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise), the crescent will only appear next day. Between these limits, the day of the first appearance of the crescent is a matter of calculation.

Among other indications going to show that the "first of the moon" or "the first of the waxing moon" in Bishop Bigandet's translation is meant for śukḷa 1 is the following, which is also otherwise interesting. We are told at p. 107 of Vol. I that for 49 days from the attainment of perfect Buddhaship *i. e.* from *Vaiśâkha pûrṇimâ*, Buddha did not taste food, and that on the 50th day which was the 5th of the moon of Watso he was hungry. [Bigandet's translation in this place "5th *after the full moon of Watso*" is an obvious mistake, since (1) 49 days from *Vaiśâkha pûrṇimâ* can only take us to śukḷa 5 ($29\frac{1}{2} + 14\frac{1}{2} + 5 = 49$) in Watso or Âshâḍha, and (2) we know from p. 118 of Vol. I that some days after the conclusion of the 49 days fast, Buddha preached a sermon at *exact* full moon and *exact* sunset; this we may identify as Âshâḍha pûrṇimâ or Watso full moon — which tithi, in 522 B. C., ended on 6 June at ·40 of the day or a little while before sunset.] The 50th day from *Vaiśâkha pûrṇimâ* in 522 B. C. was Wednesday, 27 May = Ashadha (or watso) śukḷa 5, which tithi ended at ·78 of the day. In this case, śukḷa 1 was first moon rise, but as śukḷa 1 ended on May 24 ·18, the 5th tithi, if it had been counted from first moon rise, would have been *Thursday*, May 28, the 51st day, not Wednesday the 50th day counted from *Vaiśâkha pûrṇimâ*. It is clear, therefore, that tithis in the text translated by Bigandet were calculated, as now, from new moon and not from the first moon-rise.

(3) On the relative merits of 483 B. C. and 478 B. C. as years of Buddha's death, Dr. Fleet remarked, at p. 22 of *J. R. A. S.* 1909,: "For the latter occurrence" (the anointment of Devânampiya Tissa), "the mention of the Âshâḍha *nakshatra* indicates 247 B. C. or 242 B. C. The choice thus lies between 247+236 B. C.=483 and 242+236 B. C.=478 B. C. The earlier year is preferentially supported by a consideration of the circumstances which paved the way to the acquisition of sovereignty by Chandragupta."

It will be seen from the author's "Eye-Table" that *Nakshatra* Pûrva Âshâḍha can coincide with Mârgaśîra śukḷa 1 or śukḷa 2 (on either of which days Devânampiya Tissa was anointed) only in a year in which some month previous to Mârgaśîra was *adhika*. This was the case with the years 247 B. C. and 242 B. C., and Dr. Fleet is, therefore, perfectly right in observing that the choice lies between these years. There is, however, this noteworthy difference between these two years. In 242 B. C., the year of anointment of Devânampiya Tissa, corresponding to 478 B. C. for Buddha's

death, Mârgaśira śukla 2 ended on November 14, at 51½ ghaṭikas (in Lanka time,) after mean sunrise, and as śukla 1 had ended at the corresponding part of the previous day, it is clear, from the rule cited above, that śukla 2, Nov. 14, was *âdi chandrôdaya dina* or first moon rise in the month. *Nakshatra* Pûrva Âshâḍha was current all through Nov. 14 and came to end at 2½ ghaṭikas after mean sunrise next day. The case was very different in 247, B. C. Since, in that year, Mârgaśira śukla 1 ended at 9 *ghaṭikâs* after mean sunrise on 6 November, it is evident that that was *âdi chandrôdaya dina* or the day when the crescent first appeared. *Nakshatra* Pûrva Âshâḍha, however, commenced only at 50½ *ghaṭikâs* after sunrise on the same day, *i. e.* 2 hours after midnight and was current for only about 9½ *ghaṭikâs* at the very end of the day. The anointment could, of course, have been performed in what we should call the small hours of the morning of 7 November, 247 B. C. so as to bring the ceremony within the influence of Pûrva Âshâḍha, but generally speaking, such a day would not be called a day of Pûrva Âshâḍha, whereas 14 Nov. 242 B. C. was strictly a day when Pûrva Âshâḍha joined with the *âdi chandrôdaya dina* of Mârgaśira. So far, the calculation of *nakshatras* appears to point to 242 B. C. rather than to 247 B. C. as the year of anointment of Devânâmpiya-Tissa; and consequentially, to 478 B. C. rather than to 483 B. C., as the year of Buddha's death. Dr. Fleet promised to exhibit in a separate article, the process of determining the *nakshatras*, but to the best of my belief he has not done so yet. The determination is very easy by the tables and method of my *Indian Chronology*.

(4) One of the reasons which led Dr. Fleet to adopt Kârttika śukla 8 rather than the traditional Vaiśâkha śukla 15 as the day of Buddha's death, was that, on the latter assumption, it was not possible to place the two anointments of Devânâmpiya-Tissa 247 B. C. Mârgaśira Su. 1, and 246 B. C., Vaiśâkha śukla 15, as well as the arrival of Mahindo in Ceylon (B. C. 247 Jyaishṭha śukla 15) within the year designated by *Dîpavaṁsa* as "236 years after he death of Buddha," *i. e.* after 483 B. C., Vaiśâkha Sukla 15. He argued rightly that if each "Vaiśâkha śukla 15" was the commencement of a new year, the arrival of Mahindo at any rate must belong to a year later than 236 expired of the Buddha era, which would be complete on Vaiśakha Sukla 15, 247. B. C. Now, if as I have shown above, the ancient Buddhist year always took its departure from śukla 1 of Phâlguṇa, then it follows (a) that year 236 expired of the religious era would be marked by Phâlguṇa śukla 1 in (479 B. C. *less* 236=) 243 B. C., and (b) that the second and third events, referred to above would both fall within the space designated by a single year, 236 expired, (running from 243 B. C. Phâlguṇa Sukla 1 to 242 B. C. Mâgha Amâvâsyâ). Such being the case, the necessity for adopting Kârttika śukla 8 as the day of Buddha's death, in great measure, ceases. Dr. Fleet seems to think that both the anointments of Devânâmpiya-Tissa should be placed within the 237th year current after the death of Buddha. I do not know if the text of *Dîpavamsa* requires this construction. The text, as quoted by him (*J. R. A. S.* 1909, p. 11) makes two statements, (1) that Devânâmpiya-Tissa was anointed 236 years after the death of Buddha; (2) that he was twice anointed. It may be that the 1st anointment was in the 236th year current, towards its close, and the second in he 237th year current.

(5) It follows from an examination of these week-day dates that Buddha's age at the time of his death was 79 complete years, not 80 years, and that supposing he was born in the year 68 of the Eetzana Era, he could be said to have died in the year 148 of that era only in the sense that the year 148 was *varttamâna* or current. See however, division (8) below of this note.

(6) Bishop Bigandet remarks in a footnote on p. 133 of Vol. II that the Kauzda Era was abolished on a certain Saturday which was the new moon of Tabaong (March) and that the Eetzana Era commenced next day Sunday the first after the same new moon. This of course is not correct, since the old era was abolished with effect from Phalguna (Tabaong) śukla 1 (See Vol. I p. 13), while the new era was brought into force with effect from śukla 1 of the next month Chaitra (=Tagu).

On the other hand, while referring to the commencement of the New Religious Era (the era of Nirvâṇa), Bigandet has made a mistake just the converse of the above. He says (foot note on the same p. 133 of Vol. II) : "In the year 148, the first day of the month of Tagoo (April), which fell on a Sunday, was fixed as the beginning of the new computation, emphatically called the era of religion, 543 B. C." We need not concern ourselves with 543 B. C. (As a matter of fact, the first of the new moon of Chaitra or Tagoo in 543 B. C. was Wednesday, not Sunday.) But it will be seen from a comparison of this passage with those at p. 13 of Vol. I and p. 113 of Vol. II, (1) that where Bigandet affirms Phâlguṇa Su. 1 to have been the beginning of the Kauzda Era, he should have said this of Chaitra su. 1; and (2) that where he affirms Chaitra su. 1 to have been the beginning of the New Religious Era, he should have said this of Phâlguṇa su. 1. So far, there may have been, on his part, a mere mistake of transposition of months, but in saying (in foot note to p. 133, Vol. II,) that *Sunday* was the beginning of the new religious era (Era of Buddha's death), he is backed by the calculations exhibited in my chart against the 8th date; and contradicted by his own statement in the text (p. 113 of Vol. II), that the New Religious Era began on a *Monday*. Should my conjecture that *Sunday* was the proper week-day in this case prove justified by a reference to the Burmese Manuscript used by Bigandet or to any other original text, then it will follow that "first of the waxing moon" throughout the chronicle translated by Bigandet means "*Sukla pratipada*," and not the first heliacal rising of the moon.

(7) In one or two instances, details of dates, not explicitly affirmed by Bigandet, have had to be supplied from other circumstances stated by him. Thus, as regards the birth of Buddha, we are told, in the first place (Vol. I, p. 28), that he entered the womb of his mother Mâyâ at a full moon under the Constellation "Oottarathan" (="Uttara Âshâdha"). Reference to the Eye-Table appended to my "Indian Chronology" will show that this must have been the Full Moon of Śrâvaṇa. As Buddha was born 9 months later under the constellation "Withaka" ("Viśâkha"), (Vol. II, p. 71), the birth, as may be seen from the same table, must have taken place at the Vaiśâkha full moon, not 6 days after the same full moon, (as stated erroneously in the foot note to p. 47, Vol. I), when Nakshatra "Vaiśâkha" would be an impossibility.

Similarly, when we are told (Vol. I. pp. 62-64) that Buddha, preparatory to embracing the life of an ascetic, left Kapilavastu "at the full moon of "July" under the constellation "Oottarathan," we may infer that it was the full moon of Âshâḍha month, because elsewhere Bigandet has rendered the Burmese "Watso" (=Âshâḍha month) by "July" (see, for instance, Vol. I, p. 200). July is no doubt the English equivalent of Âshâḍha *at the present time*; but it was not so in Buddha's time when the equivalent of Watso or Âshâḍha was May-June. The reader has to be reminded that English months, in 477 B. C. meant, in comparison with Indian months, a time of the sidereal year more than one month in advance of what they now mean. This result is due (1) to the forward movement of the Indian sidereal, as compared with the European tropical, year, and (2) to the dropping of 10 days in the Gregorian Calendar. In support of my statement that the departure from Kapilavastu took place on a *Sunday*, I may refer to Vol. II, p. 72 where the next day when he entered into solitude is given as *Monday*.

Lastly, the year when Buddha left his home to lead a hermit's life is given as "Eetzâna 97" in Vol. I, p. 62, and as "Eetzâna 96" in Vol. II, p. 72. This is not a discrepancy, because we may understand the former to be an *expired*, the latter a current, year. Similarly, the Eetzâna year of Buddha's death, 148, has, I believe, to be understood only as a *current* year, the equivalent of *expired* year 147.

(8) I have reserved for the last place the discussion of the important question, whether, admitting the correctness of the dates shown for Buddha's *life*, in the last column of the chart, the date of his *death* may not be 477 B. C., as conjectured, first by Cunningham, and more recently by Prof. Charpentier of Upsala in the July issue of this year's *Indian Antiquary*. I am bound to say that two sets of considerations are in favour of 477 B. C.: in the first place, this date would make him fully 80 years old when he died, which indeed is the commonly received age, attained by Buddha when he passed into *Nirvâṇa*; and in the second place, although the week day of Vaiśâkha su. 15 and Nak. "Viśâkha" in 477 B. C. was *Monday* (April 19; ·90; ·44), yet the next day was *Tuesday*, and as he is said to have died "*on* Tuesday, a little before day break," this may mean, though not strictly, "a little before the daybreak *of* Tuesday:" that is, in the early morning hours of what we should call Tuesday, (in the Indian Calendar, in the last hour or two of Monday).

The real difficulty, however, about 477 B. C. is in harmonizing with this date the statement that the new religious era began on the 1st of the waxing moon of Tabaong (Phâlguṇa) "in the year of Buddha's death," the week-day being either Sunday, as stated in Bigandet's note on p. 133 of Vol. II, or Monday, as stated at p. 113 of Vol. II of his text. The following are all the relevant Phâlguṇas:—

Phâlguṇa śukla 1 of	479-78	B.C.	fell on	Sunday, 19 Jany. 478, B.C. ending at ·88 of day.
,, ,, ,,	478-77	,,	fell on a	Friday.
,, ,, ,,	477-76	,,	,, ,,	Wednesday.
,, ,, ,,	476-75	,,	,, ,,	Sunday (ending at ·78 of day).

We cannot possibly adopt the Phâlguṇa su. 1 of either 478-77 B. C. or 477-76 B.C. as the commencement of New Religious Era, because in neither case was the week-day Sunday or Monday. We are driven, therefore, to conclude that the 12 months beginning with Phâlguṇa of 479-78 B. C. (19 January 478 B. C.) were the 12 months constituting "the year on which Buddha died", *i.e.*, that he died on Vaiśâkha su. 15 of 478 B.C., not on Vaiśâkha su. 15 of 477 B.C.

(9) The Eetzâna Era is no doubt, as observed by Dr. Fleet in *J. R. A. S.* 1912, p. 239, "a late invention"; but it is, nevertheless, a true invention,

(*a*) because the dates expressed in that era are, *astronomically*, true dates; and

(*b*) because they include, by implication, one *historically* true date, the year, 478 B. C., of the death of Buddha.

The week-days, coupled with tithis and nakshatras, direct our attention, with almost absolute certainty, to one and *only one* series of years which, thanks to them, can be verified and identified with as much confidence as if they had been recorded in 478 B. C. Knowing, then, from other sources, the historical probability of the central year, 478 B. C., (that it is approximate, according to Dr. Fleet, within 5 years, does not detract much from its historical value), we need not be disturbed by the reflection that this and other surrounding dates must have been laboriously calculated, and for the first time fitted out with the full dress of *vâra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, by some astronomer in the 5th, 6th, 7th or a later century A. D. The later the century, the more genuinely do the historian, the chronologist and the critic become interested in the discovery that, for a thousand years, if not more, after Buddha's death, the true *year* of its occurrence was, notwithstanding many contradictory traditions, faithfully preserved somewhere in Buddhistic sacred lore.

JAINA SAKATAYANA, CONTEMPORARY WITH AMOGHAVARSHA I

BY PROF. K. B. PATHAK, B. A.; POONA.

THE *Amoghavṛitti* is the oldest commentary on the *sûtras* of the Jaina grammarian Śâkaṭâyana. Prof. Kielhorn[1] thought that the *Amoghavṛitti* was later than the *Chintâmaṇi*, a different and smaller commentary on the same *sûtras* by Yakshavarman. That this view not correct will be obvious to Sanskrit scholars who will carefully study the introductory *praśastis* in both, which I quote below.

श्रीमत्पंचगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ श्रीवीरममृतं ज्योतिर्नत्वादिं सर्ववेदसां ॥ शब्दानुशासनस्येयममोघा वृत्तिरुच्यते ॥ १ ॥ अविघ्नष्टप्रसिध्य(ध्य)र्थं मंगलमारभ्यते ॥

नमः श्रीवर्द्धमानाय प्रबुद्धाशेषवस्तवे ।
येन शब्दार्थसंबंधाः सार्वेण सुनिरूपिताः ॥

शब्दो वाचकः अर्थो वाच्यः तयोः संबंधो योग्यता अथवा शब्द आगमः । अर्थः प्रयोजनं । अभ्युदयो नि[ः] श्रेयसं च तयोः संबंध(धाः) उपायोपेयभावः(वाः) ते येन सर्वसत्त्वहितेन सता तत्त्वतः प्रज्ञापिता [ः] । तस्मै परमार्हन्त्यमहिम्ना विराजमानाय भगवते वर्द्धमानाय षडपि द्रव्याणि अशेषाणि अनंतपर्यायरूपाणि साकल्येन साक्षात्कुर्वते नमस्कुर्वे इत्युपस्कारः । एवं कृतमंगलरक्षाविधानः परिपूर्णमल्पग्रंथं लघूपायं शब्दानुशासनं शास्त्रमिदं महाश्रमणसंघाधिपतिर्भगवानाचार्यः शाकटायनः प्रारभते । शब्दार्थज्ञानपूर्वकं च सन्मार्गानुष्ठानं ॥ अ इ उ ण् । ऋ ऌ क् । ए ओ ङ् । ....हल् ॥ १३ इति वर्णसमाम्नायः क्रमानुबंधोपादानः प्रत्याहारयन् शास्त्रस्य लाघवार्थः ॥ सामान्याश्रयणाद्दीर्घप्लुतानुनासिकानां ग्रहणं ।

Amoghavṛitti.

नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ श्रियं क्रियाद्वः सर्वज्ञज्ञानज्योतिरनश्वरीं । विश्वं प्रकाशयच्चिंतामणिश्चिंतार्थसाधनः ॥ १ ॥

नमस्तमःप्रभावाभिभूतभूद्योतहेतवे ।
लोकोपकारिणि(णे) शब्दब्रह(ह्म)णे द्वादशात्मने ॥ २ ॥
स्वस्तिश्रीसकलज्ञानसाम्राज्यपदमाप्तवान् ।
महाश्रमणसंघादिपतिर्यः शाकटायनः ॥ ३ ॥
एकः शब्दांबुधिं बुद्धिमंदरेण प्रमथ्य यः ।
सयशःश्री(श्रि) समुद्दध्रे विश्वव्याकरणामृतं ॥ ४ ॥
स्वल्पग्रंथं सुखोपायं संपूर्णं यदुपक्रमं ।
शब्दानुशासनं सार्वमर्हच्छासनम(व)त्परं ॥ ५ ॥
इष्टिर्नेष्टा न वक्तव्यं वक्तव्यं सूत्रतः पृथक् ।
संख्यातं नोपसंख्यानं यस्य शब्दानुशासने ॥ ६ ॥
तस्यातिमहती(तीं) वृत्तिं संहृत्येयं लघि(घी)यसि(सी) ।
संपूर्णलक्षणा वृत्तिर्वक्ष्यते यक्षवर्मणा ॥ ७ ॥
ग्रंथविस्तरभीरूणां सुकुमारधियामयं ।
शुश्रूषादिगुणान्कर्तुं शास्त्रे संहरणोद्यमः ॥ ८ ॥
शब्दानुशासनस्यान्वर्थाया श्चिंतामणि(णे)रिदं ।
वृत्तेग्रं(ग्रं)थप्रमाणं [—] षट्सहस्रं निरूपितं ॥ ९ ॥
इंद्रचंद्रादिभिश्शाब्दैर्यदुक्तं शब्दलक्षणं ।
तदिहास्ति समस्तं च यन्नेहास्ति न तत्क्वचित् ॥ १० ॥
गणधातुपाठयोर्गणधातून् लिंगानुशासने लिंगगतं ।
औणादिकानुणादौ शेषं निःशेषमत्र वृत्तौ विद्यात् [2] ॥ ११ ॥
बालाबलाजनोप्यस्या वृत्तेरभ्यासवृत्तितः ।
समस्तं वाग्मयं वेत्ति वर्षेणैकेन निश्चयात् ॥

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XVI. p. 24.

[2] Read विद्यात्.

तत्र सूत्रस्यादावयं मंगलश्लोकः ॥ नमः श्रीवर्धमानायेत्यादि ॥ शब्दार्थसंबंधाः वाचकवाच्ययोग्यता । अथवा आगमप्रयोजनोपायोपेयभावाः ते येन सर्वसत्त्वहितेन तत्त्वतः प्रज्ञापिताः ॥ तस्मै श्रीमते महावीराय साक्षात्कृतसकलद्रव्याय नमस्करोमि(मी)त्यध्याहारः । विघ्नप्रशमनार्थमर्हद्देवतानमस्कारं परममंगलमारभ्य भगवानाचार्यः शाकटायनः शब्दानुशासनं शास्त्रमिदं प्रारभते ।

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु तत्त्वार्थावगतिर्यतः ।
शब्दार्थज्ञानपूर्वेति वेद्यं व्याकरणं बुधैः ॥

अ इ उ ण । ऋक् । ए ओं ङ्.................................

हल् इति वर्णसमाम्नायः ॥ क्रमानुबंधोपादानः प्रत्याहारयत्न शास्त्रस्य लाघवार्थः । सामान्यग्रहणाद्दी(दि)र्घप्लुतानुनासिकग्रहणं ।

Chintâmaṇi.

Yakshavarman, the author of the *Chintâmaṇi*, tells us, in verse 7 quoted above, that his work is a smaller commentary (लघीयसी वृत्ति). He lays claim to no originality, but admits that his *Chintâmaṇi* is an abridgment of a very extensive commentary (अतिमहती वृत्ति). This very extensive commentary is no other than the *Amoghavritti* itself, since the concluding passage of the two *praśastis* given above, beginning with the words इति वर्णसमाम्नायः is the same except that Yakshavarman substitutes सामान्यग्रहणात् for the सामान्याश्रयणात् of the *Amoghavritti.* Then again Yakshavarman gives only the *pratika* नमः श्रीवर्धमानायेत्यादि of the मंगलश्लोक, which occurs entirely in the *Amoghavritti.* Moreover, he borrows the two alternate explanations of the second half of this मंगलश्लोक almost in the very words of the *Amoghavritti.* These facts will suffice to convince Sanskrit scholars that the *Chintâmaṇi* is an abridgment of the *Amoghavritti,* and is, therefore, a later work.

As I have remarked above, Yakshavarman lays no claim to originality, but copies the *Amoghavritti* with slight alterations, omitting the less important words thus :—

नाम्नुः 1, 1, 17 (*Śâkaṭâyana-sûtra*)

यन्नामधेयं संव्यवहाराय हठान्नियुज्यते देवदत्तादि तदुसंज्ञं भवति वा । देवदत्तीयाः । दैवदत्ताः । षण्नयानाहुः सिद्धसेनीयाः । सैद्धसेनाः ॥

Amoghavritti.

यन्नामधेयं संव्यवहाराय हठान्नियुज्यते देवदत्तादि तदुसंज्ञं वा भवति । देवदत्तीयाः । दैवदत्ताः ॥

Chintâmaṇi.

Sometimes Yakshavarman entirely copies the *Amoghavritti* thus :—

ख्याते दृश्ये Sâkaṭâyana sûtra IV, 3, 207.

भूतेनद्यतने ख्याते लोकविज्ञाते दृश्ये प्रयोक्तुः शक्यदर्शने वर्तमानाद्धातो ल(ले)ङ्(ङ्)प्रत्ययो भवति। लिङपवादः । अरुणद्देवः पा(पां)ड्यम् । अदहदमोघवर्षा(र्षो)रातीन् । ख्यात इति किम् । चकार कटं देवदत्तः । दृश्ये इति किम् । जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः । अनद्यतन इति किम् [।] उदगादादित्यः [॥]

Amoghavritti.

भूतेनद्यतने ख्याते लोकविज्ञाते दृश्ये प्रयोक्तुः शक्यदर्शने वर्तमानाधा (द्धा) तोर्लु(ले) ङ् भवति। लिङपवादः। अरुणदे(द्दे)वः पाण्ड्यं । अदहद(द)मो[3]। घवर्षोरातीन् । ख्यात इति किं । चकार कटं देवदत्तः । दृश्य इति किं । जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः । अनद्यतन इति किं । उदगादादित्यतः [4] ॥

Chintâmaṇi.

In the preceding passage the only alteration which Yakshavarman makes is to use the word लङ् instead of the लङ् प्रत्यय of the *Amoghavritti.* I have already proved by ample evidence that the *Chintâmaṇi* is later than the *Amoghavritti.* It is thus clear that the illustration mentioning Amoghavarsha, the great patron of Digambara Jaina literature, fixes the date of the *Amoghavritti,* which is obviously so named in honour of that king

[3] Omit this mark of punctuation. [4] Read उदगादादित्यः.

It is interesting to note that the achievement attributed to Amoghavarsha I, namely, that he burnt his enemies अदहदमोघवर्षोऽरातीन्, is actually mentioned in a Râshṭrakûṭa inscription, dated Saka 832 (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 54) where the passage relating to Vallabha Amoghavarsha, is thus read by Prof. Hultzsch भूपालास्कण्टकाभि सपदि विघटितान्वेष्ट(यि)त्वा ददाह. It is proposed to read the first two words as भूपालान् कण्टकाभान्. And the passage means that Amoghavarsha I, surrounded the kings who had suddenly turned disaffected, and burnt them. In this inscription the form ददाह, which is लिट्, is correct, because the writer of it could not have witnessed the event which was शक्यदर्शन to the author of the *Amoghavritti*, who deliberately uses the form अदहत् which is लङ्. But the constant warfare between Amoghavarsha I and his kinsmen of Gujarat is also alluded to in an earlier grant of the time of Amoghavarsha I himself, namely, the Bagumrâ grant[5] of Saka 789, in which we are told that "Dhruva died on the battle field, covered with wounds, while routing the army of Vallabha-Amoghavarsha." It is thus manifest that the event alluded to in the illustration, which we have been discussing, must have occurred shortly before Saka 789. It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the *Amoghavritti* was composed between Saka 736 and 789. Yakshavarman is certainly entitled to our gratitude for preserving the text of the historical illustration, which he quotes from the *Amoghavritti*. He has conferred upon us yet another favour by communicating to posterity a very important fact about the authorship of these *Sâkaṭâyana-sûtras*. In verses 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of his opening *praśasti* quoted above, he says :—

Hail! Sâkaṭâyana, the eminent lord of the great community of Sramaṇas, who attained to glorious universal sovereignty over all knowledge. 3.

Who, (like Vishṇu) single-handed, lifted up all nectar-like grammar, together with fame resembling the goddess Lakshmî, by churning the Ocean of words, with [his] intellect resembling Mount Mandara. 4.

Whose original science of grammar, of limited extent, attainable by easy means, and withal very complete, is beneficial to all like the religion of Arhat. 5.

In whose science of grammar, there is neither इष्टि nor are there words used, such as न वक्तव्यं वक्तव्यं, nor उपसंख्यान laid down, apart from the *sûtras*, [as in Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya*]. 6

By abridging the very extensive commentary [called *Amoghavritti*] of him [Sâkaṭâyana just described] this smaller commentary [Chintâmaṇi] endowed with all good features will be composed by Yakshavarman. 7

I have offered a literal rendering of these verses. This is all the more necessary as the sense intended by Yakshavarman, as well as the historical illustration, has failed to arrest the notice of Dr. Burnell, Prof. Bühler and Prof. Kielhorn, who have published valuable contributions to the study of this Sâkaṭâyana grammar. The first four verses translated above contain adjective clauses descriptive of Sâkaṭâyana. They are introduced by the relatives यः (in verses 3 & 4) यत् in यदुपक्रम (verse 5), and यस्य (verse 6). These relatives are correlative to the demonstrative तस्य in तस्य महतीं वृत्तिं where तस्य is कर्तरि षष्ठी and is part of the principal sentence in verse 7. The construction is यदुपक्रमं शब्दानुशासनं सार्वं तस्य महतीं वृत्तिं संहृत्य इयं लघीयसी वृत्तिर्वक्ष्यते यक्षवर्मणा. This smaller commentary will be composed by Yakshavarma by abridging the very extensive commentary of him whose original production called *Śabdânuśâsana* is beneficial to all. The conclusion to which we come is that the Jaina Sâkaṭâyana wrote both the text and the commentary in the *Amoghavritti* and lived between Saka 736-789.

---

[5] *Ante*, Vol. XII, p. 181.

The identity of the author of the *sûtras* with that of the *Amoghavṛitti* seems to have been widely known. Mr. Rice says: "Sâkaṭâyana not only wrote the grammar but also a gloss thereon called Amoghavṛitti." In support of this statement Mr. Rice quotes the *Munivaṁśâbhyudaya*, written in the reign of Chikkadeva Râjâ of Mysore (1672 to 1704), by Chidânanda-kavi, who afterwards became the pontiff of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷ under the usual title of Chârukîrti Paṇḍita Deva.

Â muni nija-buddhi-Mandaradiṃ śrutada mahârârddhiya mathisi |
Prêma-yaśo-Lakshmi verasu vyâkaraṇa-mahâmṛitoddhârav esegida ||
Vara-Śabdânuśâsanava rachisi y-adak uru-Śâkaṭâyana-vesara- |
Voredan Amogha-vṛittiya padinenṭu-sâvirada-grantha-saṅkhyeyoḷu ||
Lôka-vikhyâtan â Śâkaṭâyana-muni vyâkaraṇada sûtravanu |
Sâkalya-vṛitti-samanvita rachisi y-aneka-puṇyavan arjjisidanu ||
Mandara-dhîran Aviddha-karṇṇada Padmanandi-siddhânti chakrêśa |
and âtma-padaviya Śâkaṭâyana-muni-vṛindârakanig ittan olidu ||

I adopt Mr. Rice's translation :—

"That muni, churning the great ocean of the śruta (or revealed truth) with the Mandara mountain of his own understanding, began to uplift (or restore therefrom), along with the loved Lakshmî of fame, the best nectar of grammar. Having composed the excellent Śabdânuśâsanum, to it (is) the name of the great Śâkatâyana, he declared the Amogha-vṛitti, 18,000 verses in extent. That world-famed Śâkaṭâyana-muni, having composed the sûtrâs of the grammar, together with the complete vṛitti, acquired a variety of merit. Then Aviddha-karṇa Padmanandi siddhânti-chakrêśa, firm as Mount Mandara, approving of him, gave his own rank (or office, as head of the gaṇa) to Śâkaṭâyana, the revered among munis." Karnâṭaka Sabdânuśâsana, Intro. p. 2

From the passages quoted above it is evident that in the opinion of Yakshavarman and Chidânanda, the *Śâkaṭâyana-sûtras* and the *Amoghavṛitti* were composed by one and the same author who calls himself Śâkaṭâyana. I have proved above that this Jaina author lived in the time of Amoghavarsha I, that he wrote his work about Śaka 789, and that the *Amoghavṛitti* was so named in honour of this illustrious Rashṭrakûṭa king. The fact that this Śâkaṭâyana wrote the *Amoghavṛitti* as well as the *sûtras* was well-known even to Brahman authors. Vardhamâna, the author of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi,* who composed his work only about 273 years later, frequently attributes statements which are found only in the *Amoghavṛitti* but not in the *sûtras* to Sâkaṭâyana himself.

शाकटायनस्तु कर्णे टिरिटिरिः कर्णे चुरुचुरुरित्याह.

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Benares ed. p. 82. } *Amoghavṛitti.* II, 1, 57.

शाकटायनस्तु । अद्य पञ्चमी । अद्य द्वितीयेत्याह.

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi. Benares ed. p. 90. } *Amoghavṛitti* II, 1, 79.

Vardhamâna also assures us that this Śâkaṭâyana was not a Digambara but a Śvetâmbara writer :—

शालातुरीयशकटाङ्गजचन्द्रगोमि-
दिग्वस्त्रभर्तृहरिवामनभोजमुख्याः ।

Vardhamâna tells us that he restricts the term दिग्वस्त्र Digambara to Devanandin the author of the *Jainendra-vyâkaraṇa.* From this we are to infer that the other Jaina grammarian शकटाङ्गज Śâkatâyana mentioned in the above verse was a Śvetâmbara.

Vardhamâna's view that Sâkaṭâyana was a Svetâmbara is amply borne out by numerous passages in the *Amoghavṛitti.*

अथो क्षमाश्रमणैस्ते ज्ञानं दीयते
अथो क्षमाश्रमणमें ज्ञानं दीयते — *Amoghavṛitti.* I, 2, 201.
„ „ I, 2, 202.

एतकमावश्यकमध्यापय अथो एनं यथाक्रमं सूत्रं ।
इममावश्यकमध्यापय । अथो एनं यथाक्रमं सूत्रं ।

Amogh. I, 2, 203, 204.

भवता खलु छेदसूत्रं वोढव्यं ।
निर्युक्तीरधीष्व ।
निर्युक्तीरधीते ।

Amogh. IV, 4. 133, and 140.

उप सर्वगुप्तं व्याख्यातारः । उप विशेषवादिनं कवयः ।

Amogh. I, 3, 104.

कालिकासूत्रस्यानध्यायदेशकालाः पठिताः

Amogh. III, 2, 74.

The mention in the foregoing passages of Svetâmbara authors and works and the fact that the study of the *Âvaśyaka* and the *Niryukti* is enjoined upon the readers leaves no room for doubt that Sâkaṭâyana was a Svetâmbara, and not a Digambara Jaina. That he has been unjustly superseded among the Svetâmbara Jaina community by the later and more well-known Svetâmbara grammarian Hemachandra is evident from the following passages in which the latter makes no secret of his desire to copy Sâkaṭâyana :—

न नृपूजार्थध्वजचित्रे III, 3, 34 (Sâkaṭâyana).

नरि मनुष्ये पूजार्थे ध्वजे चित्रे चित्रकर्मणि चाभिधेये कप्रत्ययो न भवति । तत्र सोयमित्येवाभिसंबंधः । संज्ञाप्रतिकृत्योरिति यथासंभवं प्राप्तिः । नरि । चंचासदृशः चंचामनुष्यः । वध्रिका । खरकुटीदास(सी) । पूजार्थे । अर्हन् शिव । स्कंदः । पूजार्थाः प्रतिकृतयः । ज्व(ध्व)जे गरुडः । सिंव्हः(हः) । तालो ध्वजः । चित्रकर्मणि । दुर्योधनः । भीमसेनः ।

Amogh. III, 3, 34.

Hemachandra says :—

न नृपूजार्थध्वजचित्रे (Hemachandra).

नरि मनुष्ये पूजार्थे ध्वजे चित्रे च चित्रकर्मणि अभिधेये कः प्रत्ययो न भवति । तत्र सोयमित्येवाभिसंबंधः । संज्ञाप्रतिकृत्योरिति यथासंभवं प्राप्ते प्रतिषेधोयम् । नृ, चञ्चा तृणमयः पुरुषः । यः क्षेत्ररक्षणाय क्रियते । चञ्चातुल्यपुरुषः चञ्चा । एवं वध्रिका । खरकुटी । पूजार्थे अर्हन् । शिवः । स्कन्दः । पूजनार्थाः प्र(ति)कृतय उच्यन्ते । ध्वज(जे) गरुडः सिंहः तालो ध्वजः । चित्र(त्रे) दुर्योधनः । भीमसेनः ॥

Hemachandra's *Brihadvritti*, VII, 1, 109. The *sûtra* just quoted appears to be based on the remarks in the *Kâśikâvṛitti* on Pâṇini (V, 3, 100).

प्रभवति III, 1, 166 (Sâkaṭâyana),

ङसेरिति वर्तते ङस् इति पंचम्यंतात्प्रभवति [प्रथमं] प्रकाशमाने यथाविहितं प्रत्यया भवंति । प्रथमत उपलभ्यमानता प्रभवः । अन्ये प्रभवति जायमाने इत्याहुः । जात इति भूते सप्तम्यंतादयं तु पंचम्यंताद्वर्त्तमाने ।

Amoghavṛitti, III, 1, 166.

प्रभवति VI, 3, 157 (Hemachandra).

तत इति वर्तते तत इति पञ्चम्यन्तात्प्रभवति प्रथमं प्रकाशमानेऽर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्यया भवन्ति । प्रथममुपलभ्यमानता प्रभवः । अन्ये प्रभवति जायमाने इत्याहुः । जाते (६-३-९७) इति भूते सप्तम्यन्तात्प्रत्ययः अयं तु पञ्चम्यन्ताद्वर्तमाने इति विशेषः ।

Hemachandra, *Brihadvṛitti*, VI, 3, 157.

वैडूयः III, 1, 168 (Sâkaṭâyana).

वैडूय इति विडूरशब्दात् ङसेः प्रभवति ञ्यप्रत्ययो निपात्यते । विडूरात्प्रभवति वैडूर्यो मणिः । विडूरे ग्रामे ह्ययं संस्क्रियमाणो मणिः(णि)तया ततः प्रभवति वालवायात्तु पर्वतात्प्रभवन्नसौ [न] मणिः किल तु (किंतु) पाषाणः

Amogha. III, 1, 168.

वैडूर्यः VI, 3, 158 (Hemachandra).

विडूर शब्दात्पञ्चम्यन्तात्प्रभवत्यर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो निपात्यते । विडूरात्प्रभवति वैडूर्यो मणिः । विडूर ग्रामे ह्ययं संस्क्रियमाणो मणितया ततः प्रथमं प्रभवति । वालवायात्तु पर्वतात्प्रभवन्नसौ न मणिः किंतु पाषाणः ।

Hemachandra, *Brihadvṛitti*, VI, 3, 158.

These passages show that Hemachandra copies the *Amoghavṛitti* to such an extent that no claims to originality can be put forward on his behalf, though it is easy to admit that on this very ground Hemachandra's *Brihadvritti* will prove most helpful in bringing out a correct edition of Sâkaṭâyana's *sûtras* and his *Amoghavṛitti.* On the other hand,

Sâkaṭâyana never copies the *Kâśikâvṛitti* in the way in which Hemachandra copies the *Amoghavṛitti*. The tittle *Amoghavṛitti* must have been selected, as I have already remarked, to commemorate the reigning sovereign Amoghavarsha I. But it must have been also suggested by a desire on the part of Śâkaṭâyana to show the superiority of his own work to the *Kâśikâvṛitti*. As might be naturally expected, Śâkaṭâyana frequently refers to the authors of the *Kâśikâ* thus :—

वदितुं जानातीत्येके

Amogh. I, 4, 50. *Kâśikâ.* I, 3, 47.

स्फीततामन्ये तायनमाहु:

Amogh. I, 4, 23. *Kâśikâ.* I, 3, 38.

Sâkaṭâyana sometimes borrows his illustrations from the *Mahâbhâshya*, the *Kâśikâ* and the *Nyâsa* :—

कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः ।

Amogh. IV, 4, 131. P. III, 3, 167 (*Mahâbhâshya*).

संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः (*Bhâravi* III, 14.)

Amogh. I, 4, 37. *Kâśikâ.* I, 3, 23.

क्रांतो हरिश्चंद्र इव प्रजानां

Amogh. I, 3, 167. *Nyâsa.* II, 3, 87.

It is very interesting to note that Sâkaṭâyana quotes the two following passages from the *Arthaśâstra* of Kautilya.

अंबरीषश्च नाभागो बुभुजाते चिरं महीं ।

Amogh. I, 4, 12. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra* (Mysore ed.,) p. 12.

वृद्धस्तु व्याधितो वा राजा मातृबन्धुकु(तु)ल्यगुड(ण)वत्स(त्सा)मंतानामन्यतमेन क्षेत्रे बीजमुत्पादयेत्

Amogh. III, 4, 107. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra* (Mysore ed.) p. 35.

It may be incidentally remarked here that Kauṭilya's *Arthaśâstra*[6] is also quoted by Vâtsyâyana in his *Nyâyabhâshya* Chap. 1. and in the Kâmasûtra, p. 24.

Some of Śâkaṭâyana's *sûtras* resemble those of the *Jainendra-vyâkaraṇa*. They must have been borrowed from Pûjyapâda, who can be easily proved to have lived prior to Śâkaṭâyana. The Jainendra *sûtra* (II, 3, 36) हस्तादेयेनुद्यस्तेये चे· was known to the authors of the Kâśikâ, who remark :

उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः *Kâśikâ*, III, 3, 40.

This is not a *vârttika* as Pâṇini's *sûtra* III, 3, 40 हस्तादाने चरस्तेय is not noticed in the *Mahâbhâshya*. It is, therefore, clear that Śâkaṭâyana *sûtra* (IV, 4, 45) हस्तादेयेस्तेयेनुदश्चे: is based on the Jainendra *sûtra* quoted above.

The following three Jainendra *sûtras* :—

वस्तेर्ढञ् IV, 1, 207.
शिलाया „ „ 208.
ढ च „ „ 209.

are thus alluded to in the *Kâśikâ* :

केचिदत्र ढञमपीच्छन्ति तदर्थं योगविभागः कर्तव्य· शिलाया ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति । शैलेयम् । ततो ढः शिलेयम् ।

Kâśikâ V, 3, 102.

The Jainendra *sûtra* (I, 1, 61) दिदादि: corresponding to Śâkaṭâyana (I. 1, 52) is quoted by Akalankadeva, who was contemporary with Sâhasatuṅga-Dantidurga, the Râshṭrakûṭa king.

क्वचिदनयवे दिदादिरिति

तत्त्वार्थराजवार्तिक I, 5, 1 Benares ed. p 37.

Jinasena, in the opening *praśasti* of his *Harivaṁśa* (Saka 705) mentions the *Jainendra-vyâkaraṇa*. These facts suffice to prove the priority of Pûjyapâda to Śâkaṭâyana.

Pâṇini's *sûtra*[7] (IV, 1, 102) is शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद् भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु while Jainendra *sûtra* (III, 3, 134) reads शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाग्निशर्मकृष्णरणात् भृगुवत्साग्रायणवृषगणब्राह्मणवसिष्ठे. The latter *sûtra* is thus borrowed by Śâkaṭâyana II, 4, 36.

शरद्वच्छुनका(क)रणाग्निशर्मकृष्णदर्भाद् भृगुवत्सवसिष्ट(ष्ठ)वृषगणब्राह्मणाग्रायणे.

[6] Mysore ed. pp. 7 and 11 ; Nyâyabh. Benares ed. p. 7. [7] Chandra (II, 4, 38) copies Pâṇini.

Amoghavritti explains :—

आग्निशर्मायणो वार्षगण्यः । आग्निशर्मिरन्यः ।

This explanation about Vârshagaṇya being Âgniśarmâyaṇa is copied by Hemachandra in his *Brihadvritti* (VI, 1, 57). Now Vârshagaṇya was the name of Îśvarakrishṇa, the author of the *Sâṅkhya-kârikâs*, who is assigned by Dr. Takakusu to A. D. 450. Another Jainendra *sûtra* (III, 2, 5) गुरूदयाद्भाद्युक्तो(क्ते)ऽब्दः(ऽब्दे) is borrowed by Sâkaṭâyana and Hemachandra.

गुरूदयाद्भाद्युक्तेऽब्दे Sâkaṭâyana II, 4, 224.

ट इति वर्तते गुरुर्बृहस्पतिरुदितो यस्मिन् भे नक्षत्रे तारकाविशेषे तद्वाचिनः ट इति टान्तीयांताद्युक्तेऽर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति । योसौ युक्तोर्थः स चेदब्दो वर्षं संवत्सरः स्यात् । पुष्येण बृहस्पत्युदयेन युक्तं वर्षं पौषं । पौषः संवत्सरः । फाल्गुनं वर्षं । फाल्गुनः संवत्सरः । गुरूदयादिति किं । शनैश्चरोदयेन पुष्येण युक्तं वर्षं । अत्र न भवति ॥ भादिति किं । बृहस्पत्युदयेन पूर्वरात्रेण युक्तं वर्षं । अब्द इति किं । मासे दिवसे वा न भवति

Amogha. II, 4, 224.

Hemachandra reads the *sûtra* as

उदितगुरोर्भाद्युक्तेऽब्दे *Brihadvritti* VI, 2, 5.

and copies the *Amoghavritti* in explaining it. It is needless to state that Yakshavarman has this *sûtra* in his *Chintâmaṇi*. The authors who have this *sûtra* are :—

Pûjyapâda in his Jainendra.
Sâkaṭâyana.
Yakshavarman.
Hemachandra.

This *sûtra* is most important as it alludes to the twelve year Cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal rising system. This system was in vogue in the time of the Early Kadamba kings and their contemporaries, the Early Gupta kings. Expressions like पौषसंवत्सर occur in the epigraphic records of that period. The late Mr. S. B. Dikshit has contributed a very interesting paper on this subject to Dr. Fleet's Gupta volume and has also independently dealt with it in his monumental *Marâthî* work on the history of Indian Astronomy. The four Jaina authors, whom I have mentioned as alluding to this system, are in addition to the eleven authorities quoted by Dikshit. The last two *sûtras* which I have discussed above enable us to assign the *Jainendra-vyâkaraṇa* to the latter part of the fifth century A. D. But no inference as to the age of the other three authors can be drawn as they have copied these *sûtras* from Pûjyapâda.

In the *Amoghavritti* on *sûtra* III, 4, 50 we read :

सपत्राकरोतीत्यपि मंगलाभिप्रायेण वृक्षस्य निष्पत्राकरणमेवाख्यायते । यथा दीपो नंदतीति विध्वंसः। though this remark is copied by Hemachandra in his *Brihadvritti* (VII, 2, 138) I am tempted to think that Sâkaṭâyana was influenced in making this remark by his knowledge of the Kannaḍa root *nandu,* to go out, to be extinguished (as a light).

Under the *sûtra* (II, 1, 79) मयूरव्यंसकादयः Sâkaṭâyana says :—

हि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ।
जहिजोडमित्यभीक्ष्णमाह जहिजोडः ।

Under the corresponding Pâṇini's *sûtra* (II, 1, 72) the authors of the *Kâśikâ* say :—

जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ।
जहिजोडः ।

The rule beginning with जहि instead of हि is also found in the *Gaṇapâṭha* of Pâṇini and the Mahâbhâshya, Nirnaya ed. Vol. II, p. 46. But Vardhamâna says.

कर्तारं च ब्रूते हि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये ॥ १२१ ॥

ह्यन्तं क्रियापदं कर्मणा ह्यन्तस्यैवान्येन बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्ण्ये गम्यमाने । स च समासः कर्तारमाचष्टे । जहिजोडं देवदत्त यो वक्ताभीक्ष्णं सातत्येन ब्रवीति स वक्ता जहिजोडः ।

Gaṇaratna, Benares ed. p. 90.

Let us now turn to Hemachandra, who in his *Bṛihadvṛitti* (III, 1, 116) says:

"ह्यन्तं स्वकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तरि समासाभिधेये"।
जहि जोडमित्यभीक्ष्णं य आह स उच्यते जहिजोडः ।

And the commentary called *Laghunyâsa* on the *Bṛihadvṛitti* explains :—

जुडण् प्रेरणे इत्यतोऽचि जोडो दासः ।

And remarks:

ह्यन्तं स्वकर्मणेत्यादि पाणिनीयं सूत्रमेतत् ।

It is thus clear that जहिजोड is an irregular compound, applied as an epithet to a person who frequently says, "kill the slave, kill the slave." According to Vardhamâna and the Jaina authorities quoted above, not only जहि, 2nd pers. sing. imper., of हन्, but forms of other verbs ending in हि may be used in forming such compounds, as is evident from the following verse.

श्रीमच्चालुक्यचक्रेश्वरजयकटके वाग्वधूजन्मभूमौ
निष्काण्डं डिण्डिमः पर्यटति पटुरटो वादिराजस्य जिष्णोः ।
जह्युद्यद्वादिदर्पो जहिहिगमकतागर्वभूमा जहाहि—
व्याहारेर्ष्यो जहीहिस्फुटमृदुमधुरश्रव्यकाव्यावलेपः ॥

Śravaṇa Belgol Inscription No. 54.

Here the words beginning with जहि, जहिहि, जहाहि, and जहीहि are compounds used as adjectives qualifying डिण्डिमः The last three are the 2nd pers. sing. imper. forms of the root हा to abandon. The verse may be translated thus :—"In the victorious camp of the prosperous Châlukya-emperor, which is the birth-place of Sarasvatî, there suddenly wanders forth in all directions the loud sounding drum of Vâdirâja desirous of vanquishing [disputants], which frequently says "kill rising conceit in disputation, give up abundant pride in learning, lay aside envy in oratory, abandon vanity as regards poetry lucid, soft, sweet and pleasing to the ear."

The considerations set forth above naturally lead to the conclusion that the correct reading not only in Śâkaṭâyana but also in Pâṇini's *Gaṇapâṭha* should be not जहि कर्मणा but हि कर्मणा.

The mention of Vâdirâja and the Châlukya emperor, who, as we shall see presently, was Jayasimha II, is most important as it enables us to fix the date of the *Rûpasiddhi*, a *prakriyâ* by Dayâpâla on Śâkaṭâyana's *Śabdânuśâsana*. A Kanarese inscription,[8] dated Śaka 999, refers to Dayâpâla thus :—

Sabdânusâsanakke Prakriy endu Rûpasiddhiyam mâḍida Dayâpâla

In another inscription[9] we read:

शब्दानुशासनस्योच्चैरूपसिद्धिर्महात्मना ।
कृता येन स बाभाति दयापालो मुनीश्वरः ॥

This author Dayâpâla was the pupil of Matisâgara and a fellow-student of Vâdirâja.

हितैषिणो यस्य नृणामुदात्तवाचा निबद्धा हितरूपसिद्धिः ।
वन्द्यो दयापालमुनिः स वाचा सिद्धः सतां मूर्द्धनि यः प्रभावैः ॥
यस्य श्रीमतिसागरो गुरुरसौ चञ्चद्यशश्चन्द्रभूः
श्रीमान्यस्य स वादिराजगणभृत् सब्रह्मचारी विभोः ।
एकोतीव कृती स एव हि दयापालव्रती यन्मन—
स्यास्तामन्यपरिग्रहकथा स्वे विग्रहे विग्रहः ॥

Śravaṇa Belgoḷ Inscr. 54.

In the concluding *praśasti* of his *Pârśvanâthacharita*,[10] after telling us that he was a bee on the lotus-like feet of Matisâgara, Vâdirâja says :—

शाकाब्दे नगवार्धिरन्ध्रगणने संवत्सरे क्रोधने
मासे कार्तिकनाम्नि बुद्धिमहिते शुद्धे तृतीयादिने ।
सिंहे पाति जयादिके वसुमतीं जैनी कथेयं मया
निष्पत्तिं गमिता सती भवतु वः कल्याणनिष्पत्तये ॥

From this verse it may be safely concluded that Dayâpâla composed his *Rûpasiddhi* in the time of the Châlukya king Jayasimha II, who was reigning in Śaka 947.

---

[8] Ep. Carn. Shimoga Vol. II, Nagar 35.
[9] Nagar 39.
[10] Ms. of the Jaina Maṭha at Kolhapur.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p.* 186.)

It will be observed that all the genitives above are from consonantal bases. That *-ha* should have survived only in the latter case is quite reasonable, inasmuch as, when suffixed to vocal bases, it could not so easily avoid contraction. Thus a form like **beṭâha*, from Apabhraṃça *biṭṭaaha*, was soon contracted into *beṭâ*. It is only after bases in °*i*, °*û* that *-ha* has left some traces. Masculine and neuter bases in °*i*, °*û*, which, as it has been shown § 57, may optionally take *-u* in the nominative singular and thereby become practically equal to bases in °*ia*, °*ûa*, make their genitive in °*iâ*, °*iyâ* (from *°*ia-ha*) and °*ûâ* (from *°*ûa-ha*). Thus:

bãdhîyâ hâthiyâ-nĩ parĩ "Like a bound elephant" (Daç. x),

sosaï tâlûâ -nu rasa âpaṇa-nu "Dries up his palate" (Indr. 34)[25]

Feminines in °*i*, °*û*, which seem to have likewise been taking *-ha* in the genitive, have completely lost the latter termination, except in poetry, where occasionally forms occur, that may be taken for old genitives. Examples are:

devîa pâya "The Goddess's feet" (Ṛṣ. 1),

râṇîa-sâthi "Together with the queen" (Ṛṣ. 26),

vahua-sahita "Together with the bride" (Ṛṣ. 132).

Mṛgâṅkalekhâ-satîa caritra "The story of the virtuous Mṛgâṅkalekhâ" (F 728, 1).

For some of such genitives in °*ia*, however, it is doubtful whether *-a* is from *-ha* or is a mere euphonic appendage identical with that that in poetry is very frequently added to terminal °*i* (see §2, (6)). Thus in the same *Ṛ*. quoted above, we have *râṇîa* for *râṇî* (nominative, 30), *milîa-naï* for *mili-naï* (63), etc.

§ 63. **Genitive plural.** The case of the genitive plural is very similar to that of the singular, the chief difference being in that the former is nasalized. Apabhraṃça had for the genitive plural the termination *-hã*, before which a terminal °*a* in the base could optionally be lengthened. Apabhraṃça bases in °*a* had therefore two endings in the genitive plural, to wit: °*ahã* and °*âhã*. Old Western Râjasthânî generally drops *-hã* after consonantal bases and contracts °*ahã* or -°*âhã* into *-ã* after bases ending in a vowel. Examples of the latter case are:

karahã-kaṇṭhi "On the neck of camels" (P. 582),

vâhlã -nâ viyoga "Separations from dear ones" (Âdi. 22),

pagalã -ûpari "Upon his foot-stamps" (Âdi C.),

câritriyã -nã mana "The hearts of men of good conduct" (Indr. 42).

Feminine bases remain unchanged. The only instance I have noted of a feminine inflected in the genitive plural is *nâryã sahitapaṇaĩ* "In the company of women" (Âdi. 47). In the MS. *Vi.* (45) two instances have perhaps survived of the old termination °*âhã* of the Apabhraṃça, *viz. gayãha* and *nayaṇãha* (see § 49). Another instance would be *syãha-naï arthi*, which occurs in the MS. *F 588*, if the reading is correct. *Vi.* 93 we have *kuṇahã*, from the pronominal base *kuṇa-* (See § 91).

[25] Cf. *vatthuâ* (=Sanskrit *vastunas*) occurring Piṅgala i, 114.

§ **64. Locative Singular.** There were two ways of forming this case in Apabhraṃça *i. e.*, by suffixing *-hĩ* (*-hi*) < Pkt. *-mhi* < Skt. *-smin* to the base, or, in the particular case of bases in °*a*, by inflecting the latter vowel into °*ê*, °*ĕ*, °*i*. Both terminations have passed into the Old Western Râjasthânî and, though they are often no longer distinguishable from one another—both having given *-i* (*-ĩ*)—, it is clear that they continue to be employed in the same way as in Apabhraṃça, namely the former chiefly after vocal bases in °*â*, °*ĩ* (°*i*), °*û* (°*u*), and the latter only after bases in °*a*. Examples are :

(*a*) from the Apabhraṃça locative in *-hĩ* (*-hi*) : *vidyâi* Pr. 18, *çibikâĩ* Âdi C., *rûp'i* (adjective) Kal. 35, *râtraï* Âdi C., *bâhiĩ* (from *bâhu*) Daç. iv.

(*b*) from the Apabhraṃça locative in °*ê*, °*ĕ*, °*i* : *ghari* P. 295, *sûri* Ṛṣ. 182, *goâli* Kal. 9, *pe'i majhâri* Çâl. 33, *sûryi ûgii* Kal. 19, *samaï* Âdi. 33, P. 96, *vikhai* Bh., Indr., Yog., Kal., etc., *kûi* Yog. iv, 48, *râi* P. 139, *hîi* Kal. 10.

As in the instrumental singular, masculine bases in °*â*, °*ĩ*, °*û* may optionally take *-aï*, *-aĩ* instead of *-i*. *-ĩ*, Ex. : *nagarîai* Âdi C., *nagarîyaĩ* Dd. 6, *gocarîyaĩ* Daç. v.

Of the old form *-hĩ* I have found a remnant in *manahĩ* "In the heart", which occurs *R*ṣ.11, 29. In *Daç.*, there are many instances of locatives in °*iĩ* (as *rahiĩ*, iii, *pahilii puhariĩ* xi, etc.), but from these we are by no means authorized to postulate a termination* °*ihĩ*, for they have quite probably arisen from the common habit of assimilating *aï* to *ii* (see § 10, (2)), and possibly are also due to the influence of the analogous termination of the instrumental singular.

§ **65. Locative plural.**—The termination for this case being identical with that for the instrumental plural, I need not go over here again on what I have already said when dealing with the latter. Let me only add, in explanation of the identity of the two case-terminations, that in Apabhraṃça the same suffix *-hĩ* was employed both for the instrumental plural and for the locative singular and plural. If I have succeeded in showing that Old Western Râjasthânî *-ê*, the termination of the instrumental plural, is from Apabhraṃça *-ahĩ*, the same explanation applies to the *-ê* of the locative plural. The fact that in the locative singular, which possessed also the termination *-hĩ*, we have not *-ê*, but *-ĩ*, *-i* cannot be used as an argument against my derivation, for there is plenty of evidence pointing out that in Old Western Râjasthânî bases in °*a* generally formed their locative singular by inflecting their terminal vowel into °*i*, and only exceptionally by adding *-hĩ*. The latter suffix was chiefly confined to bases in °*â*, °*ĩ*, °*û*. Examples of the locative plural are :

çravaṇe Çâl. 65, *kãne* P. 540, *taruvara-ne phûlaḍe* F 562, i, 3, *pâe* Ṛṣ. passim, *save divasi* (shortened for *divase*) Kânh. 9, *ghaṇi dese* Kânh. 19, *sagale-hî yuddhe* Âdi C.

Before leaving the present subject, it is important to remark that in Old Western Râjasthânî the locative has assumed also the meaning of the dative. This remark will prove of use when we shall take to consider the so-called postpositions for the dative, which are all nouns in the locative. The passing of meaning from the locative to the dative can be easily explained as having been effected through the intermediate meaning of the locative of direction. Examples of locative-datives are :

âpaṇapaĩ sarasa ahâra lii " Takes succulent food for himself " (Çrâ.),

te manu ya-rahaĩ te nâga ahita-naĩ kâraṇaĩ huĩ " tasya sa nâgo hitâya syât " (Daç. viii).

Observe that locative-datives are generally nasalized.

§ **66. Vocative singular.** It is a well known fact that in most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars this case is identical with the so-called oblique singular and with the nominative plural (see Hoernle's, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, § 369, 6). So also in Modern

Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî and possibly also in Old Western Râjasthânî. The consequence then is that, to account for the apparent identity of the vocative with the genitive singular, we ought to postulate that in later Apabhraṃça the vocative singular was made by the addition of the same suffix as the genitive. In standard Apabhraṃça this was already the case with the suffix *-he* of the feminines and with the suffix *-ho*, which was used for both the genitive singular and vocative plural of all nouns. In Old Western Râjasthânî the genitive (oblique) being in most cases identical with the base- and nominative- form of nouns, the vocative too is practically identical with the latter. The chief exception is formed by bases in °*aa*, which have a nominative in °*aü*, quite distinguishable from the vocative, which ends in °*â* as the genitive. The identity of the two latter cases would be better shown by the evidence of bases in °*î*, °*û*, which optionally make their genitive in °*iâ*, °*ûâ* and so ought to do in the vocative, but I have noted no instances of the latter case. In Braja, however, singular vocatives in °*iâ* from bases in °*î*, are common enough (see Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, § 168).

Old Western Râjasthânî examples for this case are : *re Gorambhâ* P. 253, *mā̃mâ* P. 379, 380, 383, etc., *bâpaḍâ* P. 390, *karahâ* P. 576, *re jîva pâpîâ* Up. 194.

§ 67. **Vocative plural.**—The termination for this case is *-ô*, which is derived by contracting the suffix *-ho* of the Apabhraṃça with the final vowel of bases in °*a*. The intermediate step was °*a -hu*, whence °*aü* > °*o*. The suffix *-hu* has survived in the Old Baiswâṛî, as in the example :

disi-kuñjarahu " O elephants of the quarters ! " (*Râmacaritamânasa*, i, 260).

In the Old Western Râjasthânî I have noted the instances following :

loko P. 291, *aho jîvo* Ṣaṣṭ. 93, *he sâdho* Daç. v.

From the last example it is clear that Old Western Râjasthânî, to form the vocative plural, inflected into °*ô* all bases alike. In the following an exceptional instance occurs of a plural vocative in °*ê* :

sā̃bhalajyo nare nâra " Hear, oh men and women ! " (F 591, 8).

§ 68. The **Periphrastic declension** is made up by combining the inflectional forms of the nouns with **postpositions**. These are either nouns in the locative, instrumental or ablative case, or adjectives and participles. They always go after the noun, with which they are construed and they require the latter to be inflected either in the genitive or, more rarely, in the locative or instrumental case. Two of them only, *viz. prati* and *siũ*, are indeclinables by origin.

Postpositions are very numerous in Old Western Râjasthânî. Some of them being employed for more than one case, and others having not a definite meaning and being capable of quite different constructions, it is not possible to divide them so as to assign each to one particular case. The following is an attempt to classify them according to cases :

Accusative : *naī̃, prati, rahaī̃,*
Instrumental : *karî, naī̃, pâhĩ, sâthi, siũ,*
Dative : *kanhaī̃, naī̃, prati, bhanî, mâṭaï, rahaī̃, raī̃,*
Ablative : *kanhaī̃, taü, thaü, thakaü, thakî, thî, pâsaï, pâhĩ, lagaï, lagî, hũtaü, hũtî,*
Genitive : (*kaü*), *keraü*, (*caü*), *taṇaü, naü, raü, rahaī̃,*
Locative : *kanhaī̃, tā̃î, pâsaï, majhâri, mâjhi, mā̃, mā̃hi.*

It will be observed that the postpositions that are adjectives or participles are confined to the ablative and genitive cases. They are, of course, subject to inflection like all other adjectives (see § 76).

I shall now proceed to deal with each postposition separately. Whenever no special remark is made, it should be understood that the postposition in question governs the genitive (oblique) case.

§ 69. The **Postpositions of the accusative** are but postpositions of the dative, that are employed simply to denote the direct object of the verb. The use of the same postpositions for both the dative and the accusative is common to most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars. In the Old Western Râjasthânî the dative postpositions that may be used for the accusative are : *naĩ*, *prati* and *rahaĩ*. I shall explain the origin of these when dealing with the postpositions of the dative. Here it will be sufficient to quote a few examples, where they are employed to give the meaning of the accusative.

(1) *naĩ* is the most common of the three in the accusative sense. Ex. :

bâlaka-naĩ te lei câlyaü " He went taking the child with him " (F 783, 60),

râjâ-naĩ mâravâ-nî pratijñâ kîdhî " He made the promise of murdering the king" (Dd. 2),

loka-naĩ saṃsâra-aṭavi-mā̃hi pâḍaï "Causes men to fall into the forest of worldly existence" (Indr.93).

Modern Gujarâtî has *nê* and Mârwâṛî *nai, naĩ*.

(2) *prati* is not very largely used, except in *bâlâvabodhas* or commentaries, where it is often introduced to render the Sanskrit or Prakrit accusative. Ex. :

parastrî-prataĩ kima sevaï " paradârân katham vrajet " (Yog. ii, 98),

puhatu naraga-pratĩ " prápa narakam " (Yog. ii, 99).

(3) *rahaĩ* is used in the accusative meaning in the following :

pathika-jana-rahaĩ prîṇai " Delights the travellers " (Kal. 7),

mûrkha-rahaĩ râkhaũ chaũ " Thou savest the ignorants " (Kal. 30),

majha-rahaĩ râkhi " Save me ! " (Kal. 41),

majha-rahaĩ sîkhavaĩ " They instruct me " (Daç. ix),

majha-rahaĩ koi na jâṇaĩ " No one knows me "(Daç. v).

It is to *rahaĩ* that Modern Mârwâṛî *rai* is to be traced (see § 71, (7),

* In the following passage *lẽi*, the conjunctive Participle of *levaũ* "To take," is used as an accusative postposition :

koṭara-lei teṇaĩ tṛṇi bhariũ " He filled the hollow [of the tree] up with grass " (P. 629).

§ 70. Under the term of **Postpositions of the instrumental**, I include not only postpositions denoting the instrument or the means proper, but also postpositions denoting agency and companionship. Be it remembered that in Sanskrit all prepositions having the general sense of companionship govern the instrumental case. Under the present head fall the four postpositions following :

(1) *kari*. This is not a postposition properly, but a mere appendage, which is added to nouns in the instrumental, simply to give more force. It is itself an instrumental, it being contracted from **kariĩ*, the instrumental form of the past participle *kariu* "Done." How it came to be pleonastically appended to nouns in the instrumental, is well illustrated by the following phrase from *Daç.* :

kisaï karamĩ kari majha-rahaï e phala hûyã " Owing to which deed performed [by me] > owing to which deed [of mine] did I reap this result ? "

Other examples are :

kuhaṇii karî jā̃gha aṇapharasataü " Without touching the legs with the elbows " (Çrâ.),

aḍhâra guṇe karî sahita " Endowed with the eighteen virtues " (F 644),

tiṇi karî rahita " Deprived of that " (Ṣaṣṭ. 46),

mantra-prabhâvaĩ karî " By the power of the spell " (P. 138).

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS

(*Continued from p.* 192).

The Battle of the Tàmbraparṇi and its significance.

Such were the imperial Generals who led the campaign of 1532. Achyuta Râya combined, we are told, the activity of a soldier with the piety of a pilgrim. In the course of his expedition he visited the sacred shrines of Tirupati, Chidambaram, etc. and reached Śrîraṅgam. There the sanctity of the place arrested his march and induced his stay, and made him despatch his brother-in-law to the south, whither Śâḷuva Náik had fled. Mârtâṇḍavarma had in the meanwhile advanced to the Tâmbraparṇi banks. There the two forces met. The engagement was one of high political importance. On one side were ranged the resources of the empire and of its Pâṇḍyan vassal, and on the other the gallant Nâyars of Travancore. The Nâyars, in those days, were a "peculiarly military" race trained in the exercise of war from their earliest youth[49]. A writer of the first decade of the 17th century speaks of them in language of admiration and praise. "It is strange to see" he says, "how ready the souldiour of this country is at his weapons. They are all gentile men and tearmed Naires. At seven years of age they are put to school to learn the use of their weapons, where to make them nimble and active, their sinnewes and joints are stretched by skilful fellows and annointed with the oyle sysamus; by this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will winde and turn their bodies as if they had no bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low even to the astonishment of the beholders. Their continual delight is in their weapon perswading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity[50]." With such men the imperialists had to fight, and on the result of that fighting lay the position of the Pâṇḍya and the integrity of the Empire. The skill of Tirumalaiya and of his colleagues, however, was more than a match for Nâyar valour, and ultimately gained the day. The colours of Vijayanagar waved in triumph over the Tâmbraparṇi banks, and the vanquished king of Nânji hurried to come to terms. He took the victor to Trevândrum, presented a number of elephants and horses[51], and accompanying him to Śrîraṅgam, made obeisance to the Emperor, and obtained pardon on promise of a faithful allegiance and regular tribute in future. At the same time he seems to have restored the territory of the Pâṇḍyan king, which he had unlawfully seized. The emperor gave a wise termination to the whole affair by cementing his alliance with the Pâṇḍyan and marrying his daughter. The fate of Śâḷuva Nâik is unknown.

---

49 Capt. Drury compares "the effeminate disposition" and the incapacity "to bear transplantation from his native soil," which he attributes to the Nâyars of early 19th century, with the Nâyars of the 16th and 17th centuries, and gives the palm of superiority to the latter. See *Madr. Journ.* III (1858), 203—4.

50 Johnson's *Relations of the most famous kingdom in the world,* 1611, quoted by Capt. Drury. *Ibid;* see also Logan's *Malabar Manual* and Thurston and Rangachari's *Castes and Tribes*, V, p. 285-90 for other references to Nâyar valour, by various writers in the 17th and 18th centuries. The term Nâyar is held by some scholars to be derived from the same term as Nâik. The glossary of Yule and Burnell, in fact, says that "the Nâyars of Malabar are closely connected by origin with the Nâyakans of Vijayanagar." P. L. Moore in his *Malabar Law and Custom* maintains the same view. His reasons are quoted in *Castes and Tribes* V, p. 292. Munro used the terms Nâik and Nâir interchangeably. It seems to me that there has been a general misapprehension among these writers and the confusion has been caused by a similarity of sound between the two words.

51 See *Trav. Arch. Series,* based on the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam*, p. 55.

Achyuta's power felt throughout the Empire.

The imperial power was thus safely asserted throughout the south; and if we are to believe the inscriptions, Achyuta Dêva rounded off his conquest by the conquest of Ceylon also. From this time to his death in 1542 he maintained his power intact throughout the Empire. Ample epigraphical evidences prove this. In 1532, for instance, the very year of his Tinnevelly campaign, he was at Tanjore, and gave a local chief Thaṭṭappa Nâik (son of Kôṇappa Nâik) a tract of land as recorded in the Thoppiḷ Piḷḷayâr[52] temple there. In 1533 he was at Conjeeveram, where, in the temple of Varadarâja, he weighed himself against pearls, performed the great gift of *kâñchana-mêru*, and otherwise celebrated his victory in the south. In 1535 he recorded a grant at Mahâbalipuram[53]. In 1538 he was recognized as emperor in the province of Ḍinḍigal, as is clear from the inscription in the shrine of that fort[54]. In 1539 an inscription of the Râjagôpâlasvâmi temple at Tanjore mentions that he was the founder[55] of it. In 1542 he gave a grant to the Chidambaram pagoda.[56] In 1533 his Viceroy[57] Bala-Dêva-Mahârâja Uḍayâr ruled at Coimbatore, and distinguished himself by his gifts and donations to temples.

SECTION III, The Viceroys of the South during Achyuta's Rule.

As to the viceroys of Vijayanagar,[58] during this decade, in the south, we learn from the *Pâṇḍyan Chronicle* that one Aiyakarai Vaiyappa was ruling in Madura at the time of Achyuta Râya's expedition. Vaiyappa, if we are to believe the chronicle, ruled for two years after Achyuta's return to Vijayanagar. In 1535, we are told, he was succeeded in his exalted office by one Viśvanâtha Nâidu,[59] who held it during a continuous space of nine years. Now the question is, who was this Viśvanâtha Nâidu? Was he the son of Nâgama Nâik, whose early career and whose part in the recent campaign against Travancore we have already sketched? Is there again any epigraphical evidence to prove the identity? Both these questions have been answered by Mr. Krishna Sastri in the positive. Inscription 113 of 1908, he says,[60] "supplies the interesting fact that Viśvanâtha Nâyaka, the son of Nâgama Nâyaka, was an officer of Achyuta in S. 1457, 1534-5 A. D." And how did Viśvanâtha come to occupy that position? Mr. Krishna Sastri surmises that Viśvanâtha followed Achyuta[61] in the latter's campaign against the king of Travancore, and "taking an active part in the subjugation of the rebellious chiefs, Tumbichchi Nâyakkan and Śâḷuva Nâyakkan of the Pâṇḍya country, found an opportunity to secure a footing there which he gradually strengthened." And in proof of this he cites another inscription,[62] which says that "Viśvanâtha conquered in battle the Tiruvaḍi, the Pâṇḍya king Vânada Râya and other kings and annexed their dominions."

(To be Continued.)

---

52 Insc. 39 of 1897. The deity is also called Alagêśvara Piḷḷayâr.

53 *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1890. 54 Insc. 1 of 1894. 55 Insc. 40 of 1897. 56 *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1888.

57 Inscs. 21 and 28 of 1900. In the Agastya temple at Kângyam and in the Lingêśvara temple at Avinâśi, Bala Dêva's inscs. are found. See also Taylor's *Res. Mack. MSS.* III, 356-8 and 394.

58 For an account of the numerous feudatories of Achyuta Râya see *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9 pp. 191 f, where Mr. Krishna Sastri compares Nuniz and epigraphical evidences. The name Vaiyappa is fairly frequent, and it is not improbable that a chief of that name was at this time in Madura. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1913, p. 123.

59 *The Paṇḍ. Chron.*

60 See *Ep. Rep. 1909*, p. 18. The insc. is at Tiruppattûr, and records the gift of the village of Varaguṇaputtûr by Achyuta Râya for the merit of *Viśvanâtha* Nâik.

61 *Ibid.* p. 119. The version of the *Kôyiloḷugu* that in S. 1420 Trichinopoly and Madura were under Viśvanâtha Nâik seems to be untenable. See *Ind. Ant.* 1911, p. 143. It says that one Narasimha Dêsika, the son of Vâdûla Dêsika, presented several gold vessels and three lakhs of gold pieces, to the temple, with the help of the Nâik.

62 Copper plate 14, Appendix A, *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1905-6. It belongs to the reign of Muttu Krishṇappa. The Vânaḍa-Râya, however, was not in reality conquered.

THE POEMS OF PRINCE KAMRAN.

BY MAULAVI 'ABDU'L WALI, M.R.A.S. &c. &c.

THE dynasty of Chaghtâî Turks, commonly called Mughals, that was founded by Bâbar in Hindustân, after he had defeated the Lôdî Monarch Ibrâhîm in the battle-field of Pânipat on April 21, 1526, ushered in a gifted family to India, that has bequeathed to the world a literature that stands unique in the annals of any single dynasty, ancient or modern. The autobiography of the founder is a standing monument of the nobility and charm of his character, the perspicuity and directness of his language.

The little work of his beloved daughter Gulbadan Bêgam (Lady Rosebud), recently published with translation and notes by Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, is a book that blazes throughout with touches of feminine grace and charming simplicity, and stands unique in the annals of colloquial Persian. While we admire so much the style of several European female writers, we might have foregone the same delight but for the appearance of this charming monograph by an Eastern princess.

It is very strange that till now the world has been unacquainted with the existence of another book composed by another member of the same illustrious family, Prince Kâmrân. A notice of it, so far as I can recollect, appeared first in a Hindustânî periodical of Lucknow ; but since then a detailed account of the *Dîwân-i-Kamran Mîrzâ* has been published in the catalogue of Persian Manuscripts of the Bankipore Public Library (Vol. II, prepared by M. 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir). This Dîwân, like Gulbadan Bêgam's *Humâyûn-nâma* was once treasured in the Imperial Library of Delhi, and bears autographs of Emperors Jahangîr and Shâhjahân, and other eminent persons, who once owned or examined it. The Sepoy revolt of 1857 did not give the rebels what they wanted ; but it has unfortunately robbed India of her literary treasures.

Of the life and career of the Prince, I need say very little. The exact date of his birth cannot be determined. When he was a child, Bâbar left the ladies of his family in Kâbul under the nominal command of Kâmrân. 'Askarî, his younger full-brother was born in 922 H. (1516). Supposing Kâmrân was older by two years, he would be about 12 in 1525, when Bâbar had left him in Kâbul and about 42 years old in 964 H ((?) 1556) when he died in Mecca. Dildâr Bêgam was the mother of Prince Hindâl and the Lady Gulbadan Bêgam. Mâham Bêgam was the mother of Humâyûn. Gulrukh Bêgam was the mother of Princes Kâmrân and 'Askarî.

This collection of Kâmrân's poems consists of fragmentary pieces in Turki and Persian, as if the author had it copied in haste for presentation to, what appears to me, one Hazrat Khwâja, with a Turki epistle added at the end of the Dîwân. The copyist Maḥmûd bin Isḥâq of Herât writes that he copied the book in haste. The Dîwân as it has come down to us clearly shows that Kâmrân composed the poems as an impulse to his poetic genius and not as a sustained effort to produce something for the general public. They are to my mind the work of an artist who is employed, for the time being, in doing some other duties not very congenial to his genius. His rebellions against his generous brother, and his military exploits and subterfuges to gain for himself the sole sovereignty of Hindustân must be dismissed as ill-planned and ill-executed and something beyond his ken. But the fine art, in the shape of short lyrics and ballads that Kâmrân has left behind, and for which he probably did not much care in his lifetime, was indeed the work of a gifted poet and the worthy son of a worthy father. The inimitable style which Bâbar

employed in writing his *Memoirs* was fully maintained by his descendants down to our own time. The elegance, the grace and the directness of the sentences of Bâbar may clearly be traced to the writings of Jahâṇgîr, Shâhjahân, 'Alamgîr, as well as the unfortunate Bahâdur-Shâh *Zafar*, the last of the line, in his Urdû poetry.

Not being competent to pass an opinion on Turki poems, which are, however, longer and occupy a greater portion of the *Dîwân*, I give below a few Persian poems of the unfortunate Prince which, by the way, are nearly in *jawâb*, or imitation, of well known pieces. It appears that Kâmrân Mîrzâ was quite at home with Turki and Persian, using both indifferently as his mother speech.

The Bânkipur Codex consists of 34 folios, comprising 58 *ghazals*, 6 *qaṭ'as*, 30 *rubâ'îyât*, 18 *mathnavîs*, of which 21, 3, 4, 4 respectively are in Persian. Of some 44 Distiches or *fards*, 23 are in Persian.

I have before me, as I write, a copy of the *Dîwân* made lately for the Bengal Asiatic Society and transcribed from the original copy now in the Bânkipur Public Library.

The following facts, extracted from Princess Gulbadan Bêgam's *Humâyûn-nâma* as translated by Mrs. Beveridge, will conclude this introduction.

As soon as Kâmrân had fled from Salîm Shâh and gone as far as Bhîra and Khushâb, Âdam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagem, captured him and brought him to Humâyûn.

"All assembled Khâns and Sulṭâns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the rest, who all bore the mark of Mîrzâ Kâmrân's hand, with one voice represented to His Majesty; 'Brotherly custom has nothing to do with ruling and reigning. If you wish to act as a brother, abandon the throne. If you wish to be king, put aside brotherly sentiment . . . . . . 'It is well to lower the head of the breacher of a kingdom' His Majesty answered; 'Though my head inclines to your words, my heart does not.' All cried out: 'what has been set before your Majesty is the really advisable course' . . . . Even His Majesty was compelled to agree. When he drew near to Rohtâs, the Emperor gave an order to blind Mîrzâ Kâmrân in both eyes."

غزلیات

منقول از دیوان کامران مرزا

چون بمقصود نشد هیچکسی رهبرِما ∴ بعد ازین خاکِ درِ پیرمغان و سرِ ما
کارِما چون زدرِ بستهٔ زاهد نگشود ∴ بو کزین پس زخرابات گشاید درِ ما
بارگی مست و شبِ تیره و رهزن زکمین ∴ وای اگر هادئی لطفت نشود رهبرِ ما
خو گرفتیم بدرد و غمِ عشقت بفرست ∴ دم بدم درد و غمی بردلِ غم پرورِ ما
وه که از شوق دلم میطپد و مضطربم ∴ میرسد مژدهٔ وصلی مگر از دلبرِ ما
کامران سوختم از آتشِ هجرانِ کسی ∴ که بکویش نرسد ذرهٔ خاکسترِ ما

وله

حسن تو دمبدم افزون بادا ∴ طالعت فرخ و میمون بادا
هر غباری که زراهت خیزد ∴ کحلِ چشمِ منِ محزون بادا
خاک کو از رهِ لیلی خیزد ∴ جاے او دیدهٔ مجنون بادا
بندهٔ حلقه بگوشِ تو چو من ∴ صد چو دارا و فریدن بادا
هرکه گرد تو چو پرکار نگشت ∴ او ازین دایرة بیرون بادا
کامران تاکه جهانراست بقا ∴ خسروِ دهر همایون بادا

ولہ

با رقیبان همدم و همراز دیدم یار را ∴ یارب آسان کن بمن این حالت دشوار را
زد چه باشد بیقرارنرا دهد صبر و قرار ∴ آنکه می بخشد خرام آن سروِ خوش رفتار را
در تکلّم لعلِ او زینسانکه میریزد گهر ∴ چون نگهدارم ز گریه چشمِ گوهر بار را
غیر جانان در جهان چیزی نپادارد دگر ∴ هرکه بردارد زپیش این پردهٔ پندار را
کامران نامد مرا جزدوست چیزی در نظر ∴ تا بکامِ خویش دیدم دولتِ دیدار را

ولہ

ای کافرِ میخورهٔ بی باک خدا را ∴ رحمی بکن این سوختهٔ بی سر و پا را
از اشک چو سیمم دل تو نرم نگردد ∴ سیمین ذقنا سنگ دلا لاله عذا را
دارم طمعِ گوشهٔ چشمی زتو یعنی .. خوش کن بنگاهی دل غم پرورِ ما را
شیرین پسرا لعل لبت آب حیاتست ∴ بر تشنه لبان قطرهٔ زان آب خدا را

ولہ

چشم بر راهِ تو داریم و شد اُیّامی چند
وقت آن شد که نهی جانبِ ما گامی چند
آنکه هرگز نفرستد سوی ما پیغامی
چه شود گر کندم شاد بدشنامی چند
تا کسی میلِ دلم را برخت پی نبرد
دولتِ وصلِ تو خواهم و دلارامی چند

ولہ

هرگه که جمال تو مرا در نظر آید ∴ صد نالهٔ جانکاه زجانم بدر آید
بالای توچون نخل امید ست عجب نیست ∴ از قدّ تو گر نخل امیدم ببر آید
رخسارِ تو مجموعهٔ معنیست که حسنت ∴ هرلحظه بنوعِ دگری در نظر آید

قطعات

رفته رقیب از درت کم شد اندوه من
حمد خداوند را اذهب عنا الحزن
باز زلیخای شب موی سیه را گشاد
زانکه بچاه اوفتاد یوسف گل پیرهن

ولہ

زهی بزلف و رخت صد هزار زیبائی
هزار شوق زتو در دل تماشائی
شکیب بی توکسی چون کند که پیش لبت

بباد رفتم همه مایهٔ شکیبائی

دلم زدست شد و زو خبر نمی‌یابم

ربوده اند مگر دلبران یغمائی

بهر طرف نگرم جلوهٔ تو می‌بینم

بهرچه می‌نگرم در نظر تو می‌آئی

ولہ

ای حسنِ تو در کمالِ خوبی .. قدِ تو در اعتدالِ خوبی

دال ست بخوبی جمالت ∴ زلفِ تو که هست دالِ خوبی

رخسارِ تو لاله زارِ حسن ست .. چشمِ تو در و غزالِ خوبی

شرمنده شده گل از خجالت ∴ زانرو ست در انفعال خوبی

بر تشنه لبانِ خود ببخشای ∴ ای لعلِ لبت زلالِ خوبی

در آئینهٔ تو رو نموده .. آن شاهدِ بی مثالِ خوبی

از خوبئی خطّ و زینتِ خال ∴ دادند ترا مثالِ خوبی

چون نقطه بزیرِ لب فتاده ∴ در زیرِ لبِ تو خالِ خوبی

بر حالتِ کامران ببخشای ∴ ای خسروِ ملک و مالِ خوبی

رباعیات

ای باد بآن یار سلامم برسان ∴ در خلوتِ وصل از پیامم برسان

در صبحِ وصال و شامِ زلفش بگذر ∴ یعنی که دعای صبح و شامم برسان

ولہ

یارب زکرم دری برویم بگشای ∴ زنگِ غیر از دلِ حزینم بزدای

پیوند من از جمله علایق بگسل ∴ از هردو جهان سوی خودم راهنمای

مثنوی ساقی نامہ

بیا ساقي آن می که جان پرورست ∴ که جانِ حزین مرا در خورست

بمن ده که دوران بکین منست ∴ پئي قصد جان حزین منست

بیا ساقی آن جام گیتي نمای ∴ که محنت زدالیست و عشرتفزای

بمن ده که گویم خروشان و مست ∴ که پیمانهٔ عمر خواهد شکست

TRANSLATION.

Ghazals.

As no one guided us towards our destiny, let there be, hereafter, the dust of the Magi's door and our forehead.

As our affairs did not open (prosper) from the locked door of the pious, perhaps hereafter our door may be unlocked from the grogshop.

The steed is slow, the night dark, and the highwayman behind: oh, if the guide of your mercy will not direct us the way.

We are inured to pain and care of your love, so send every moment pain and care to our sorrow-nurtured mind.

Oh, with longing my heart beats and I am full of anguish, perhaps the glad tidings of union are coming from the captor of our hearts.

O Kamran, I have burnt myself by the fire of separation of a person, into whose lane never reaches a particle of our ashes.

May your beauty increase every moment, may your luck be happy and auspicious.

The dust that rises from your path, may it be the *surma* of my eyes, who am distressed.

The dust that rises from the way of Laila, may it rest on the eyes of Majnun.

Like me, hundreds as Darius and Farîdun be your slaves. He who did not move round you like a compass, ought to be out of this circle.

Kâmrân so long as the world exists, may Humâyûn be the ruler of the universe.

I saw the beloved in full sympathy with my rivals, O God, make easy to me this difficult situation.

Would that He, who gives power of skipping to that gracefully walking Cypress, give the impatient patience.

In conversation, his rubies (lips) as if showers pearls: how shall I suppress weeping from my pearl-raining eyes.

He who lifts from his front the screen of egotism, will never think of another thing in this world except of the beloved.

O Kâmrân as naught came to my sight except the Friend, so I did look to my heart's content the treasure of the sight.

O Kâfir, wine-bibbing, fearless, by God have mercy on this burnt-one, without head and foot.

Your heart is never melted by my silvery tears, You silver-cheeked, stony-hearted and tulip-faced.

I wish a corner of your eyes, that is to say, give consolation, with a look, to my sorrowful heart.

Sweet boy, your ruby-like lips are the water of life, a drop of that water upon the thirsty-lipped, by God.

I am having my eyes on your way, and so it has been since some time, it is time that you should put towards us a few steps.

He who never sends towards us any message, would that he had pleased me with a little abuse.

That no one may gauge my heart's longings towards your face, I want the treasure of your company and a few heart-comforts.

Whenever my eyes look to your beauty, a hundred life-wasting lamentations come out of my soul.

Since your body is the tree of hope, it is not strange that my tree of hope will bear fruit from your body.

Your face is full of meaning, hence it is that your beauty appears, every moment, in different forms.

Qit'as.

The rival has gone away from your threshold, my grief has decreased, God be thanked, who took away from us the sorrow.

Once again the Zulaikha-like night loosened her tresses, because the rose-coated Joseph went down the well.

How nice! Your looks and forehead show a hundred thousand beauties, a thousand wish of you in the mind of sightseers.

How can any one have patience without you, for before your lips the stock-in-trade of patience flies into wind.

My heart has gone out of my hands, and I cannot trace it, perhaps the Beloveds of Yaghma have stolen it.

Whither I repair, I see your splendour: whatever I see, you appear in my sight.

Oh, your beauty is in its perfection, your body in its happiest symmetry.

Your tresses are proof positive of your exuberant beauty, which are the *dâl*[1] of beauty.

Your face is the tulip-garden of beauty;

Your eyes in it are the gazelle of excellence.

The rose became ashamed of your beauty through modesty.

Hence there is beauty in being ashamed.

Do show mercy upon those who are thirsty of you: Oh, your ruby-lips are the fountain of excellence.

In your mirror (face) is reflected that Beloved of unrivalled excellence

Owing to the grace of your face and elegance of the mole, they have made you the beau-ideal of excellence.

Like a dot[2] under the lips (لب) has fallen underneath your lips the mole of excellence.

Have mercy on the condition of Kâmrân,

O the ruler of realm, and treasure of excellence!

Rubâ'îyât.

O Zephyr, give my greeting to that Friend,

Carry my message unto the seclusion of her union,

Pass on upon her morning-of-union, and the evening-of-locks,[3]

O God, out of your mercy open a door upon me, remove from my sad heart the taint (*i. e.*, thoughts) of others, loosen my connection from all concerns, show me the way towards you from both the worlds.

Mathnavî

(*Sâqi-nâma*).

Come, O Sâqî, give me that wine which may nourish my soul and which may be appropriate to my afflicted soul, as the world is in enmity with me, and is contemplating to take away my life.

Come, O Sâqî, give me that world-reflecting goblet, that removes the troubles and enhances the pleasures, so that I may say shouting and intoxicated that *the measure-glass of life will break.*

---

[1] The letter د in its curviture resembles the tresses.

[2] In Persian, the letter *ba* has a dot below it and resembles the lower lip.

[3] That is, convey to her my blessings of mornings and evenings.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p.* 200.)

OBSERVE that *karî* is never appended to instrumentals, when these are used in the agentive meaning. (Cf. § 60). Not unfrequently *naï* is pleonastically added to *karî*. Cf. the use of *kara-ke* (from *kari-kaï*) in Hindî (Kellogg, *Hindî Grammar*, § 173, a). Occasionally *karatā̃* is employed in the same function as *karî*, as in the following from *Çrâ.* :

e pañca-parameṣṭi-naï namaskâra karatā̃ sarva pâpa-naü nâça hui "By paying homage to these five *parameṣṭins*, all sins are destroyed."

The difference between *karî* and *karatā̃* is simply in that the former is passive and the latter active. In fact *karatā̃* is but an adverbial present participle, or, as will be explained § 124, a plural genitive absolute.

(2) *naī̃*. This postposition is identical with that for the dative, for which see § 71, (2). In Old Western Râjasthânî it is only exceptionally employed for the instrumental to give the meaning of the agentive. I have noted only the two instances following :

Âdîçvara-naï dîkṣâ lîdhî jâṇî "Having learned that Âdîçvara had taken the *dîkṣâ*" (Âdi C.).

devatâe bhagavanta-naï kîdhaü te dekhî "The gods having seen what had been done by the Venerable One" (Âdi C.)

The use of *naī̃* as a postposition for the agentive seems to have been growing more and more frequent in the later form of the language. Nowadays it is common, not only to Gujarâtî and to some dialects of Râjasthânî such as Mewâtî and Mâlvî, but also to Western Hindî, Naipâlî, Pañjâbî and Marâṭhî.

(3) *pâhĩ*. This is properly a postposition of the ablative and is therefore explained under § 72. In connection with causals it is occasionally used for the instrumental, to govern the person by whom is performed the action that is caused to be done. Ex. :

anerā̃-pâhĩ kûḍū̃ bolâvū̃ nahī̃ "I do not cause others to tell falsehood" (Daç. iv).,

anerā̃-pâhĩ hiṃsâ ârambhâvaī̃ nahī̃ "He does not make others to commit offence" (*ibid*).

Cf. the use of *pâhĩ, pahĩ, pai* in Hindî, to indicate the agent of the potential passive, as in the following passage from Tulasî Dâsa :

kahi na jâi mohi-pâhī̃ "It cannot be told by me" (*Râmacaritamânasa*, i, 233).

Cf. also Kellogg, *Hindî Grammar*, § 796.

In the following passage from Dd., *pâsī̃* is used instead of *pâhĩ* :

samasta-loka-pâsī̃ âjñâ manâvî "Caused all the people to obey his command" (Dd. 5).

(4) *sâthi* (*sâthĩ, sâthaī̃*). This postposition may be explained either as a locative from Apabhraṃça *satthe* < Skt. *sârthe*. "In the company of....." or, more probably, as an instrumental from Apabhraṃça *satthẽ* < Skt. *sârthena*. Cf. the phrase *tasyâḥ sârthena* in Weber's *Campakaçreṣṭhikathânakam*, 219. Examples of the use of *sâthi* in Old Western Râjasthânî are :

Bharata-râya Jina -sâthĩ bolaï "The king Bharata speaks to the Jina" (F 722, 59),

amha-sâthaī̃ "Along with us" (P. 649),

mū̃-sâthi "Along with me" (Âdi C.).

When so used in connection with pronouns, *sâthi* may be optionally construed with the possessive pronominal adjectives instead than with the genitive. Ex :

mâharaï sâthi " Along with me " (P. 650).

mā̃hā̃raï sâthaï " Ditto " (Kânh. 26).

(5) *siũ* (*syũ, saũ, sū̃, sũ*). This postposition is from Apabhraṃça *sahũ* (Hc., iv, 419, 5) < Skt. *sâkám* (Pischel, § 203), with *i* for *a* according to § 2, (1). It governs the genitive generally, but occasionally instances are still found of its being construed with the instrumental as in Apabhraṃça and in Sanskrit. Ex. :

moṭâ-naï moṭâ-siũ dosa | mujha-siũ kisiũ karaï te dosa°—" Who is great finds fault with the great ; how could he find fault with me ? " (P. 215),

tumha-siũ mitrapaṇâ-nai kâji " In order to make friendship with you " (P. 675),

choḍaï hâthe-siũ bā̃dhaṇā̃ " Unties the bindings with his hands " (P. 318),

kavi-saũ na karaũ vâda " I will not compete with poets " (P. 6),

kumara-sũ " Along with the princes " (P. 35),

Kirâta-sũ yuddha karaï " Fights with the Kirâtas " (Âdi C).

Modern Mârwâṛî has *sū̃, ū̃* (< *saũ*) and Modern Gujarâtî *çũ* (< *syũ*), *śũ*.

§ 71. As already explained (see § 65), most of the **Postpositions of the dative** are by origin nouns in the locative. Some of them are still capable of being used in the original locative meaning, and by the subsequent development of the language they are also commonly used for the accusative, as we have seen above.

(1) *kanhaĩ* (*kanhaï, kanhi, kanhali, kai*) is from Apabhraṃça *kaṇṇahĩ* <Skt.* *karṇasmin* (=*karṇe*), as already surmised by Mr. Trumpp, p. 401 of his *Sindhî Grammar*. It means " Near " generally, but in particular cases it may be understood either in the sense of the locative " Near to ", or of the accusative-dative " Towards, to", or of the ablative " From near>from". When used for the dative, *kanhaĩ* mostly indicates motion towards and is connected with verbs meaning " To go," such as *âvavaũ, jâvaũ* etc. Ex. :

âvyâ râ-kanhi " They went to the king " (Çâl. 120),

âvaï tihā̃-kaṇi " Goes there " (Ṛs. 158),

Himavanta-kanhaï jaï " Having gone to the Himâlaya " (Âdi C.),

strîputrâdika-kanhaï jaï " Having resorted to wives, sons, etc." (Ṣaṣṭ. 22).

It will be observed that in all the examples above *kanhaĩ* is used in the function of an accusative of direction, rather than of a dative. In fact periphrastic dative and accusative have merged together in most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars and have practically become a unique case. In spite of this I have thought it convenient to make a distinction between postpositions of the accusative (direct object) and of the dative (indirect object), and accordingly I have included in the latter the postposition *kanhaĩ*, which is never used for the direct object.

This postposition is found largely spread amongst the Indo-Aryan vernaculars and it is everywhere used in the general meaning of the accusative-dative. From Old Western Râjasthânî *kanhaĩ* are derived Gujarâtî *kane* and Mârwâṛî *kanai*, and from its equivalents **kaṇaï*, *kaṇi* are derived Gujarâtî *-kaṇe,-kaṇa*, which occur only as an appendage to adverbs, as in : *ahī̃-kaṇe, -kaṇa* (see Belsare's *Gujarati Dictionary*, p. 86), and Kumâonî *kaṇi*, which still finds a large employment as a postposition of the accusative-dative.

(2) *naĩ* (*naï, nĩ, ni*) is but a curtailment from *kanhaĩ*, brought about by the dropping of the initial syllable. It has, therefore, nothing to do with the locative of the genitive post-

position *naü* and, though being probably cognate to the latter postposition, it has not derived from it. In my article *On the Origin of the Dative and Genitive Postpositions in Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî* (J. R. A. S., 1913, pp. 553-567), I have collected many arguments in favour of the above-mentioned derivation of *naĩ* and I believe I have shown that *naĩ* and *kanhaĩ* are practically identical also in most of their meanings and constructions.[26] Examples of the use of *naĩ* are:

jima vâṭa bhûlâ -naï koî -eka vâṭa dekhâḍaï "As if one showed the way to him, who has lost his way" (Çrâ.),

Svayambudha mantrî teha-naï "He had a minister [by name] Svayambudha" (Ṛṣ. 7),

Damanaka Piṅgala-naï kahaï "Damanaka says to Piṅgala" (P. 260),

te savihũ -naï karaũ paraṇâma "I bow to all them" (F 728, 406).

From *naĩ* are regularly derived Modern Gujarâtî *nê* and Mârwâṛî *nai, naĩ*.

(3) *prati* (*pratĩ, prataĩ, pratiĩ*) is a *tatsama* identical with the preposition *práti*, which in Sanskrit is also used in the manner of a postposition, *i. e.*, after the noun it governs. In the Old Western Râjasthânî *prati* is chiefly employed in connection with verbs involving the general idea of "Speaking to" and "Saluting, bowing to", to indicate the indirect object. These verbs are construed with the dative or with the accusative with *prati* in Sanskrit also. Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

râya rãṇi-prati kahaï "The king says to the queen" (P. 353),

mujha-prati te kahaï chaï isiũ "He says to me this" (P. 226),

râya-prataĩ te nara vînavai "Those men relate [the fact] to the king" (P. 348),

âcârya-prataĩ mâharu namaskâra hu "I bow to the *âcâryas*" (Çrâ.),

sarva sâdhu-prataï vãdî-naï "After having saluted all *sâdhus*" (F 644).

In the following, *prati* is used to form adverbs :

bhava-pratiĩ "pratibhavam" (Kal. 33),

dina-prataĩ "Every day" (Yog. ii, 98).

(4) *bhaṇî* is the contracted form of the locative singular from *bhaṇiu* "Said" and it is therefore identical in origin with the so-called conjunctive participle (See §131). The uncontracted form *bhaṇii* has been preserved P. 23. Formerly it was employed as a real past participle, in agreement with a preceding noun in the locative, in the absolute construction, but afterwards it was understood as a postposition and became capable of governing the genitive of the nouns with which it was connected. Instances of *bhaṇî* construed with the original locative are still occasionally met with in Old Western Râjasthânî texts. The general meaning of this postposition is "With a view, or with regard to, for", but in particular it may assume many shades of meaning as will be shown by the examples following :

teha - bhaṇî "Therefore" (Yog., Indr., Çrâ., Âdi C. etc.),

syâ-bhaṇî "Wherefore ?" (P. 535, Âdi C.),

Devadatta-naï milavâ-bhaṇî "In order to meet Devadatta" (P. 298),

râjâ-nâ pratibodha-nâ-bhaṇî mũhataĩ gâthâ kahî "In order to instruct the king, the minister recited a couplet" (Âdi C.),

çâstra-samudra taravâ-bhaṇî | nîti-buddhi chaï nâva | "Political wisdom is the boat for crossing over the sea of science" (P. 5.),

câliu vana-bhaṇî "He started for the forest" (P. 134),

âviu siṃha-bhaṇî "Went to the lion" (P. 97),

---

[26] Of the intermediate form *nhaĩ* we have a survival in the following : *teha-nhaĩ bhâî* "Her brother" (Up. 33).

te teḍî âvaü tujha-bhaṇî "Having called her, I will return to you" (P. 538),

caüda vidyâ-bhaṇî vidvāça hûu "He became learned in the fourteen sciences" (Dd. 2).

Examples of *bhaṇî* construed with the locative are :

tiṇi bhaṇî "Therefore" (Âdi C.),

Mathurâ nayari bhaṇî sā̃caryâ "They started for the city of Mathurâ" (P. 52),

desâuri bhaṇî . . . . câliu "He went abroad" (P. 142),

bhaviaṇa-jaṇa-naï hita bhaṇî "For the benefit of the righteous" (F 616, 1).

(5) *mâṭaï* (*mâṭaī̃*, *mâṭi*), if I am right, is from *nimattaī̃* < Ap. *ṇimittaī̃* < Skt. **nimittakena*, by apheresis of the initial syllable and change of *t* to *ṭ*, analogously to the example of Modern Gujarâtî *eṭalo* < O.W. Râjasthânî *etalaü* < Ap. *ettulaü* (See § 24). This derivation is strongly supported by the consideration that *nimittaī̃*, mostly under the form *nimattaī̃*, is very commonly used as a postposition in Old Western Râjasthânî texts. Instances thereof are especially common in the MSS. *Dd.*, *F°585* and *F°760*, which is written in a somewhat old form of Jaipurî. In Old Western Râjasthânî *mâṭai* and *nimittaī̃* are used exactly in the same meaning, *viz.*, to indicate both purpose and consequence. Examples of the use of *mâṭaï* are :

eṭalâ-mâṭi "For this" (F 555),

roi syā̃-mâṭi "Wherefore doest thou cry ?" (Çâl. 131),

vatâgarâ-mâṭaï navi haṇaū̃ "In consideration of [your being my] servant, I do not kill you" (P. 253).

Modern Gujarâtî has *mâṭê*.

(6) *rahaī̃* (*rahaï*, *rahī̃*) is from *arahaī̃* (see § 2, (4)), the locative of *arahaü* < *urahaü*, an adjective, which I derive from Sanskrit *apârá-*, through Apabhraṃça * *avăra-* > **oral* (See § 147). Its original meaning is "Near," whence "To". In some Old Western Râjasthânî texts this postposition has a very large employment and it is used not only for the dative and accusative, but even for the genitive. Most frequently, however, *rahaī̃* is used for the dative, whereof take the following illustrations :

teha-rahaī̃ anumati na diū̃ "I will not give my assent to them" (Daç. iv),

kaha-rahī̃ "Wherefore ?" (Çrâ.),

namaskâra te subhaṭa-rahī̃ hu "Let homage be paid to those heroes" (Çîl. 36),

apakîrati-rahī̃ "For the sake of infamy" (Kânh. 17),

majha-rahaī̃ e phala hûyā̃ "I have reaped this result" (Daç. v).

(7) *raī̃* (*hraī̃*) is identical with the foregoing postposition, from which it has derived by *h* being first thrown back to the beginning of the word, according to § 51, and then dropped. The intermediate form *hraī̃* has survived in the MSS. *Çrâ.*, *Up.*, *Ṣaṣṭ.*, *F°580*. °Ex. :

jima ā̃dhalâ purusa -hraī̃ koî âkhi diī̃ "As if one gave an eye to a blind man" (Çrâ.),

te-hû mujha-hraī̃ na gamaï "Even him I do not like" (Up. 63),

te dhanya jeha-raī̃ sûdhaü guru milaï "Those are fortunate, to whom a blameless preceptor falls in sort" (Ṣaṣṭ. 136).

This postposition has gone lost in Gujarâtî, but has survived in Mârwâṛî under the form *rai*.

§ 72. The **Postpositions of the ablative** are partly nouns in the locative and partly participles. The latter are either inflected in agreement with the subject in the sentence, or used absolutely in the neuter, or in the locative singular.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS

(*Continued from p.* 202.)

The Contemporary Indigenous Kings.

Both inscriptions and chronicles thus agree in saying that Viśvanâtha Nâik was at Madura in 1535. Was there any indigenous ruler in Madura then? According to the chronicles there was one Chandra-Śêkhara, the 16th in descent from Sôma-Śêkhara, the object of Kampaṇa Uḍayâr's solicitude. But there are grave doubts, as I have already pointed out in the first chapter, in regard to the existence of this dynasty. It was the Vânadarâyas who were in possession of Madura in this age. The relation of Chandraśêkhara to these Vânadarâyas is very obscure. Was he after all a relation, an unfriendly relation, or member of the Vânadarâya line? However it was, there were, farther off, in Tinnevelly, the Pâṇḍyans of Tenkâśi and their feudatories who continued, as of old, to be in power. As has been already pointed out, Âhava-Râma was succeeded by Śrivallabha in 1523, and acquitted himself with remarkable distinction for a space of ten years.

SECTION IV. SADAŚIVA-RAYA 1542—65.

The Rise of the Âravîḍu House.

It was under such circumstances that Achyuta Râya died in 1542. On his death, the care and sceptre of the Empire devolved eventually on his nephew Sadâśiva Râya[63], a man whose mild character and humility of temper unfitted him to meet the stress and storm which was soon to surround the state. The weak and yielding nature of the new sovereign made him the tool of ambitious nobles and intriguing ministers. All power was seized by the three brothers Râma-Râja[64], Tirumala and Vênkaṭâdri of the powerful house of Âravîḍu—a house which, like those of the Śâḷuvâs and the Salakas, had distinguished itself largely in the imperial service. The earliest of the race was one Tâta Pinnama, whose son Sômidêva, it is said, was such a fine soldier that he took seven forts in a single day from an unknown enemy. His son Raghu Dêva and grandson Pinnama II, lord of the city of Âravîḍu, were comparatively obscure figures. But Pinnama's son Bukka was a devoted servant of Śâḷuva Narasimha, and no doubt helped him in his usurpation. There can be no doubt that Bukka's son Râma I. and grand-son Ranga I. played some part in the Tuluva usurpation and administration that followed. The Âravîḍu chiefs seem to have been a line of capable men and, what was more, experts in diplomacy. At first the servants of the Śâḷuvâs, they evidently changed sides when the Tuluvas came, and served Narasa Nâik, Vîra Narasiṁha, Kṛishṇa Dêva and Achyuta Râya. So powerful and influential did they become that Ranga's sons, Râma Râya[65] (who married the daughter of Kṛishṇa Dêva Râya), Tirumala,

---

63 For a detailed account of the disputed succession after Achyuta's death, see Briggs' *Ferishta* III 80-84; and *Forgotten Empire*. 181-183; *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 194-195; *Ep. Rep.* 1906 paras 48 and 49. The whole is a very interesting question, but not germane to our purpose. Sadâśiva is, it is curious, wholly ignored by the chronicles.

64 See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9 for a genealogy of this line and of its connection with the other contemporary feudatory chiefs. See also *Ep. Ind.* III (Kûniyûr plates of Venkata II).

65 Mr. Krishna Śâstri points out how, after Achyuta's death, the Salaka chief Tirumalaiya—the emperor's brother-in-law and the chief commander in the Tinnevelly campaign—tried to place Achyuta's son, a young boy, on the throne. He succeeded, but the boy died in a few years. Tirumalaiya then tried to usurp the crown but a new-claimant arose in Sadâśiva Râya, the son of Ranga Râya, a uterine brother of Achyuta. Sadâśiva's strongest-supporters, Râma Râja and Tirumala, then killed Salaka Timma, and placed Sadâśiva on the throne. See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 194-5. Here Mr. Krishṇa Sastri summarises all literature—Correa, Ferishta, etc.—about this question. The same is confirmed by the British Museum plates of Sadâśiva Râya. *Ep. Ind.* IV, 1-22.

and Vênkaṭâdri, a man of exceptional martial valour, became the most powerful and influential men in the Empire in the time of Sadâśiva Râya. Powerful as those men were, they neither abused their power nor behaved like cowards. On the other hand, Râma Râya was one of the most aggressive statesmen of the age, one in whom the love of domination was the quintessence of life. His soaring ambition not only longed wipe off the disgrace which Vijayanagar had sustained in the previous reign, but to extend its borders, at the expense of the Deccan Sultans, to the Vindyas. As great in action as he was bold in design, Râma Râya proceeded to achieve his object with wisdom. A born diplomatist, he adopted the Machiavellian[66] scheme of playing off the Musalmân States against one another. The very next year after Sadâśiva's accession, he joined the Nizam Shâh of Ahmadnagar in an invasion of Bîjâpur. In 1551, he again co-operated with Ahmadnagar against Bîjâpur, and in the campaign which followed, recovered the whole of the Raichur Dûâb. Four years later, he assisted Bîjâpur, the very State whose humiliation he had so recently effected, in its endeavour to quell a rebel vassal and to check the Portuguese. With the aid of his new ally he then made war with his old ally Ahmadnagar, and in a series of campaigns, spread terror and devastation through that kingdom. The result of these skilful alliances and counter-alliances was that Vijayanagar was able to assume a sort of supremacy over the Bahmanî States. The Hindu Emperor beheld with pleasure the discord of the Musalmâns, and boldly despatched a Vijayanagar army to the Vindyan barriers, which he considered thereafter to be the northern confines of his Empire.

The Revival of the Travancore Aggressions in the South.

Never was the power of Vijayanagar so much felt, and never did fortune so invariably follow its standard. The Sultans were so completely eclipsed by the Hindu Emperor that they had to implore his protection and acknowledge his dominion in practice, if not in theory. While the foreign policy of Râma Râya was such a glorious success, his internal policy was not less glorious. A number[67] of inscriptions prove that the exercise of imperial authority in the south was a living and potent fact. An incident which took place in the extreme south of the peninsula similar to that of the year 1532 illustrates this. In the year 1543 the great Śrî-Vallabha Pâṇḍya-Râjya-Sthâpanâchârya died,[68] and was succeeded by his cousin Abhirâma Parâkrama, who ruled for the next decade, till 1552.[69] The new king was apparently a feeble and incompetent man. At any rate, he seems to have been

---

[66] For details of his campaigns see *Ferishta*, Vol. III. They have been reproduced and compared with Portuguese authorities by Sewell in his *Forg. Emp.*, 188-195. For a Ms. account of Râmarâja's contests with the Muhammadans till the battle of Talikotta, see the *Canara Kyfeats*, Vol. IV of Col. Mackenzie. A very short and meagre review of it is in Taylor's *Rais. Catal.* III, p. 640. The most conspicuous Telugu literary work, *Narapativijayamu*, also celebrates the glory of Râmarâya. The *Vasucharitra* is another important work throwing light on this period of Vijayanagar history.

[67] More than 15 insc. exist, shewing Sadâśiva's rule in the south. Insc. 129 of 1905 says that he was the conqueror of all countries and Ceylon, and that his viceroy was Viṭṭhala, who had an agent named Râmappa Nâik at Kaḷakâḍu. Insc. 5 and 27 of 1906 recognize his power in the Koṅgu Country, 476 of 1905 mentions him at Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu, 256 of 1894 says that his brother Venkatâdri was at Tiruvayâr in 1559. Insc. 318 of 1905 says that Râma Râya remitted the tax on barbers in the Carnâta country in 1547. His subordinate in Gingee was Achyutappa Nâik. Examples may be multiplied, but are unnecessary.

[68] *Trav. Arch. Series; Ep. Rep.* 1910-11, etc.

[69] *Ibid* p. 61 Mr. Gôpinatha Rao's version seems, in this case, to be preferable to Mr. Kṛishna Sastri's. (See *Trav. Arch. Series* p. 103). The whole question, however, is still unsettled.

far inferior in capacity to his brilliant predecessor. The reigning king of Travancore, Râmavarma —he was the successor or, more probably, the co-regent of Ravivarma[70] who had succeeded Udaya-Mârtâṇḍa, the adversary of Achyuta Râya—took advantage of this and embraced the resolution, in consistency with the policy of his ancestors, of committing inroads into Pâṇḍyan lands. So keen and aggressive was he that, by 1546, he was, as an inscription of the Nelliappa[71] temple shews, at Tinnevelly itself. We do not exactly know what the Pâṇḍyan did at this crisis; but we may be certain that he appealed against his greedy neighbour, as of old, to the Emperor. Sadâśiva, or rather Râma Râya, was hardly likely to ignore such an unscrupulous ambition in a feudatory vassal.

The invasion of Travancore by Viṭṭhala and his Viceroyalty.

He therefore ordered his cousin Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara[72] Viṭṭhaladêva Mahî-Râya to proceed to the south and restore the balance of power there. We do not know why Viśvanâtha Nâik who, as we have already seen, was Viceroy in 1544, was not asked to settle the question. It is not improbable that he was asked to serve as a subordinate officer under Viṭṭhala Dêva. It seems that Viṭṭhala was a relation of his,—a cousin. For an inscription of S. 1554 says[73] that Nâgaraśu of the solar race and Kâśyapa Gôtra, (*i. e.*, the father of Viśvanâtha Nâik) was the nephew of Râmarâja Tirumalaiya-Dêva-Mahâraja of the lunar race and Âtrêya Gôtra, and this Tirumalaiya was Viṭṭhala's father. So Viśvanâtha was a cousin of the new Viceroy, and no doubt accompanied him in his southward march, in 1544. The campaign of Viṭṭhala was in reality a repetition of the campaign of Achyuta Râya—a second conquest of the south by "the Badugas." The Badugas were, as may be imagined, victorious everywhere.[74] They recovered the Tinnevelly province and were soon within the Tiruvaḍi's dominions. Two miles off Kôṭṭâr[75], we are told, the two forces met. The exact date is unknown, but it is almost certain[76] that it took place in July or August 1544. The king of Travancore, according to Xavier, did not yield; but inscriptions prove that he did. We

[70] For an inscription of his, dated 1536, at Kailâsanâtha shrine at Suchîndram, see No. 79 of 1896. The Travancore *State Manual* says that Udayamârtâṇḍa, the contemporary of Achyuta Râya, was succeeded by Bhûtalavîra-Vîra-Udaya-Ravivarma and Râmavarma was his co-regent. Mr. S. Paramêsvara Aiyar in the *Christ. Col. Mag.* (1904) says Mârtâṇḍa Varma's successor was "Srivîra Ramavarma," one of whose inscriptions is dated 1537 A. D. "It was the successor of this prince, Bhûtaḷa Vîra Sri Vîra Kêrala Varma who was reigning in Travancore, at the period of the invasion of Vittala, Xavier calls him Iniquitribrium, which, considering the monstrous perversions of Indian names generally made by European authors, is not an altogether unfaithful reproduction of the name Uṇṇi Kêraḷa Varma." (p. 188). He was a great friend of the Portuguese. Kêraḷa Varma "must have died" soon after the Baḍuga invasion; for an insc. of Râma Varma is found at Suchindram in 1546-7.

[71] Inscription 120 of 1894.

[72] See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1908-9, p. 195. The order seems to have been passed in 1544-5. Insc. 273 of 1901 at Kôilaḍi says that Viṭṭhala was "granted the whole country" by Sadâśiva Râya. Just before his arrival in the south he was at Peṇukoṇḍa, where, as insc. 340 of 1901 shews, he remitted certain taxes to barbers. Insc. 140 of 1895 records a gift by Viṭṭhala at Tiruviḍaimarudûr (Tanjore Dist.) Viṭṭhala's relation to Râma Râya was long uncertain. He was considered by Nelson to be the same as Râma Râya and by Mr. Venkayyah to be his son. In reality he was his cousin. (*Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 86); *Ibid*, 1912, p. 82 ff. See also *Bâlabhâgavatamu* of Dosûri Konêrukavi, *Lives of Telugu Poets*, p. 241, for references to Viṭṭhala. (See also *Christ. Col. Mag.* 1904-5, p. 187.)

[73] Inscription 161 of 1905, found in the Mârkapûr temple, dated S. 1554 (*Ânanda*).

[74] Viṭṭhala's success ranged, says an inscription, from Anantaśayanam (Trevandram) in the south to Mudkal in the north. See *Ep. Rep.* 1900, para 80. Insc. 140 of 1895 says that a Brahmin served Viṭṭhala as a soldier throughout these wars, and was in consequence rewarded with two villages. For a detailed consideration of this campaign, see *Trav. Manu.* I, p. 297-9 and *Christ. Col. Mag.*, 1904-5, 187-90.

[75] See *ante*. Vol. XXVI, p. 144 for a history of this place.

[76] For Xavier's career see Chap. III. Mr. Nâgam Aiya says that Ravivarma and Viṭṭhala arrived at a compromise by which the extreme south of the peninsula was to be part of Travancore dominion, and that Tiruvaḍi in return was to desist from future aggression. In Ravivarma's Suchîndram grant, Mr. Nagam Aiya sees a proof of this 'compromise.' See *Trav. Man.*, 295—300.

are informed, for instance[77], that in 1546 he gave a piece of land to the Sthânêsvara Temple at Suchîndram for the merit of Vitthalêsvara Mahâ Râya on his birth-day,—a thing which he would hardly do if he was independent. From this time onward to the year 1557, *i. e.*, for a space of eleven years, Râma Râya Vitthala was the imperial viceroy of the south[78]. The indigenous chronicles of Madura are reticent about him; but the inscriptions are unanimous in describing him as a statesman enjoying the most honourable rank and the most affluent fortune in his day.

The Rise of a new trouble in the South: Chôḷa Aggressions against the Pâṇḍya.

Such is the history of Madura and the southern end of the peninsula till the year 1557, when certain important events happened, which directly led to the establishment of the Nâik dynasty. Unfortunately a most mysterious obscurity prevails in connection with the immediate circumstances which brought it about. According to the *Pâṇḍ. Chron.* there were three Nâik chieftains, Dimmappa, Sevappa and Paṭṭukôṭṭai Ravappa, during the three years which followed the end of Viṭṭhala's administration. Then in *Raudri Mârgaḷi* (1559), it continues, in consequence of the Râyer's orders, Koṭṭiyam Nâgama Nâik came to Madura, and ruled till *Dundumi*, for a period of two years and four months. In other words, according to the *Pâṇḍ. Chron.* there was an interval of three years between Viṭṭhala and Viśvanâtha; and Viśvanâtha ruled for the space of two years. It is curious that it does not give the circumstances under which Viśvanâtha assumed the crown of Madura. This defect is supplied by the other chronicles. They indeed are hopelessly wrong in regard to the dates of the events which they describe (for they attribute Viśvanâtha to the third decade of the 15th century), but the facts they give are evidently true. They say that there ruled in Madura a very feeble and irresolute ruler, Chandra-Śêkhara Pâṇḍya, the last of the Sôma-Śêkhara line, that he was deprived of his crown and kingdom by an aggressive Chôḷa ruler of the day, Vîra-Śêkhara by name. Nothing substantial is known about these kings and rivals. Chandra-Śêkhara was, as I have already pointed out, probably a chief distantly related to either the old Pâṇḍyan or the Vânadarâya line. Vîra-Śêkhara is described as the Chôḷa king of Tanjore, but the Chôḷas had ceased to rule at Tanjore by the beginning of the 15th century. Even supposing that some scions of the old Chôḷa dynasty continued to live in Tanjore, we are practically certain that they could not have exercised any power; for the dynasty of Sevappa[79] Nâik was by the year 1550 firmly seated there, and the exercise of authority by a prince of the indigenous dynasty would have been impossible. But if Vîra-Śêkhara did not rule at Tanjore, he might have lived and reigned at Trichinopoly, which was as much a Chôḷa capital as Tanjore. Indeed, one of the Polygar memoirs[80] distinctly says that his seat of government was Trichinopoly. It is not improbable that he was a relation and successor of the Chôḷas, Channayya and Bôgayya, who, as we have already seen, ruled about 1530 at Turaiyûr, and who acknowledged Krishna Dêva Râya as their suzerain.

(*To be continued.*)

---

77 Inscription 64 of 1896. This king is also called Venru-mân-Koṇḍa-Bhûtaḷavîra-Irâmavanmar of Jêtunganâḍu.

78 His head-quarters seem to be Trichinopoly. (See Insc. 273 of 1901). Insc. 557, 558 and 559 of 1911 record grants to Kûḍal Aḷagar temple at Madura by Timmappa Nâik, son of Basavana Nâik, for the merit of Viṭṭhala, whose subordinate officer he was. It is plain from all these that about 1551 A. D. there was a Governor at Madura named Timmapa Nâik who was subordinate to Viṭṭhala.

79 The exact date of Sevappa's accession to the Tanjore throne is unknown. In 1544 Tanjore was under Viṭṭhala. By 1549 it was under Sevappa, for an insc. of Shumser Ali's tomb mentions him, though not as king. According to one account Sevappa took Tanjore " by his valour." According to another, he got it as a dowry of his wife Mûrti Ammâḷ a sister of Achyuta Râya's queen (Tirumalâmba). The question is an interesting one for investigation, but is not possible here. Here it is enough that it be understood that by 1550 the Tanjore Nâik dynasty was firmly established. See T. S. Kuppusami Sastri's *Short History of the Tanjore Nâik Princes*; *Tanj. Gazr.*, 38-40, and the MS. history *Tanjavur Varicharitra*, the summary of which is in *Tanj. Manual* and *Rais Catal.* III, 176 ff.

80 Genealogy of Kadirmalai Muttu Mâdar, Nâik of Dammapaṭṭi Pâḷayam. Appendix VII.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADHVA ACHARYAS.

BY G. VENKOBA RAO, OOTACAMUND.

THE fourteenth century A. D. was a remarkable period in the history of Southern India. It was marked with the extinction of some of the most ancient and powerful kingdoms; it saw new dynasties, equally powerful, rising in the seats of old ones; it also witnessed the peace and happiness of the people overtaken by grief and consternation by a cruel foreign invasion. Just before the dawn of this century the political dominancy of the ancient race of the Chôḷas came to an end and their kingdom passed into the hands of the rising Pâṇḍyas of Madura.[1] In the early part of the century another ancient family of kings, the Hoysaḷas of Dvârasamudra, was subverted by Malik Kâfûr, the avaricious general of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khiljî.[2] The virgin south suffered that molestation, which the unhappy north had long been accustomed to, from the vandalistic hands of the Musalmâns, headed by that low caste convert, Malik Kâfûr. Harrowing tales of woe suffered by Hindu temples during this period are found recorded in the inscriptions on their walls.[3] This Muhammadan torrent left here and there puddles of Musalmâns, who snatched for themselves small tracts of country and began to rule over them. One such colony was established at Madura and swayed the destiny of the country round it for nearly half a century;[4] the island of Śrîraṅgam is said to have been occupied by another band of these men for an equally long period.[5]

The last remnants of the power of the Yâdavas of Dèvagiri became extinct with Râmachandra and his son-in-law Harapâla, who was flayed alive by Mubârik, the ruthless son of 'Alâud-dîn. The mighty empire of Vijayanagara, which was going to play such an important part in protecting the south from further Muhammadan havoc, rose at the bidding of that sage, cyclopaediac scholar and statesman, Vidyâraṇya, from the ashes of the Hoysaḷa kingdom. With this intellectual giant at the helm of the State, the early sovereigns of Vijayanagara were able to conquer the whole of what is now known as the Madras Presidency, drive off all the Turushka hoards, and establish order and peace where there was rapine and slaughter.

The intellectual and philosophical activities were also in full swing; the Viśishṭhâdvaita philosophy propounded by Râmânujâchârya had already taken deep root. The new school of the Dvaita philosophy started by Madhvâchârya found many converts to his faith in the beginning of this same century. The Advaita school was represented by Vidyâraṇya, who was then head of the Śriṅgêri Maṭha. The schism in the Viśishṭhâdvaita school was brought in by the teachings of Veṅkaṭanâthârya, better known by the name of Vêdântadêśika. It is the purpose of this paper to trace as far as possible the history of the Mâdhva Achâryas, paying particular attention to the chronological side of it and leaving the philosophical part to abler hands than mine. For achieving this purpose, I have, for obvious reasons, chosen to take my stand upon epigraphical records, and to admit tradition wherever it does not militate against epigraphical facts.

---

1 *Annual Report* of the Government Epigraphist, Madras, for 1900, para. 29.

2 Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 509.

3 Inscriptions recording the Musalmân invasion are found in Tirupuṭkuḷi, Tiruvâmâttûr, Tirupputûr (Madura), Tiruvoṟṟiyûr, Śrîraṅgam, &c.

4 See Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. pp. 222-23.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 330.

There have been several attempts at the construction of a scientifically accurate history of the life of Madhvâchârya in the past three or four years. Mr. C. N. Krishnasami Ayyar, M.A., of the Coimbatore College was the first, as far as we know, to attempt the solution of the question of the age of Madhvâchârya in his dissertation for the Master of Arts Degree examination. The same gentleman brought out quite recently a revised edition of his booklet,[6] in which a certain amount of anxiety to deal with the subject in a most scientific manner is exhibited by him. However, we are sorry to remark he has not made use of all the available sources of information for the elucidation of the period under consideration, and it is no wonder that he has arrived at conclusions which, we fear, are not reconcilable with unshakably sure facts; we mean those that are given in inscriptions, both on stone and on copper. If he had only taken the trouble first to have gathered all available facts for the construction of the history of the period chosen by him for study, we have no doubt, he would have arrived at true results. His summary way of disposing of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri is, we consider, rather hasty. In fact there are several points in his essay which we feel are not acceptable to us.

The next serious attempt at fixing the age of the great Dvaita Âchârya was made by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., of the Archaeological Department.[7] His paper was based upon an inscription discovered in the Srîkûrmam temple, belonging to the time of Narahari Tîrtha, one of the direct disciples of Madhvâchârya, and dated in the Saka year 1203. One thing came out of this paper. The Mâdhva community was bestirred to reconsider the date of their Âchârya, as also the chronology of their heirarchy in general, and to adjust the dates to suit irrefutable facts of Epigraphy. At the Madhva-Siddhânta-Unnâhini Sabhâ, which is annually held at Tiruchchânûr, near Tirupati, during the Christmas holidays, the question of the exact date of the birth of Madhvâchârya was taken up for discussion and, as might be expected from such an orthodox body as the Sabhâ, a condemnation of the methods and results of Mr. Sastri was expressed.

The orthodox denunciation started at the meeting of the Sabha reached its climax in the writings of Mr. Subba Rao, M.A., of the Salem College. This gentleman in the introduction to his translation of the *Gîtâ-Bhâshya* of Madhvâchârya,[8] empties the vial of his wrath first on the epigraphical information gathered by the archæologist, which he brands as "of impossible and inadmissible character"[9] and later on by saying "supposing the above information is obtained on correct interpretation of the inscriptions"[10] he insinuates that the people in the Archaeological Department cannot interpret inscriptions properly. Then again he inweighs against the impudence of the very inscriptions themselves in recording dates and facts which are contradictory to the lists maintained in the *maṭhâs*. Truly, the piety of this Mâdhva in believing that the *maṭhâ* lists are infallible surpasses that of the orthodox Roman Catholic who holds firmly in the infallibility of the Pope. Regarding the inscriptions he writes: "It is not our business at present to investigate still further the erroneousness or correctness of the inscriptions themselves"[11] as though he could prove that a public stone record is likely to be more erroneous than a private list recorded on a palm-leaf or paper and preserved in the *maṭhâ*. In making statements such

[6] '*Madhvâchârya*'—*A Short Historical Sketch.*

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, pp. 260-68.

[8] *The Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, printed at the Minerva Press, Madras.

[9] *Ibid.* p. xi of the introduction.

[10] *Ibid.* p. xii of the introduction.

[11] *Ibid.* p. xvii of the introduction.

as these, our irate friend is guided only by a few extracts from the paper of Mr. Krishna Sastri, which he has read in the *Sabha Report.* He has certainly not seen or read the whole of Mr. Sastri's paper before passing his strong strictures on epigraphy and its methods.

Of quite a different stamp from Mr. Subba Rao, is Mr. C. M. Padmanâbhâchârya, B.A., B.L., of the Coimbatore Bar.[12] With the feeling of a true Mâdhva, he records first of all faithfully the events of the life of the greatest of the teachers of the Dvaita school of philosophy as obtained from tradition, and tries his best to reconcile them with the solid information derived from epigraphical sources. If some of his conclusions do not appeal to us it is not because his method is incorrect, but that the materials are not sufficiently numerous for him to work upon. The method of research adopted by him being excellent in every detail, we are sure he must have arrived at the same conclusions at which we would ourselves have arrived, had he only been in full possession of all the facts available from the epigraphical sources. A point which obviously strikes the reader throughout Mr. Padmanâbhâchârya's book is his sentimentality, which exhibits itself rather markedly. But it is excusable in a devotee.

In our own humble way we shall try to contribute our mite to his literature with the same scientific spirit which actuated some of our predecessors. No one is more conscious than ourselves of the fact that many small errors might creep into our results and our only plea to appear in print is to induce better minds than ours to tackle the question with greater energy and resources than we are in possession of at present.

In the village of Pâjaka near Uḍipi in the South Canara District, there lived a Brâhmaṇa named Madhyagêha (Tuḷu, Nauḍvantillâya, the middle-house man).[13] A not very opulent person, moderately cultured, Madhyagêha was leading a quiet householder's life. Two male children were born to him, but they both died young. He had only a young daughter left. To a Hindu householder nothing is more painful than being sonless, and Madhyagêha was feeling intensely for a son. Happily his prayers were heard and he was blessed with a son, whom the father named Vâsudêva. The regular Brahmanical ceremonies, such as *chauḷa, upanayana,* etc., were celebrated in due course of time and the boy entered under the tuition of Achyutaprêkshâchârya, also known as Purushôttama Tîrtha. The boy Vâsudêva was strongly inclined to assume *sanyâsâśrama,* but was often prevented by his father from giving way to his desire. At last the father and son came to an agreement that as soon as another son was born to the former, Vâsudêva must be allowed to fulfil his wish of becoming a Sanyâsin, for the father was loth to lose his only son. After some time another boy was born to Madhyagêha, and young Vâsudêva was permitted by the father to assume the robes of a Sanyâsin. The holy orders were given to him by his *guru* Achyutaprêkshâchârya under the name of Pûrṇaprajña. Some years were spent by Pûrṇaprajña under his religious teacher in mastering the systems of philosophy then current, and in having a firm foundation in the *Vêdânta.* He began to reflect thereupon on the various interpretations given by the various commentators on the *Bâdarâyaṇa Sûtras.* From the beginning Pûrṇaprajña's mind revolted against the tenets of the Advaita school; therefore he began to elaborate his own Dvaita explanation of the *Bâdarâyaṇa Sûtras.*

[12] The *Life of Madhvâchârya,* printed at the Progressive Press, Madras.

[13] For a detailed life of Srî-Madhvâchârya, we refer the readers to the excellent book of Mr. Padmanâbhâchârya.

Achyutaprêksha was growing old, he therefore resolved upon making Pûrṇaprajña his successor in the seat occupied by him. On the day appointed for installing his disciple in his own place, Achyutaprêksha performed all the ceremonies and anointed Pûrṇaprajña under the name of Ânanda Tîrtha. Thereafter Ânanda Tîrtha was brought into conflict now and then with leaders of different schools of thought, and in all these dialectic disputations he is represented to have come out victorious.

By this time Ânanda Tîrtha had already built up his system completely, and desired to start out on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to the south. With a number of disciples and admirers he visited Trivandram, Râmêśvaram, Śrîraṅgam, Śrîmushṇam, etc. In the first of these places he had an encounter with the then head of the Śriṅgêri-maṭha, Vidyâśankara who lived about A.D. 1228. The Mâdhva chronicles state that Ânanda Tîrtha vanquished Vidyâśaṅkara.[14]

At the end of his pilgrimage he returned to Uḍipi and spent some time there before he thought of undertaking a journey to the Badarikâśrama on the Himâlayas, reputed to be the residence of the immortal Ṛishi Vyâsa the author of the *Vêdânta Sûtras*. Taking permission from his master and accompanied by his co-disciple, Satya Tîrtha, he left Uḍipi and after several months' journey reached the foot of the Himâlayas. Finding Satya Tîrtha a drag on his progress, Pûrṇaprajña ordered the former to stop behind and continued his journey up singly. He soon reached the hermitage of Vyâsa in Badarî and placed himself directly under his tuition, and learned from his lips the meaning he had designed in his mind of the *Sûtras* when he wrote them. Thereupon, he began his commentaries on the *Brahma Sûtras* and several other works. He then took leave of the hoary sage Vêda-Vyâsa and reached the foot of the mountain, where he was rejoined by Satya Tîrtha. Both of them took an easterly direction and journeyed through the Vaṅga and Kaliṅga countries. In the Telugu country Ânanda Tîrtha entered into a hot discussion with a powerful Advaitin, named Śôbhana Bhaṭṭa. After a good deal of wrangling on both sides, Śôbhana Bhaṭṭa admitted his defeat and expressed his willingness to become the disciple of his vanquisher. Ânanda Tîrtha converted him to his faith, made him a *sanyâsin* and conferred upon him the name of Padmanâbha Tîrtha.

The defeat and conversion of Śôbhana Bhaṭṭa induced another great man to vindicate the faith of his forefathers in a fresh discussion with the teacher of this new school of philosophy. Śâma Śâstrin was the name of this disputant. He occupied the great social dignity of the prime minister of the king of the Kaliṅga country and was a very learned man. His erudition had to give way before the extraordinary capabilities of Ânanda Tîrtha and Śâma Śâstrin, like Śôbhana Bhaṭṭa, urged upon his vanquisher to take him as his disciple and make him a *sanyâsin*. He preferred to give up his exalted social position, home and wealth to follow his Âchârya wherever he went. Pûrṇaprajña ordained him a *sanyâsin* and gave him the name of Narahari Tîrtha.

Soon after the events detailed in the previous paragraph had taken place Ânanda Tîrtha returned to Uḍipi with his new disciples. One day, while he was sitting in *samâdhi* on the sandy beach, he heard the distressed cry of the crew of a ship which was being tossed on a rough sea and was about to be drowned. With his unbounded grace, Ânanda Tîrtha bade the ship reach the shore safely and it did so. The crew in gratitude offered the whole cargo of the ship to their deliverer, but he would have none of it. When he found

[14] In *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI. intro. p. 29, Mr. Rice refers to the temple of Vidyâśankar at Śriṅgêri and states that it must have been built during the Vijayanagara period.

he was pressed hard to accept a trifle at least from them. He asked for a clod of earth used in ballasting the ship, for, he knew it contained the image of Kṛishṇa. As soon as it was brought, the clod was broke open and was found to contain the image of Kṛishṇa. Ânanda Tîrtha built a temple for it in Uḍipi, consecrated it with great pomp and festivity, and ordained eight boy-*sanyâsins* to do *pûja* to this image by rotation. These were the originators of the eight monasteries at Udipi.

Somewhere about this time the king of Kaliṅga died, leaving behind an infant son. There was no capable and trustworthy officer in the State to act as the regent during the minority of the child. Naturally the minds of the subjects ran to their old minister. Sâma Śâstrin, now a *Sanyâsin* with Ânanda Tîrtha, but did not care for worldly honours and would not accept the offer to administer the State. Ânanda Tîrtha, however, insisted upon his taking up the office of the regent in the Kaliṅga country, if not for any material gain, at least to help an infant king, and at the end of the tenure of his office to procure for him (Ânanda Tîrtha)much coveted images of Râma and Sîtâ, which were secured in the royal treasury. Reluctantly Narahari Tîrtha (Sâma Śâstrin) assumed charge of the regency and conducted the affairs of the State satisfactorily for a period of twelve years at the end of which he managed to get from the young prince the images required by his preceptor, and which he loved so much to worship.

In the meanwhile Ânanda Tîrtha had paid another visit to Badarî in company with Satya Tîrtha and Upêndra Tîrtha. On his return journey he visited Kâśi, Hṛishikêśa, etc., and passed Goa and reached Uḍipi. After his return from Badarî he was obliged to enter into a religious dispute with Padma Tîrtha of the Advaita persuasion. While preparing himself to meet his adversary, Ânanda Tîrtha was told that Padma Tîrtha had run away in fear. But goaded and taunted by his followers, Padma Tîrtha once again appeared at Uḍipi and entered the ring of combat with Ânanda Tîrtha. Very hot discussions took place and before sunset the Advaitin was completely defeated. The next morning Padma Tîrtha and his followers were found to have run away. Before their flight they managed however to carry away the valuable library of Ânanda Tîrtha. The run-aways were chased and overtaken, but Jayasiṁha the chief of the country interceded on behalf of both the parties and got back the library to its rightful owner. The place where this happened is known as Vishṇumaṅgala. At Vishṇumaṅgala, Ânanda Tîrtha was met by an Advaitin, named Trivikrama Paṇḍita, who desired to discuss religious matters with the former. His wish was agreed to, and in the course of his conversation, Trivikrama found the method of the Dvaita Âchârya very logical and his arguments convincing. He immediately joined the camp of Ânanda Tîrtha by embracing Mâdhvaism.

Just about this time news reached Ânanda Tîrtha of the demise of his parents in the village of Pâjaka, the bearer of the tidings being his own brother. He implored Ânanda Tîrtha to admit him in the fold of *sanyâsins* under him. Ânanda Tîrtha conferred upon him the robes of holy order and named him Vishṇu Tîrtha. On this occasion seven others also took the *sanyâsâśrama.*

Eghty days after the return of Narahari Tîrtha from the Kaliṅga country, with the images of Râma and Sîtâ, the Âchârya is said to have finally retired from the world to Badarî, to take his abode with Vyâsa eternally. This event is said to have taken place on the ninth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Mâgha in the year Piṅgala which corresponded with the eightieth year of the age of Ânanda Tîrtha. Thus is the traditional account of the life of Ânanda Tîrtha, better known in later days by the name of Madhvâchârya. We do not get any idea of the chronology of the life of Madhvâchârya from the account narrated above, but epigraphy and other sources supply us with information enough to fix the age of Ânanda Tîrtha.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SANKARACHARYA.

Sir R. G. Bhandârkar identifies 'Âditya of the race of Manu,' mentioned by Sarvajñâtman in his *Samkshepa-Sârîraka* with the Châlukya king Vimalâditya. With due deference to his high authority one may be excused for calling this identification in question on the following grounds: (1) *Âditya* is not in this case a name or surname of the king, but only a component part of his compound name. There are many such compound names to choose from in the dynastic lists of the Châlukyas and the Chôḷas, and both these dynasties claimed descent from Manu. One may mention Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya of the Châlukya line and Râjâditya and Gaṇḍarâditya of the Chôḷa dynasty. (2) The passage in question implies that the Âditya referred to was a very powerful king: श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति। The Châlukya power was eclipsed by that of the Râshṭrakûṭas and the Chôḷas before the 10th century. It would therefore be a piece of fulsome flattery to speak of the Châlukya king as 'ruling the earth' and as 'having his commands never disobeyed.' (3) There is no evidence, nor is there any tradition, that Sarvajña visited the 'Châlukya country or was patronised by its king'.

Now, the Chôḷas also claimed descent from Manu, and in an even more positive way than the Châlukyas. Whereas the latter claim to be of the Mânavya-gotra, the former have **Manu Chola as one of their (mythical) ancestors.** There is more than one Âditya in Chôḷa history, but the earliest of them is Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I, the father of Parântaka, who most probably ruled from 880 to 907 A. D. The Tiruvêlangâdu plates refer to his conquest of Toṇḍai Maṇḍalam (the Pallava country) in these terms: "Having conquered in battle the Pallava with his brilliant army though (he was) Aparâjita [which means literally 'the unconquered'] he took possession of his queen *the earth* and accomplished his object in this direction also." (Verse 49. See *Annual Report* of the Madras Epigraphist for 1906. Part II page 66). The epithet भुवं शासति would therefore be appropriate if applied to this king. Further, '**Aditya**' is **the name of the king** and not merely a component part which is the common factor of various compound names. Lastly, there are traditions which suggest to us that we should look in this direction for the patron of Sarvajña. The Sankarâchârya of Conjeeveram (the Kâma Kôti *pîṭha*) claims apostolic descent from Sarvajña. and I am told that the seat of the *Âchârya* in that *math* is styled सर्वज्ञ पीठ in the *Sankara-vijayas*. It seems scarcely likely that the *Maths* of modern times are of so early origin.[1] But if it be accepted that Sarvajña had some sort of connection with Conjeeveram it would appear natural[2] that he should extol the exploits of the Chôḷa king (probably his patron), who had conquered at least[3] the southern and western portions of the Pallava dominions. (The northern provinces were conquered by Parântaka only. See Madras Epigraphist's *Report* for 1912-13 page 94).

The initial year of Parântaka is 907 A. D. So Âditya, who ruled for 27 years, must have ruled between 880 and 907 If Sarvajña belonged to this period, Sankarâchârya who was his *Guru's Guru* must have lived in the **earlier half of the 9th century A. D.**

Traditions of the Keraḷa country point to the same conclusion. Sankarâchârya is believed to have introduced some peculiar customs among the Nambutiri Brahmans The date of their introduction is represented by the Kali reckoning of आचार्य वागभेद्य. This works up to 1434160 days after the beginning of the Kaliyuga, *i. e*, **825 A. D.** One school of Kêraḷa tradition holds that the **Kollam era** commemorates the introduction of these customs into Malabar. According to another school, the era commemorates the departure to Mecca of Cheraman Perumal, the last of the sovereigns of United Kêraḷa, who, we are told by Mr. Logan, (*Malabar* Vol. I. page 256), "died at Zaphir (in Arabia) where his tomb is still to be seen." According to the *Keralolpatti* this ruler was a contemporary of Sankarâchârya.

S. V. VENKATESVARAN.

Kumbakonam College, 16th Dec. 1913.

[1] The earliest epigraph which mentions the *Maṭha* of Sankarâchârya at Conjeeveram is probably the copper-plate of Vijayagaṇḍagôpâla, which I have sent for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. It belongs to 1291 A. D. The stone inscriptions of Tiruvânaikâval copied by the Archæological Survey in 1908 are useless for our purpose, as their dates are uncertain.

[2] Conjeeveram was already under the Chôḷas in the reign of Vijayâlaya, the father of Âditya I. His inscriptions have been discovered there. (See Madras Epigraphist's *Report* for 1909. Sec. 35).

[3] If the *Kongudêsa Râjâkkal* be believed, he was the conqueror of the Kongus as well, in which case the conquest must have been completed by Parântaka, who is known to have subdued the Kongus. The Chêra king was his friend and ally (*Ep. Rep.* 1912, p. 61) if not a dependent ally (*Ep. Rep.* 1911 p. 59). Âditya was the most powerful king of his time, as the Pâṇḍya power had been already crushed by the Pallava Aparâjita at a battle near Kumbakônam. (See Hultzsch: *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. II, p. 384).

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SOME HOBSON-JOBSONS.

ACH-TACON-SHIACTEMES-ALYMBEIUS - ALVANTE.—" As an instance of the absurd translations current in France as in England [in the seventeenth Century], the word **ach-tacon** may be mentioned. It is explained in [Sir John] Chardin's [traveller, 1643-1713] text to mean *les hôpitaux à Tauris : c'est à-dire lieux ou l'on fait profusion de vivres,* " [the hospitals at Tabrîz (in Persia): that is to say, places where they make lots of victuals]. Chardin's Editor remarks: "*La dernière partie de ce mot est inconnaisable, et je ne puis deviner quel mot Persan signifiant profusion a pu donne naissance à la corruption qu' on voit ici.*" [the last part of this word is beyond recognition, and I cannot guess what Persian word meaning 'profusion' can have given birth to the corruption which one sees here]. In other words the first syllable *ach* (*Anglice ash*) was understood in its common acceptance for 'food' or 'victuals,' but *tacon* was naturally a puzzle. The solution of the whole difficulty is however, to be found in the Turco-Persian خسته خانه *khastah khânah,* pronounced by Turks *hasta hona,* or more vulgarly **asta-khon**, and even to a French ear **ash-tacon,** a hospital, literally a sick house. This word is undoubtedly current at Tabrîz and throughout Northern Persia." *Sir Frederick Goldsmid in Encyc. Brit.* (XI Ed.) Vol. XXI, p. 230 footnote 6.

This note was drawn from the author by the corruption **Shiacthames** by the Venetian traveller Angiolello (16th Cent.) for **Shah Tahmasp,** the well-known second ruler of the Safavî Dynasty who reigned 52 years (1524-1576) and was the '**Great Sophie**' (**Sûfî=Safavî,** through Angiolello's **Sophi**) to whom Queen Elizabeth sent Anthony Jenkins as ambassador in 1651.

Sir Frederick Goldsmid also points out (p. 228) that the identity of a remarkable man of those days, the Ak-kûyûnlü, or White Sheep Standard, Turkish ruler of Persia (1468-1478) **Uzûn Ḥasan** (Long Ḥasan), was so lost by the corruptions, which his not very difficult name assumed in traveller's reports, that he has never received adequate justice at the hands of historians. Knolles Purchas (1575-1626) Caterino Zeno (late 15th Cent.), Sir Frederick says, called him so differently as **Alymbeius, Asembeius, Asembec, Assimbeo,** and **Ussan Cassano.** We can get at the corruptions, however, reading Alymbeius as a mistranscription for Asymbeius. The termination *beo, beius* similarly arise out of misreadings for *bec=beg.* So that all these words represent **Ḥasan Beg.** Ussan Cassano offers no difficulties as an Italianization of Uzûn Ḥasan.

Sir Frederick (*loc. cit.*), in describing the confused times between the death of *Uzûn Ḥasan* and the rise of Isma'il Safavî (1478-1499), says that Zeno's account is, he was succeeded by his son Ya'qûb (1478-1485), and Ya'qûb by a son **Allamur,** known also as **Alamût, Alvante, El-wand** and **Alwung Beg.** Allamur and Alâmût (a name made famous through the Assassins (Hashîshîn) of Alâmût, are obviously the same word, and as obviously Alwung Beg is the original form of Alvante and El-wand.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

JOANNES DE LAET ON INDIA AND SHAHJAHAN.

DE LAËT—*De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera; Commentarius e variis auctoribus congestus. Cum privilegio.* Lugduni Batavorum. Ex officina Elzeviriana. Anno CIC IO CXXXI.

The valuable little book published at Leyden in 1631 under the above title was brought prominently to the notice of students of Indian history and geography for the first time by the late E. Lethbridge. That gentleman published a disquisition, entitled 'Topography of the Mogul Empire' (*Calc. Rev.,* October 1870; Jan. 1871), which, as Mr. E. Thomas observed, 'traces with equal patience and ability the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter' of De Laët's book Mr. Lethbridge (in *Calc. Rev.* 1873) followed up that disquisition by a translation of another section of the book, namely, the *Fragmentum Historiæ Indicæ,* as far as it relates to the reigns of Humâyûn and Akbar, promising to complete the version. But, for some reason or other, the task was never completed.

Since 1873, other writers have referred occasionally to De Laët's testimony, without making full use of his small volume. My studies having lately led me to examine it closely, I hope to find opportunities for publishing the results of my investigations, so far as they concern the reign of Akbar. At present I desire, in the first place, to draw attention to a discovery made by me, namely,

that **the book exists in two issues, impressions, or editions, both bearing the same date, 1631.** The discovery was made accidentally while comparing a copy bought from a bookseller, with one borrowed from the India Office Library, and finding that the volumes differed. In future, whenever De. Laët's book is quoted, it will be necessary to specify which of the two issues is referred to, because the pagination differs. The India Office Library possesses a copy of each, but the Bodleian has the second issue only.

I have now before me (I) The India Office copy (shelf-mark, 45 a, 18) of issue 1, and my own copy (II) of issue 2.

Both issues have the same engraved title-page and generally agree, but exhibit the following differences.

I has 299 pages, excluding the index, while II has only 285 pages of text. The saving of space in the later impression was obtained by better printing, not by omission of matter. For instance, the table of contents, which occupies more than two pages in I, is printed much more neatly on a single page in II.

The Fragmentum Historiæ Indicæ in I extends from p. 172 to p. 291, ending with the words :— *Haec gesta fuere usque ad finem anni CIO IOO XXVIII*, that is to say : ' These events happened up to the end of the year 1628. '

In II, the *Fragmentum* extends from p, 165 to 278, and after the words cited, two new sentences are inserted as follows:—

' *Voluit hic monarcha post illa appellari Sultan-Scha-Bedin Mahumet. Et tot suorum cædibus addidit et incestum : nam dilectissima conjuge ipso coronationis suae die defuncta, sumsit sibi conjugem filiam suam è defuncta illa ;*' or in English :—

' After those events this monarch wished to be known as Sultân Shihâb-ud-dîn Muhammad. And to so many murders of his relatives he added incest also; for, when his beloved wife had died on the very day of his coronation, he took to himself as wife his own daughter by that dead woman.[1] '

The beloved wife of Shâhjahân, named Arjumand Bânô Bêgam, and entitled Mumtâz Maḥal, or in current speech, Tâj Mahâl or Tâj Bîbî, died on July 7, A. D. 1631, old style, equivalent to Zil-ḥijja, 17, A. H. 1040. Her death cannot have been known in Europe earlier than the end of 1631, and the second issue of De Laet's book, consequently, cannot have been printed before 1632, although, like the first issue, it bears the date of 1631. Probably the first issue had sold out quickly, and the publishers, having resolved to reprint the book in an improved style, added the story about the alleged incest as soon as they received it from India. There can be hardly any doubt that the second impression containing that addition must have been printed in 1632 or 1633, and not later. If its printing had been delayed longer, the date on the title-page presumably would have been altered, and other editorial insertions would have been made. Both impressions as they stand carry the narrative professedly only to the end of 1628, although the second impression, without giving a new date, inserts the scandalous statement implying a knowledge of the happening of 1631.

Joannes, or John De Laët, a learned and copious author, died in 1649. Several of his books on various subjects are in the Bodleian Library. In his preface to the ' Description of India ' he informs his readers that he has taken scrupulous pains (*mihi religio fuit)* to follow only the best and most trustworthy authorities, English and Dutch. Among the English authorities he names specially Sir Thomas Roe and Purchas He also used the work of Peter Texeira, the Portuguese.

The ' **Fragment of Indian History** ' was kindly contributed by a gentleman of distinction, Peter van den Broecke, who resided for several years at Sûrat and faithfully administered the business of the Dutch East India Company. He was at Sûrat in 1620, and later.

The book, although scarce, and rather difficult to procure, is not all so rare as Lethbridge supposed it to be. The India Office Library, as already observed, possesses both issues; the Bodleian Library and I have each a copy of the second issue, and the late Mr. Sidney J. Owen had a copy, but I did not note the issue to which it belonged when I examined his library after his death. Lethbridge mentions the existence of a copy in Calcutta, and, no doubt, the work is to be found in the British Museum and various other libraries. It appears occasionally in the catalogues of second-hand booksellers, priced ten shillings. I got my copy for half that sum.

So far the paragraph inserted in the second impression of De. Laët's book has been dealt with

[1] I cannot explain the origin of the statement '*ipso coronationis suae* die." Jahângîr died October, 28, 1627, and his son Shâhjahân ascended the throne at Agra on February 6, 1628; whereas Mumtâz Mahal died on July 7, 1631 (*Bâdshâh-Nâma*, in E. & D., VII, 5, 6, 27).

from a bibliographical point of view. The substance of the inserted passage also deserves consideration because it raises **the question as to the truth of the allegation that Shâhjahân was guilty of incest with his daughter.** De Laët's statement, which is of the most positive kind, intensifies the horror of the story as current in later times by asserting that the criminal relations between the pair began immediately after the death of Mumtâz Mahal, the mother of the princess. Inasmuch as Mumtâz Mahal died in July, 1631, and the second impression of De Laët's book probably was published in 1632, the crime, if real, must have been committed immediately after the queen's death. Moreover, the alleged fact was so notorious that it became known at once in distant Sûrat and was thence reported to Europe as ascertained truth. The Dutch author must have obtained his new information as he obtained the earlier history, from correspondents in the Dutch Factory at Sûrat. De Laët's testimony is the earliest mention of the alleged incest and possesses special importance on account of its early date. Although the subject is an unpleasant one, the evidence deserves critical examination in the interests of historical truth.

The Statement of the case by Mr. Talboys Wheeler will serve as a basis for the discussion. He wrote in his text:—' Shâh Jahân had a daughter by Tâj Mahal; she was known as Bêgum Sâhib; he made the Bêgum Sâhib his mistress.' The appended note runs:—'The relations between Shâh Jahân and the Bêgum Sâhib are too notorious to be denied; they are mentioned by all contemporary writers; the fact is broadly stated by Herbert Bernier, Tavernier, and the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*. Manouchi tries to discredit it, probably on the authority of the Moghul chronicle which would take some pains to contradict the charge. The fact, however, is too apparent. It not only finds expression in the history; it is the key to the history'.[2]

The context indicates that Wheeler considered the enormous value of the gifts bestowed on Bêgam Sâhib by her father, and the excessive influence enjoyed by her to be evidence of the unlawful relation. He attributed the undoubted corruption of the administration in Shâhjahân's reign to the 'foul conditions' under which it existed, one of those conditions being the criminal intercourse between father and daughter. If we are to believe De Laët whose testimony has been quoted, the unlawful relation with its evil consequences, had existed from 1631 or 1632. Shâhjahân was not deposed until June 1658, when Bêgam Sâhib was forty-four years of age. By that time it may be presumed that the guilty connection, if real, had come to an end.

The evidence as far as I can ascertain, is wholly that of European writers, unless the note to the *Siyâr-ul-Mutâkharîn* be considered an exception. De Lâet, about 1632, is the earliest witness. After him comes **Sir Thomas Herbert**, whose travels lasted from 1626 to 1629. He was at Sûrat when, as he writes in the first edition (p 29), ' wee had certaine report of Sultan Curroone's [*scil.* Khurram's] coronation at Agra, 1627. In joy of which, the English Merchant Ships, then in Swally rode, shot off two hundred peeces of greet Ordnance.' Herbert never travelled in the interior of India. He spent all the time he was in the country either at Sûrat or in the vicinity.

His interesting book passed through four editions in his life-time, the last and best, of which I possess a copy, being issued in 1677. I have examined the first and second editions in the Bodleian Library, but have not seen the third. The omission is immaterial so far as my present purpose is concerned.

Herbert returned to England in 1629, being then a young man 23 years of age, and set himself to work at the preparation of an account of his travels. The first edition, published in 1634, has two title-pages. The first, with engraved figures of 'A Coozel-bash' [Kizil-bash], etc., gives the name of the book as *A description of the Persian Monarchy now being the Orientall Indies Iles, and other parts of the Greater Asia and Africk.* The second title-page designates the volume as *A Relation of some Yeares Travaile, begunne Anno 1626 into Afrique and the greater Asia*, etc., etc.

[2] *The History of India*, Vol. IV, Part I (1876), p. 264. The decorous allusion to the scandal attributed by Wheeler to 'the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*' will be found on p. 340 of Vol. III of the rare quarto translation (1789). The text states:—'In vain did his beloved daughter implore at his death-bed his forgiveness for her brother Aoreng-zib.' The appended note 15 runs thus:—'The Princess (Roshen-ara Bêgum, *idest*, Princess Roxana, "luminous" or "beautiful") . . . chose to shut herself up with her father upon whose heart it is universally reported and believed her person had made the deepest impression.' The note, which probably is from the pen of the translator, confounds Rôshanâra (or more correctly, Rôshan Râe) Bêgam, the ally of Aurangzêb, with her elder sister Jahânârâ, entitled Bêgam Sâhib or Pâdshâh Bêgam, who supported Dârâ Shukoh, and remained with her father. Wheeler exaggerates when he says that the scandal is mentioned by 'all contemporary writers.' The authorities in the Persian language seem to ignore it.

The series of atrocious crimes by which Shâhjahân (Khurram) had cleared his way to the throne is narrated on pp. 30-35, and summed up as 'the murther of Father, three Brothers, three Nephewes, and two Cozen Germans. Since which, his Queene (Assaph Chawn's Daughter) died, and he hath taken his own daughter to be his wife. These crying sinnes have apparently drawne down God's heavy judgments upon those Countries; by those immediate and late Plagues of Pestilence and Famine, never heard of the like in those parts before, the Sworde will doubtless follow in God's appointed time. For he will have glory by punishing those from whom he cannot have glory. And *Curroon* (or *Shaw Iehan*) is not yet sensible of those castigations.'

Herbert, like De Laët, evidently kept up communication with India, most probably with Sûrat, and continued to be informed of events which had happened since he came home. There is nothing in the wording of the passage cited from the 1st edition to suggest indebtedness to De Laet's book.

The second edition, entitled *Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique*, etc., etc., revised and enlarged by the Author, appeared in 1638, with an expanded version of the Mughal history. On p. 105 we are told of the death of Jahângîr, '(suspected of poison) the twelfth of October or *Ardabehish*, in the yeare of our accompt 1627 and of the Hegira 1007.'[3]

Page 107 gives details of the murder of eight princes, relatives of Shâhjahân, all of whom were 'without any respect buried in a garden in Lahore, near the entrayls of Jangheer; but their heads (as an assurance of their death) sent to *Curroon*, to glut his eyes (by so horrid a Spectacle) with infernall ambition.'

On the same page the author proceeds :—'Thus has Curroon (through a sea of blood) attayned the highest post and dignity of the eastern world . . . . . but these sinnes he makes nothing of, have apparently in these our times drawn down the heavy Judgments of God Almighty, both, in taking his beloved wife away the week of his inauguration, since when he has made his daughter (by that dead Lady) his wife: incest of so high a nature that that yeare [1634 in margin] his whole empire was so wounded with God's arrowes of plague, pestilence and famine, this thousand yeares before never so terrible. The sword also seems to threaten him,' etc.

This passage clearly shows that the author had perused De Laet's second impression, which, consequently, cannot be dated later than 1634. The words 'by that dead Lady,' in particular, are obviously a translation of De Laët's 'e defuncta illa.'

The whole passage, with some slight verbal changes, is repeated in the fourth edition of 1677, p. 99.

I conclude, therefore, that in 1633 or 1634 Herbert heard of the scandal independently of De Laet's book, although in all probability he obtained his information from Sûrat, as the Dutch author did. Between 1634 and 1638 Herbert evidently saw the second impression of De Laët's book, and borrowed its language, which he continued to use in later editions. He never quotes his authorities, but there are other indications that he was familiar with De Laët's work, which in 1638 was the best available book on the subject of the Mughal history.

The scandal is referred to by **Bernier**, who was in India from 1659 to 1667, by **Tavernier**, whose Indian travels extended from 1640 to 1667, by the Dutch author, **Valentyn**, whose book was published in 1726, and by **Manucci** (1653-1708). The author last named discredits the accusation.

Bernier writes:—'*Bêgum-Sâheb*, the elder daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, was very handsome, of lively parts, and passionately beloved by her father. Rumour has it that his attachment reached a point which it is difficult to believe, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the *Mullahs*, or doctors of their law. According to them, it would have been unjust to deny the King the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted.'

Mr. Constable appends the note:—'This statement is repeated by Valentyn, in his *Beschryving* . . . . . *van de Levens der Groote Moguls*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1726, in these words :—"*Bêgum Saheb*, die om haare schonheit van haaren Vader zer, ja te veel, bemind wierd;" that is to say:— 'Bêgam Sâhib, who, on account of her beauty was

[3] The Hijra year was 1037, for which 1007 is a misprint. According to the *Bâdshâh-Nâma* (E. 2 D., VII, 5), the date was Safar 28=Oct. 28. Such differences in dating are met with constantly in the authorities.

greatly, nay, too well beloved by her father.'[4] That vogue statement, probably, is merely an echo of Bernier, without independent value.

The evidence of **Tavernier**, such as it is, appears to be based upon rumours heard by him, personally, and not derived from Bernier. After relating the death of Shâhjahân in 1666, Tavernier proceeds:—'As soon as Aurangzeb had news of it he came to Agra and seized all the jewels of the late king his father, which he had not touched during his life. Bêgum Sâhib also had a quantity of precious stones, which he had not taken from her when he placed her in the fortress, being at that time satisfied with securing the gold and silver with which her chests were full. These jewels afforded certain evidence to Aurangzeb's sense of propriety, as for other reasons the Princess, his sister, had already been suspected of having had improper relations with Shâhjahân, and he found means to obtain them which appeared honest and far from criminal, by treating the Bêgum Sâhib with much honour and attention; but he removed her to Jahânâbâd [*scil* Delhi], and I saw the elephant pass upon which she was mounted when she left Agra with the court, as I was entering it on my return from Bengal. In a short time after, news was spread of the death of this Princess, and all the world believed that it had been hastened by poison'.[5]

As a matter of fact, Bêgam Sâhib did not die until Sept. 16. 1681 (Ramzân 3, A. H. 1092), as stated by Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, *II*, 256 *n.*, quoting the *Târîkh-i-Muhammadî*. She was then an old woman of 67, and the story about her being poisoned is ridiculous.[6]

Manucci states that the first daughter whom Shâhjahân had was 'Begom Saeb (Begam Sâhib), the eldest of all, whom her father loved to an extraordinary degree, as most lovely, discreet, loving, generous, open-minded, and charitable. She was loved by all, and lived in state and magnificence . . . . She exerted herself a great deal to secure the throne to her brother Dârâ; this was due to her eagerness to marry, Dârâ having promised to give his consent as soon as he was crowned. With this end in view, she employed all her cleverness and energy to satisfy her father, she served him with the greatest love and diligence in order that Shâhjahân should accede to her petitions. It was from this cause that the common people hinted that she had intercourse with her father, and this has given occasion to Monsieur Bernier to write many things about this princess, founded entirely on the talk of low people. Therefore, it is incumbent on me, begging his pardon, to say that what he writes is untrue'.[7]

The foregoing extracts give, so far as I can ascertain, the whole of the evidence concerning the disgraceful charge against Shâhjahân and his daughter. Little weight need be attached to the rumours repeated by Bernier, Tavernier, and Valentyn. As against them, if they stood alone, the contradiction by Manucci might perhaps be accepted as a sufficient counterpoise. But the extremely positive assertion of De Laët stands on a different footing. It was published, as has been shown, most probably in 1632, and certainly not later than 1634, during the lifetime of Shâhjahân, who did not die until 1666. The accusation as set forth in De Laët's pages is peculiarly horrible, because it represents Shâhjahân as forming the incestuous connexion with his daughter immediately after the death of her mother, who had borne him thirteen other children and beyond doubt was ardently loved by him, as her unique monument testifies to this day. Although it is undeniable that Shâhjahân was excessively devoted to sensual pleasures, and there is reason to believe that his daughter engaged in various illicit amours, it seems almost incredible at first sight that both father and daughter could have been so utterly depraved as they are alleged to have been. Yet similar practices prevail, or prevailed a few years ago, among the puritan Boers of South Africa, who are said to have adduced scriptural warrant for their conduct, just as Shâhjahân, according to Bernier, found Mullahs complaisant enough to provide an excuse for him.

My conclusion is that the unpleasant accusation against Shâhjahân and his daughter, even if it be

[4] Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable (1891), p. 11. Bernier goes on to relate two stories of amours of the princess, both ending in tragedy. Manucci, while expressing disbelief in Bernier's stories, gives others of his own, equally scandalous.

[5] Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. V. Ball (1891) I. p. 344.

[6] De Thevenot has the same story that Bêgam Sâhib's death was hastened by poison (English transl., 1686, Part III, p. 35). Although he censures the crimes by which Shâhjahân cleared his way to the throne this author does not mention the accusation of incest.

[7] Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, 216.

not conclusively proved, certainly is not disproved. Although it may be reasonably regarded as improbable, it cannot be dismissed summarily as incredible I should like to treat the scandal as a product of the prurient imagination of a corrupt court and credulous populace. All officials of long experience know that the people of India, even to this day, are prepared to believe the most fantastic stories concerning their rulers' imaginary crimes. Decent Christian, British gentlemen are often credited with atrocious iniquities, such as kidnapping and murdering victims in order to place their bodies under the foundations of bridges. In an atmosphere of that kind the exceptionally affectionate relations between Shâhjahân and his daughter, which certainly existed, would readily afford occasion for the most malignant possible interpretation. The informants of De Laët, whoever they may have been, no doubt believed the scandal current in India, and it is evident that their report was accepted by both De Laët and Herbert in good faith and with conviction. The strangest part of the business is that the scandal should have become current so soon after the death of Mumtâz Mahal, and should have reached so quickly the ears of the Dutch merchants at Sûrat, who personally transmitted the story to Europe. That wide and early diffusion of the story undoubtedly supports the view of those, who like Wheeler, are convinced of the truth of the accusation. **Shâhjahân** had a very evil nature, and was utterly devoid of scruple. He has received from modern historians, except Wheeler, treatment much more lenient than he merited. Tavernier's ill-deserved certificate that he was as 'a father of his people' was thoughtlessly adopted by Elphinstone, and so has passed into an article of faith.[8] In reality, I believe, Shâhjahân was in character far inferior to his son Aurangzêb, and was guilty of atrocities not less than his to gain the throne. He equalled his father Jahângîr in cruelty and excelled him in beastly sensuality, nor did he succeed in securing good government by the capricious ferocity which his flatterers extol as his justice. The beauty and magnificence of the Tâj and other architectural works on which he lavished the countless riches wrung from the suffering people have blinded the critical judgment of recent historians. The European authors of the seventeenth century who unsparingly denounced the many crimes o Shâhjahân formed a judgment of his character much nearer the truth than that made current by the authority of Elphinstone. It is not unreasonable to hold that Tavernier's exceptionably favourable opinion may have been biassed by the fact that Shâhjahân was a good customer for his jewels. The more I study Shâhjahân the less estimable he appears, and I regret that it is impossible to feel assured that he was incapable of the disgusting offence charged against him by De Laët, Herbert, and later writers. In such a case conclusive evidence is not to be had, and different people may legitimately form divergent opinions concerning the value of the existing testimony as fully set forth in this article.

Although that evidence must have been known more or less completely to **Mr. Beale,** and his editor **Mr. Keene,** the second edition of the **Oriental Biographical Dictionary (1894) treats Jâhânârâ Bêgam (Bêgam Sâhib) as a saint.** We are told that 'the name of Jahân Ârâ will ever adorn the pages of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when we view it in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roshan Ârâ, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurangzêb, enabled him to dethrone Shâhjahân. The amiable and accomplished Jahân Ârâ not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his imprisonment in the fort of Âgra. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet with a Persian inscription inlaid in black marble letters, to the following effect :—"Let no one scatter over my grave anything but verdure, for such best becomes the sepulchre of one who had a humble mind." On the margin is written :—"The perishable faqîr Jahân Ârâ Bêgam, daughter of Shâh Jahân, and the disciple of the saints of Chisht, died in the year of the Hijra, A. H. 1092." '

Whoever will, may believe that charming version of the relations between Shâhjahân and his favourite daughter.

[I have used de Laët's book (India Office copy) and Lethbridge's Ed. extensively in editing Vol. II, of Peter Mundy's *Travels* for the Hukluyt Society, issued for 1914. Mundy was in Agra in 1630-1633, and tells the story of Shah Jahan's alleged incest, but attributes it to his third *daughter*, "Chimini Beagum," who died in 1616.—R. C. TEMPLE].

VINCENT A. SMITH.

[8] 'This great monarch reigned more than forty years, less as a king over his subjects than as a father of his family over his house and children' (Tavernier, *Travels*, transl. Ball. I, 325).

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p. 216.*)

(1) *kanhaĩ* is identical with the postposition of the dative, the origin of which has been given § 71, (1). The ablative meaning of this postposition, however, is not to be explained as having derived from the dative, but it has a separate origin, it having derived directly from the locative, which was the original meaning of *kanhaĩ*. The passing of the locative meaning into the ablative is quite natural, and it is well illustrated by the example of the cognate locative *apikarṇe*,which occurs in the *Ṛgveda* both in the original sense of "Behind" and in that of "From behind." In the Old Western Râjasthânî *kanhaĩ* is used to give the idea of the ablative, in connection with verbs of asking, begging, hearing and obtaining. Examples are :

Caturaka-kanhi pûchaï vana-dhaṇî "The king of the forest asks Caturaka" (P. 585),

Indra mâgai Jina-kanhai dakṣiṇâ e "Indra begs this gift from the Jina" (Ṛ. 131),

maĩ çrî-Mahâvîra-kanhaĩ sãbhaliü "I heard from the reverend Mahâvîra" (Daç. iv),

Vajrasena-tîrthaṃkara-kanhaï sagale dîkṣâ lîdhî "All received the *dîkṣâ* at the hands of the *tirthaṃkara* Vajrasena" (Âdi C.).

In the last mentioned MS. one instance also occurs of *kanhã*, an ablative from the same base, of which *kanhaĩ* is the locative :

bhagavanta-kanhã dîkṣâ divarâvî "He caused the Venerable one to give him the *dîkṣâ*."

Many other instances of *kanhã* occur in the Old Jaipurî of the MS. *F 760*. It is to *kanhã* that I trace the accusative-dative postposition *nâ* (possibly for *nã*), which Kellogg ascribes to the Western Hindî (*Hindî Grammar*, § 173), and which is very frequent in the Mârwâṛî of the *Nâsaketa-rî kathâ*.

(2) *taü* (*tu*), in my opinion, is a curtailment from *hataü*, the equivalent form of *hũtaü* < Ap. *hontaü* < Skt. *bhavantakaḥ*. A good evidence in favour of my identification is *P 681*, where an instance occurs of *taü* used in the original verbal meaning of *hataü* "Being > was" (See § 113). It is therefore the present participle of the substantive verb, that is used absolutely in the masculine singular as a postposition of the ablative. The employment of the present participle *hontaü* to form the ablative was frequent enough in Apabhraṃça, as is born out by the following two quotations by Hemacandra :

jahã hontao âgado "Whence [he is] come" (*Siddh.*, iv, 355),

tumhahã hontaü âgado "[He is] come from you" (*Siddh.*, iv, 373).

Whether the Prakrit ablative termination-*hiṃto* stays also for *honto*, as suggested by Dr. Hoernle (*Comparative Grammar*, § 376), it is difficult to decide. Anyhow it is certain that the Old Western Râjasthânî inherited from the Apabhraṃça the practice of employing the present participle of the substantive verb to make the ablative, and made a large use of it, both under the original form *hũtaü* and under its derivates *thaü* and *taü*. Examples of ablatives with *taü* are the following :

devâlâ -tu pâchaü valiu hũtu "Being returned from the temple" (Yog. iii, 127),

teha kâraṇa -taü "From that cause" (Kal. 6),

păkhiyâ diçi diçi-taü âvyâ " Birds [that are] come from every quarter " (Âdi. 12),

mârga-tu bâhiri nîkalaĩ " Steps out of the way " (Daç. i, 10),

saṃsâra-taü âpaṇaü jîva mũkâviu chaĩ " [By them] their own soul has been liberated from the *saṃsâra* " (Daç. iii, 1),

teha-taü jîva tîvra dukkha pâmaĩ " Therefrom the individuals reap sharp pain " (Ṣaṣṭ. 10).

Of *taü* inflected in the locative, as is the case with *hũtaü* and *thaü*, no instances occur in Old Western Râjasthânî. But they occur in some of the cognate vernaculars and chiefly in Western Hindî, where we have for the ablative the postposition *te, tẽ*, from **tahĩ* < Ap. **hontahĩ.*

(3) *thaü* may be also explained as a curtailment of *hataü*, the present participle of the substantive verb. That initial *h* was capable of being thrown after the following consonant, when a dissyllable word was curtailed into a monosyllable one, is evidenced by Mârwâṛî *vhai* < *huvai*. An other explanation of *thaü* had formerly occurred to my mind, and it is that it might be a curtailment from *thăyaü*, the past participle of the verb *thâvaũ* " To be or become ." In favour of the latter derivation there would be the analogy of the ablative postposition *thî*, which likewise might be explained as a contraction of *thăî*, the conjunctive participle from *thâvaũ*, and all the more so as *Ṛṣ*. 51 one instance occurs of *thaî* for *thî*. But the former derivation is supported by the analogy of the imperfect tense of the substantive verb, which in the Old Western Râjasthânî has the same origin as some of the so-called postpositions of the ablative, both being formed from the present participle. Now, *P.* 70 one instance occurs of *thaü* being used for the imperfect of the substantive verb, in the place of the regular form *hataü*, and at the present day the form *tho* (for *hato*) is found in many dialects of the Râjasthânî and in Kanaujî, where it is used by the side of *hato* (Cf. § 113).

Ablatives with *thaü* are rare rather in Old Western Râjasthânî, much in the same way as are rare periphrastic imperfects with *thaü*. I have noted the two following :

te kihã -thaü âviu " Whence has he come ? " (P. 409),

hã -thaü jâu " Go away from here ! " (P. 427).

Notice that in both the examples above *thaü* is used after pronominal ablatives, thereby perfectly coinciding with the employment of *hontaü* in all the three Apabhraṃça quotations by Hemacandra, *sûtra* iv, 355 of his Prakrit Grammar. Another testimony to the *thaü* being a participial form is in the following passage from the MS. *Up.*, where *thaü* is inflected in the nominative plural :

tihã -thyâ cyavì Vajranâbha guru-nâ jîva çrî-Âdinâtha hûâ " Therefrom having fallen, the soul of the *guru* Vajranâbha was re-born as the Reverend Âdinâtha " (Up. 68).

(4) *thakaü*, (*thaku, thâkaü, thikaü thiku*) is from *thâkiu, thăkiu*, the past participle of *thâkaĩ, thăkaĩ* < Ap. * *thakkaĩ, thakkei* (Hc., iv, 16, 370, 3) < Skt. * *sthakyati* (Pischel, § 488). The form *thikaü* is to be regarded as the intermediate between **thakiu* and *thakaü*, and it has derived from the former through metathesis of *i* (See § 50). No doubt—as it may be also gathered from the analogy of Sanskrit *sthitaḥ*—the common meaning of Apabhraṃça *thakkiu*, when used attributively, was practically that of a present participle ("Staying"),and so there is nothing irregular in its being employed in Old Western Râjasthânî as an equivalent of *hũtaü*, to form the ablative. That Old Western Râjasthânî *thakaü* is equivalent with the latter is also born out by the fact that both of them may be optionally added after participles used adjectively(See §§. 122, 129). In the examples I have seen, *thakaü* occurs either in the masculine or

in the neuter singular form, and the noun governed by it is not unfrequently put in the locative case. Ex.:

pâchali thakaü "From behind" (Çrâ.),

bâra varasa-thâkaü "For twelve years" (Up. 31),

na visaraï te mujha mani thikaũ "She does not slip from my mind" (P. 338),

hũ sahi yuddha karaũ bala-thikaũ "I will certainly fight with strength" (P. 501),

jâ âhã-thikaü "Go away from here!" (P. 641).

(5) *thaki* is but the contracted form of **thakii*, the locative (absolute) from **thakiu* (*thakau*). and is therefore practically identical with the conjunctive participle of *thâkavaũ* (See § 131). It is employed in the same way as *thakaü*, namely both after the locative and after the genitive, only it is more common than the latter postposition and its use becomes larger and larger by the subsequent development of the language. Ex.:

nabha-thakî nicaü ûtaryaü "He came down from the sky" (F 783, 52),

te nagara-mã thakî .... âviu "He came from that city" (P. 293),

e dukha -thakî mujha marana âvaï "From this distress death comes to me" (Rṣ. 192).

For examples of *thakî* being employed to form comparatives see § 79.

(6) *thî* bears to *thaü* the same relation as *thaki* to *thakaü*, *i.e.*, it is a contraction from **hatiï* (< *hataï*) the locative absolute of the present participle of the substantive verb. An evidence in favour of the above derivation is afforded by the MS. *F778*, where, a few lines before the end, an instance occurs of *thaĩ* (<*hataĩ*) for *thî*. There is, however, an other explanation possible of *thî*, which has been already alluded to above, and it consists in deriving *thî* from *thaî* the conjunctive participle of *thâvaũ*. Those, who prefer to hold to the latter explanation, may derive an argument in their favour from *Rs*. 51, where *thaî* seems to be used as a postposition of the ablative instead of ordinary *thî*. The passage in question is:

Uttarâṣâḍhi nakṣatri thaî "From the Uttarâṣâḍha *nakṣatra*".

In my opinion the employment of a conjunctive participle like *thaî* after a locative to give the idea of the ablative is so natural that it can well be explained without assuming it to be identical with the ordinary ablative postposition *thî*. In the following passage from Banârasî Dâsa's *Paramajyotistotra*, 7:

âvaï pavana padama- sari hoya "The wind [which] is coming from the lotus-lake (<after having been in the lotus-lake)",

we have an Old Braja ablative formed exactly in the same way as Old Western Râjasthânî *nakṣatri thaî*. Cf. also the ablative with *dekhi*, which is peculiar to Naipâlî, and is likewise formed from nouns in the locative (See Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar*, § 376). In Old Western Râjasthânî *thî* is used in the same way as *thaü*, *viz.* both with the locative (including ablative-locative) and with the genitive. Ex.:

kihã thî "Whence?" (P. 136),

tujha kanhaï thî "From thy presence" (P. 303),

huḍa -siri vici thî mûu siâla "From [having put himself] between the heads of the [two] goats, the jackal died" (P. 290),

tujha-thî dukha pãmaũ pani hũa "From thee I derive distress" (P. 641),

vâdala -thî .... ravi nîkalyaü "The sun came out from the cloud" (F 535, ii, 2),

vana- mâhi thî "From inside the forest" (Âdi C.)

(7) *pâsaĩ* is identical with the locative postposition, for which see § 74, (3). It is used for the ablative in connection with verbs of asking, begging, etc., much in the same way as *kanhaĩ*, which has been discussed above. Ex.:

Rukamaṇî râṇî aṅgaja mâgaĩ | âpaṇâ priya-naĩ pâsaĩ re | " The queen Rukmiṇî demands [her] son from her beloved " (F 783, 64),

pûchi eka-pâsi " They ask someone " (Çâl. 87).

(8) *pâhĩ* (*pâhi*) has long been recognized as a locative from Apabhraṃça *pakkhe* or *pakkhi* < Skt. *pakṣe*. In Old Western Râjasthânî it takes the meaning of the ablative, when used in the formation of the comparative. In the MS. *Ṣaṣṭ*. two instances occur of *pâhanti*, which is possibly from Apabhraṃça *pakkhante* < Skt. *pakṣânte*, and is equivalent with *pâhĩ* both in meaning and employment. An example of the use of *pâhĩ* as an ablative postposition is :

indrajâla-pâhĩ capala " Unsteadier than magical illusion " (Indr. 86).

For other examples see § 79.

(9) *lagaï* and *lagî* are both from the Apabhraṃça participial locative *laggahĩ* < Skt. * *lagnasmin* (=*lagne*), the former having remained uncontracted and the latter having firstly changed ° *aï* to ° *ii* and then to ° *î* (See § 10, (3)). For the shortening of the vowel in the initial syllable accounts § 43. When not used in the function of a postposition, the past participle *lâgaü* retains its long vowel, as shown by the example quoted § 126, (4). These two post positions are used to denote : (*a*) " Up to ", (*b*) " From", (*c*) " In consequence of ". In the two former cases they often require the noun, wherewith they are connected, to be in the locative. Ex. :

eka joaṇa-lagaï câlî rahyaü " After having gone as far as a *yojana*, he stopped" (Âdi. C.)

eka-[sahasa] varasa-lagaï " Up to [the end of] one thousand years " (*Ibid.*),

dhuri lagaï " From the beginning " (Vi. 132),

tãhĩ lagaï vigraha - ârambha " Hence the beginning of the war " (Kânh. 13),

te pâpa-lagî Jina-dharma gâḍhaũ dukkara hui " In consequence of that sin, the religion of the Jina becomes very difficult [to be attained] " (Ṣaṣṭ. 11),

karma-kṣaya-lagî mokṣa hui " In consequence of the destruction of the actions, final emancipation is produced " (Yog. iv, 113).

(10) *hũtaü* (*hũtaü*) needs no further explanation, after what has been remarked with reference to its derivatives *taü* and *thaü* above. It is plain that it is identical with the present participle *hontaü*, which already in Apabhraṃça was employed to form ablatives, as evidenced by the instances found Hc., iv, 355, 373. Examples of the use of *hũtaü* have been preserved only in the MS. *Ṣaṣṭ*. :

maraṇa-hũtaü râkhiu " Saved from death " (Ṣaṣṭ. 4),

dharma-hũtâ na vâlaĩ " They do not turn away from religion " (Ṣaṣṭ. 30),

je saṃsâra-hũtâ bîhatâ nathî " [Those] who are not afraid of wordly existence " (Ṣaṣṭ. 60).

(11) *hũtî* (*hũtî*) is contracted from *hũtaï* (> *hũtii*), the locative form of *hũtaü*. It is commoner than the latter, as indeed all locative absolute forms of the ablative postpositions are commoner than the forms in the direct. In Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî it is only the locative forms that have survived. Examples of *hũtî* are :

karma-kṣaya âtma-jñâna-hũtî hui " Destruction of *karman* is produced from the knowledge of the *âtman* " (Yog. iv., 113),

doṣa-hũtî viramaï " Desists from vice " (Indr. 97),

amhã-hî-hũtî bhûkhî " Even hungrier than we " (Adi C.)

§ 73. The **Postpositions of the genitive** are generally old adjectives and agree in number and gender with the noun, on which they are depending.

(1) *kaü* (*ku*) is very rarely met with in Old Western Râjasthânî, where, it being mostly confined to poetry, it may be possibly explained as having been borrowed from the Old Braja of the East. It is from Apabhraṃça *kaü* <Skt. *kṛtaḥ*, as it has long been recognized. Ex. :

Deva-kaï pâṭaṇi " In the city of the God (*viz.* Somanâthapaṭṭana) " (Kânh. 78, 86),

moha-kî nidrà " The slumber of delusion " (Ja. 19).

(2) *keraü* is identical with Apabhraṃça *keraü* (Hc., iv, 422, 20) < Skt. **kâryakaḥ* (Pischel, § 176). It is pretty frequent in poetry. Ex. :

jâṇe Girivara-keraü çṛiga " [So high] as the top of mount Meru " (F 591, ii, 3),

tũ kaviyaṇa-jaṇa-kerî mâyâ " Thou art the mother of poets " (F 715, i, 3),

kahisu carita Nemîsara-keḍũ " I will sing the life of Nemîçvara " (F 715, i, 14) [For *keḍũ* see § 29],

nahî para-kerî re âsa " There is no hope from anywhere else " (F 722, 32),

tribhuvana-kerâ nâtha " Lord (plural *majestatis*) of the three worlds " (Ṛṣ. 158).

(3) *caü* appears to be only exceptionally used in the MSS. I have seen. The only example I have noted is :

hũ sevũ sahi tuma-câ pâya " I sincerely worship your feet " (F 722, 4).

Sundry instances thereof are, however, found in the *Vasantavilâsa* (Saṃvat 1508), according to Mr. H. H. Dhruva's description in *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. i, p. 327. It is clear that the use of the *caü* postposition must have been confined to the tract of Rajputana bordering with the Old Marâṭhî area. The origin of this postposition is, I believe, to be traced to Apabhraṃça * *kiccaü* < Skt. *kṛtyakaḥ*, as already suggested by Dr. Konow and Sir George Grierson (*On Certain Suffixes in the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen, 1903, p. 490).

(4) *taṇaü* is identical with Apabhraṃça *taṇaü* (Hc., iv, 422, 20), and since the time of Mr. Beames has been explained as having originated from the Sanskrit affix *-tana*, which is used to form adverbial adjectives. I do not think, however, that the above explanation is right. The chief objection that can be made thereto is still that which already occurred to the Rev. S. H. Kellogg, namely that in view of the fact that postpositions generally are separate nouns or adjectives, the derivation of a postposition from an affix would be an unprecedented exception to the general rule. Sir George Grierson has very ingeniously tried to remove the difficulty by the remark that even in Sanskrit *-tana* can be attached to an oblique case, as in *agre-tana, aiṣamas-tana, pûrvâhṇe-tana*, etc. (*On Certain Suffixes*, etc., p. 489), but this does away with the difficulty only apparently, for, if one looks more inside the question, one will see that in the above examples the suffix *-tana* is not added because of the *agre*, etc., being in an oblique case, but simply in consequence of their having assumed an adverbial meaning. It is clear that when *-tana* was added to *agre*, the latter was not viewed in the light of a locative, but only of a real adverb of time, and we may be sure that in adding *-tana* it was quite immaterial to Sanskrit whether adverbs were original or derived from nouns in an oblique case. These are the reasons that have led me to search for a different explanation of Apabhraṃça *taṇaü*, and I believe I have hit upon the right one. According to my inquiries, *taṇaü* is from *appaṇaü* (<Skt. **âtmanakaḥ*), by the dropping of the initial vocal syllable agreeably to § 2, (4), and the common change of *p* to *t* agreeably to § 25. Of the reflexive pronoun *âtman* both the forms

with *pp* and with *d* occur already in Prakrit (See Pischel, § 401). The meaning Hemacandra ascribes to *taṇaü* is that of *sambandhin* "Belonging or related to" (*Siddh.*, iv, 422, 20), and such a meaning is quite in accordance with *appaṇaü*, which Hemacandra explains as an *âdeça* of *âtmîya* (*Siddh.*, iv, 422, 4). In the two examples of the use of *taṇaü*, which are evidenced by Hemacandra, *viz.*:

imu kulu tuha-taṇaü "This family [is] belonging to thee" (*Siddh.*, iv, 361), and :

bhaggâ amhahã taṇâ "Ours are defeated" (*Siddh.*, iv, 381, 2),

it is plain that *taṇaü* has the sense of "One's own," and, if we were to translate the two examples above into Sanskrit, we ought to render *taṇaü* by * *âtmanaka* or *âtmîya*. Observe that in the latter example *taṇâ* is used substantively, a construction which is likewise common to Sanskrit *âtmîya* and to its equivalents *sva, svaka,* etc.

The postposition *taṇaü* is largely used in poetry and in a few old texts in prose also. Ex :

caritra suṇyā tasu-taṇā "His deeds have been heard of" (P. 364),

deva-taṇī kusuma-taṇî vṛṣṭi "The raining of flowers of the gods" (Kal. 20),

ghûyaḍa-taṇaü çiçu "The young of the owl" (Kal. 3),

mâi-taṇai mani "In the mind of the mother" (Ratn. 109),

ghoḍâ-taṇia phoja "A troup of horses" (kânh. 46),

deva-taṇai prâsâdi "In the temple of the god" (Kânh. 87),

hū eha-taṇaü nahī "I [am] not belonging to her" (Daç. i, 10).

(5) *naü* (*nu*) cannot be explained as a curtailment of *taṇaü*, for medial *ṇ* of Apabhraṃça never changes to *n* in Old Western Râjasthânî, but it is congener of the postposition *naī* of the dative, which has been shown above to be a curtailment of *kanhaī*. Whether there ever existed a genitive postposition * *kanhaü*, whereof *naü* would be the regular curtailment, or *naü* was directly formed from *naī* it cannot be ascertained to-day, but I am strongly inclined in favour of the latter alternative, which is supported by the considerations following :

(*a*) It is not very likely that, whilst *kanhaī* survived long after *naī* had become of general use, **kanhaü* should have died out so early as not to leave the least trace of itself in the Old Western Râjasthânî materials that have been preserved to us ;

(*b*) The absence of the genitive postposition *naü* in Mârwâṛî, where both *kanhaī* and *naī* have survived up to the present day, is perhaps a sign that the use of the former postposition is not so old as that of the two latter, and therefore *naü* has derived from *naī* ;

(*c*) In the MS. *Âdi C.* occasional instances occur of *naī* used in the sense of *naü* as an uninflected postposition of the genitive, as :

e bhagavanta-naī teramaü bhava "This [is] the thirteenth existence of the Venerable one."

Now, it is very likely that such an employment of *naī* is a survival of an old practice of forming the genitive by means of a postposition of the dative (cf. the use of *rahaī* as a postposition of the genitive), and if so it is plain that *naü* has been formed from *naī* simply by making the latter capable of agreeing with the noun, on which it was depending.

In most of the Old Western Râjasthânî texts I have seen, *naü* is by far the commonest postposition of the genitive. In poetry, however, *taṇaü* is likewise frequent and it is freely used by the side of *naü*, generally undiscriminately, though in many cases it seems that *taṇaü* still retains its original meaning of "Related or belonging to," and so *naü* its own meaning of "Situated near to, or proceeding from". The only prose texts, in which *taṇaü* and *naü* are

used side by side are *Daç.* and *Up.* In the latter, however, *taṇaü* is very rare. The MS. *Kal.* has no traces of *naü*, but employs *taṇaü* throughout. Ex.:

ûnhâlâ-naü caüthaü masavâḍu "The fourth month of the summer" (Âdi C.),

teha-nî putrî "His daughter" (Dd. 6),

Ûjeṇî-naü mârîya râjâ "After having murdered the king of Oojein" (Vi. 8),

vaḍa-nâ koṭara-mā̃hi "In the hollow of a fig-tree" (P. 633),

dihâḍâ-naĩ viṣaĩ "By day" (Yog. ii, 70),

mleccha-nâ lâkha "Hundreds of thousands of barbarians" (Kânh. 43).

(6) *raü* is a curtailment from *keraü*, as it has since long been recognized by students of Neo-Indian Vernaculars. This postposition having grown to be peculiar of Modern Mârwâṛî, it is only exceptionally met with in Old Western Râjasthânî, except in the MS. *ÂdiC.*, which exhibits many points of agreement with the former language. A few examples are:

sonâ-rî vṛṣṭi "Raining of gold" (Âdi C.),

pratijñâ-raü viçeṣa ko nahî "The promise is of no account whatever" (*Ibid.*),

Takkhaçilâ-purî-raï parisaraï "In the surroundings of the city of Takṣaçilâ" (*Ibid.*)

(7) *rahaĩ* is used as a postposition of the genitive in the following examples, chiefly from the MSS. *Kal.* and *Daç.*:

duḥkha-rahaĩ pâtra "Receptacle of sorrow" (Kal. 38),

mâṅgalika-rahaĩ ghara "Abode of bliss" (Kal. 1),

duḥkha-raha ĩ kâraṇa "Cause of sorrow" (Kal. 33),

vrata-raha ĩ pîḍâ "vratânâṃ pîḍâ" (Daç. v, 9),

pûjâ-hraĩ yogya chaĩ "Are worthy of reverence" (F 580).

The use of *rahaĩ* as an uninflected postposition of the genitive has not gone lost in Modern Mârwâṛî, where *rai* is still employed instead of the regular oblique *râ*, especially when the genitive denotes possession or relationship.

§ 74. **The postposition of the locative** are the following:

(1) *kanhaĩ*. The origin of this postposition has been already discussed above, when dealing with the postpositions of the dative and ablative cases. It is used in the original locative meaning in the examples following:

na jâṇũ kihā̃-kaṇi achaï "I do not know where he is" (Ṛṣ. 192),

mithyâdṛṣṭi-loka-kanhaĩ çrâvaki vasivaũ nahĩ "A *çrâvaka* should not live near to heretics" (Ṣaṣṭ. 49).

P. 286 an instance occurs of *naĩ* (which is a curtailment from *kanhaĩ*, as shown above) used as a postposition of the locative after a noun also in the locative:

vâṭaĩ naĩ eka niramala nîra "Close by the road [there was a lake of] limpid water."

(2) *tā̃î*. This postposition, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is from Apabhraṃça *tâmahĩ* or **tâṽahĩ*, a locative form corresponding to Sanskrit *tâvati*. The intermediate steps are probably **tâṽahĩ* > **tâaĩ* > **tâĩ* > **tā̃î*. For the metathesis of the nasal see § 49. In Old Western Râjasthânî this postposition means "Up to, till, as far as", exactly as its Apabhraṃça and Sanskrit originals. Ex.:

âja-tā̃î "Up to to-day" (Âdi C.),

sahasa varasa-tā̃î "Up to the completion of one thousand years" (*Ibid.*)

Observe that in Modern Mârwâṛî and Hindî *tãî* has become capable of the dative-accusative meaning too, when in construction with pronominal genitives. Cf. Kellogg, *Hindî Grammar*, § 320.

(3) *pâsaĩ* (*pâsaï*, *pâsi*). This is from Apabhraṃça *pâsahĩ* < Skt. **pârçvasmin* (=*pârçve*). Examples of its use are :

Vakkhârâ giri -pâsaï " At the side of the mountain V." (Ṛṣ. 6),

Tûraka -pâsi daiva ma pâḍasi " Do not make us fall, O Fate !, into the hands of the Turks ! " (Kânh. 73),

rahiu râya-pâsi " He remained beside the king " (P. 128),

tũ jâ vegi te-pâsi " Go thou speedily to him " (P. 217).

(4) *majhâri*. This postposition is from Apabhraṃça **majjhaâre* < Skt. **madhyakârye*, an adjective formed from *madhya* by the same affix *kârya*, which is used to form pronominal possessives. *Deçînâmamâlâ*, vi, 121, Hemacandra gives *majjhaâra* as an equivalent of *majjha* (< Skt. *madhya*). It being an adjective in origin, Old Western Râjasthânî *majhâri* is capable of being construed both adjectively and substantively, *i.e.*, both with a preceding locative or (more commonly) with a preceding genitive. Ex. :

peṭi majhâri " In the stomach " (Çâl. 33),

Aṇahala-pura-majhâri " In the city of A." (Kânh. 67),

vanaha-majhâri " In the forest " (P. 55, 267, 411, 533).

(5) *mâjhi*. This is from Apabhraṃça *majjhe* < Skt. *madhye*, and is therefore an original adjective like the foregoing postposition. The only instance of *mâjhi* I have noted is the following, in which it is used with a preceding locative :

âvi ghari mâjhi " She went into the house " (P. 295).

Cf. the identical use of *madhya* in Sanskrit and of *medius* in Latin.

(6) *mã* (*mhã*). This is probably from * *mâjhã* < Ap. *majjhahũ*, the ablative of *majjha*, through the intermediate steps *mâhã* > *mhã*. Both the last forms have been preserved in the MS. *F 722*. Ex. :

teha-mã nahî saṃdeha " In this there is no doubt " (F 636, 5),

ãkhi bihu-mã antara kisaũ " Which is the difference between the two eyes ? " (F 783, 31),

Andra vaḍo sura-mhã " Indra is the greatest amongst the gods " (F 722, 13),

mujha-mã mati isî " In my [mind I have] this intention " (P. 82).

(7) *mãhi* (*mâhi*, *mãhaï*, *mâhe*, *mãhii*). This postposition is derived from *mâjhi* (< Ap., *majjhe*) by *jh* passing into *h*. In Old Western Râjasthânî this is the commonest locative postposition. Ex. :

haraṣiu haiâ-mãhaï " He rejoiced in [his] heart " (P. 212),

peṭa-mãhi " In the stomach " (Indr. 15),

bhava-samudra-mâhi " In the Ocean of wordly existence " (Âdi. 80),

dina thoḍilã-mãhi " In a few days " (Ṛṣ.)

vanaha-mâhi " In the forest " (F 728),

vana-mâhe " Ditto." (Âdi C.),

gaḍha-mahii " In a fortress " (P. 410).

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M. A., L. T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 202.)

Nagama's Expedition and Defection.

Evidently a man of energy and ambition, Vîra-Sêkhara desired to extend his kingdom at the expense of the Pâṇḍyan. The weakness and incompetence of Chandra-Sêkhara stimulated his ambition and inspired his confidence. The result was, Chandra-Sêkhara was soon deprived of his crown and kingdom.[81] Overcome by this misfortune, he proceeded, with his son, to the imperial court, and appealed to the emperor. Sadâsiva Râya was highly indignant. He despatched, we are informed, Nâgama Nâik, "in whose charge was the southern part of the Empire," to chastise the ambition of the Chôḷa and restore the dignity of his victim. Nâgama accordingly invaded the dominions of the aggressor, traced a line of devastations therein, vanquished him in battle, and compelled him to abandon the lands which he had so unlawfully seized. The object of the expedition was thus accomplished and the formal restoration of Chandra-Sêkhara remained. But at this crisis, the sight of the weak and renowned city of Madura, the tempting prospect of an easy acquisition of spoils, and the distance of the scene of war from Vijayanagar, apparently had the effect of turning the victor into a traitor. Taking advantage of the large army which was under his command, of his probable hold on its affections, and of the difficulties which the emperor had with his turbulent noblemen at home, Nâgama renounced his allegiance to his suzerain, seized the crown of Madura, threw the helpless Pâṇḍyan king into captivity, garrisoned the different parts of the realm with his men,[82] and awaited with calm resolution the attack of the emperor's punitive legions.

Visvanatha's Punitive Expedition.

When Sadâsiva was informed of the success, the treason and revolt of his aspiring general, he was affected by a deep sense of injury as well as insult at the ingratitude with which Nâgama repaid the favours he had enjoyed at his hands. He wrote a letter of threat and remonstrance to the unruly commander, but could not make him renounce his acquisitions or designs. Anxious that such a dangerous example should not be imitated by similarly inflamed minds, he summoned hastily an assembly of his ministers, feudatories and generals, expatiated upon the danger which threatened the peace and perhaps the existence of the Empire, and asked in words of fire who, among the many that had assembled there, would undertake to punish the rebel's insolence and bring his head in triumph to the imperial court. The response of the assembly to the emperor's appeal was feeble, as it was well-known that the ability and resources of Nâgama Naik were great enough to offer a valiant and protracted resistance to the forces of the State.

---

[81] The account of Râmabadra Nâik, the Polygar of Periakuḷam (see Appendix IV) says that Chandra Sêkhara was actually restored by Nâgama Nâik; but as the former was unable to maintain his power against "the Five Pâṇḍyas" of Kayattâr and its neighbourhood, he voluntarily renounced his crown and kingdom in favour of Nâgama, on condition that he was to be given pension for maintenance. Nâgama accordingly took possession of the country. But Chandra Sêkhara repented, and resorting to treachery, went to the Râya and complained that Nâgama had usurped his throne. This version is unique and not supported by any other MS. It is, as Mr. Taylor says, an *ex parte* statement. See *Rais. Catal.* III, 377 and Appendix IV.

[82] The chronicles do not mention the Râya's name, but are almost unanimous in this account.

At length, however, there arose, from amidst the assembly, a solitary figure, a man with a majestic manly grace, just in the prime of manhood. with a fine physique and soldierly bearing. an object of admiration to one and all. To the astonishment of the whole audience. Viśvanâtha—for it was he—spoke with grave, though justifiable, censure of the perfidy of his parent, assured his sovereign of his own loyalty and gratitude. and prayed with earnestness that he should be honoured with the command against him. The emperor at first hesitated with a natural suspicion and scepticism ; but the bold and honest behaviour of the young hero, the eloquence of his pressing solicitation and the strength of his past reputation convinced Sadâśiva that his favourite was a fit object of his confidence. and that. in case he was chosen, his sense of loyalty would prevail over his filial affection.

The Restoration of Chandra-Sekhara.

It thus happened that, by a strange irony of fate, the man who was most instrumental in thwarting Nâgama's designs was his own son and heir—that son for whose birth he had, years back. devoted himself to much rigorous penance and extravagant self-infliction ; that heir for whose sake he had, at the evening of an honest and unblemished life, sacrificed his honesty, banished his conscience, and blackened his fair name. With unexpected celerity Viśvanâtha marched at the head of the imperial forces. He promptly entered the confines of Madura, and after a fruitless correspondence with his father, engaged him in battle. The chronicles do not enlighten us as to the site of this remarkable engagement; but they describe how Viśvanâtha, partly because of the justice of his cause and the excellence of his leadership, but mainly because (it is said) of his divine birth, emerged successfully out of the contest. Nâgama himself was taken captive, and his forces either vanished or went over to his son. Chandra-Śêkhara, whose weakness was the sole cause of these events, was then restored to the throne and crowned by his deliverer with pomp and ceremony.

The Pardon of Nagama Naik.

It seems that, immediately after the restoration of Chandra-Śekhara, Viśvanâtha returned to Vijayanagar,—leaving a capable friend and lieutenant of his, Aryanâtha Mudali[53] by name, to stay in the Madura court and represent[54], in his name, the imperial interests. No sooner did the gallant soldier return to the Court than, we are informed, he shewed to an admiring world that his loyalty to his sovereign was not at the expense of his love for his parent. His sole desire now was to save his life and, as might be expected, he did not fail to avail himself of the good impression he had produced, by his unrivalled political sincerity, in the mind of Sadâśiva Râya. He pleaded that the fidelity of the son should atone for the guilt of the father. He expatiated. we may be sure, on the past history and services of Nâgama, and pointed out how his disgrace would necessarily cast a stain on his own name, and how posterity, while praising his loyalty, would in the same breath condemn him as a parricide. The emperor, we are told, too prudent to pursue a vindictive policy, perceived that his clemency would have a healthier effect than his zeal for justice. He therefore pardoned Nâgama, and restored him to his old position. One of the manuscript chronicles[55] gives a different picture of Viśvanâtha's conduct after his return from the south. It says that Nâgama Nâik was brought in chains before the indignant emperor, and ordered to be decapitated ; that

[53] For the early part of his career see Chap. III.

[54] *C. f.* the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* Appendix I.

[55] See Appendix IV.

Viśvanâtha himself promptly unsheathed his sword, and was about to shed, for the sake of his suzerain, the blood of his father, when Sadâśiva, surprised at such an extraordinary devotion and sense of duty, stopped the tragedy, and pardoned the father for the sake of the son. The memoir of the Sukkampatti[86] Polygars gives a slightly different version. It says that their ancestor—Bâlamukunda-Muttiah-Nâik, once the leader of the vanguard of Nâgama's army, and then a lieutenant of Viśvanâtha Nâik, offered to sacrifice himself in the place of his old benefactor, and that the Râya, impressed with the loyalty of the son and the fidelity of the servant, pardoned Nâgama Nâik for their sake.

As for the man who was the cause of these scenes in the imperial court, he was not destined to enjoy his restored fortunes for long. A few months—according to one MS. three years—after his recovering the throne, Chandra-Sêkhara joined his fathers, closing thereby a chequered career of momentous significance in South Indian History.

The Death of Chandra-Sekhara.

His death was instantaneously followed by important events. One set of chronicles describe him as the last of the Pâṇḍyans, and aver that, immediately after his restoration, he adopted his deliverer and benefactor as his son and heir, and that as a result of this, the responsibilities of the royal office devolved on his death on Viśvanâtha. Another set of chronicles, on the other hand, maintain that Chandra-Sêkhara was not the last of his dynasty; that he was really succeeded on the throne by his son Vîra-Pâṇḍya: but that Vîra-Pâṇḍya soon followed his father to the grave,—leaving none to continue the Pâṇḍyan line and thereby giving rise to the grave question as to who was to be his successor. The power of decision, these chronicles continue, lay in the first instance with the emperor. The absolute master of the Empire, he had the power of making and unmaking kings, of creating and abolishing royalties; and he promptly exercised this privilege in favour of Viśvanâtha. In appointing Viśvanâtha, moreover, he was only fulfilling the promise which his predecessors had made on the occasion of Viśvanâtha's service during the Navarâtri festival. Again Viśvanâtha had been the Viceroy, the *de facto* king, of the Madura country for years. He had moreover been adopted into the Pâṇḍyan line, and so was from the view-point of law, not a foreigner. Above all, he had distinguished himself as a staunch and faithful servant of the Empire, as a fine soldier, as a loyal vassal, as an ideal servant. If he had willed, he might have joined his father and secured the southern part of the Empire months back for himself, but he had voluntarily preferred honour to ambition, and sovereign to parent. Considering all these, the claims and qualifications, the services and attributes, of his favourite, the emperor felt that, by raising him to the vacant throne, he would not only give virtue its reward and possess a vassal according to his own heart, but fulfil the promise of his predecessors and at the same time respect the principle of hereditary right.[87]

Visvanatha's Elevation to the Throne.

The elevation of Nâgama's son seems, however, to be due as much to popular desire as to imperial initiative. If verbal tradition is to be believed—and there is nothing incredible or improbable about it—the people of Madura, Brâhmans and Sûdrâs, soldiers and citizens, priests and merchants, were united in their solicitation to the Emperor to have Viśvanâtha for their sovereign. They had already had a taste of Viśvanâtha's capacity to rule and protect them. Both during his viceroyalty (1535-44) and after Chandra-Sêkhara's restoration, Viśvanâtha had been the real ruler of Madura. Chandra-

[86] See Appendix IV.

[87] The *Pand. Chron.* The *Supple. MS.* represents the majority of the chronicles when it attributes the event to S 1354; *Paritapi.* Kali Kavi Raya's account says that it took place in S. 1350. One of the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* says that it took place in Mârgaḷi 11, of Raudri S. 1482. There is thus a slight difference between the *Pand. Chron.* and this MS.

Sêkhara had lost the respect and forfeited the affections of his people. He had been too incompetent to protect them from external enemies or internal commotions. Viśvanâtha on the other hand had displayed many useful and benevolent virtues which shone with greater effect in comparison with the glaring frailities of the Pâṇḍyan monarch. His keen efforts to secure the welfare of the country had gained for him the esteem of the wise and the love of the multitude. His guiding hand had been seen in every act of administration, and the country enjoyed the full fruits of peace and good government. His magnetic personality, in short, had asserted itself over his mild ward. The deliverer and benefactor had become unconsciously the master and dictator. It is not surprising that, on the death of the Pâṇḍyan, the people clamoured for Viśvanâtha's elevation.

His Coronation at Vijayanagar.

The consequence was, on an auspicious Friday, the 15th of Mârgaḷi; year Raudri, S. 1481, corresponding to January 1559, amidst the chant of Vêdas, the blessings of the pious, the cheers of the soldiers, the noise of festivities, and the acclamation of the crowds, the fortunate son of Nâgama was crowned with splendid and gorgeous pomp by holy men at Vijayanagar, after the purification of his body with water brought from the distant Ganges and in the presence of the tutelary goddess Durgâ. Wheeler gives a glowing account of the ceremony. The golden diadem was placed on the hero's head. "His ears[88] were adorned with emeralds and pearls, his neck with costly carcanets, his breast with gems set in different figures, his fingers with amulets, his waist with bracelets, his arms with amulets of carbuncles. He was arrayed in royal vestments of cloth and gold, and was placed on an elephant richly caparisoned. An umbrella of silver brocade was held over his head, and the chowries were waved about him on either side. He was also honoured with the royal insignia of Krishna Rai. A crimson shield was carried before him, together with the standards bearing the bird Garuda and the monkey Hanumân. He was conducted in procession through the streets of Vijayanagar, escorted by troops, charioteers and footmen, all clothed in rich apparel. After the procession he was entertained by Krishna Rai in the banqueting house and feasted on milky food." A number of presents were then showered on the hero, and he was then sent to Madura. The singular favour which Viśvanâtha enjoyed at the hands of the Râya can be realised from the fact that even his request to have possession of Durgâ, the guardian[89] of the Empire and the life of its glory, was, in spite of the solemn warnings of his advisers, readily granted. With the departure of Viśvanâtha to Madura, then, Durgâ also departed, and with this the prosperity or independence of Vijayanagar.

His Coronation at Madura.

At Madura, Viśvanâtha was received with frenzied enthusiasm.[90] The Brâhmans were the leaders of the jubilee. Triumphal arches of divers colours adorned the streets of the smiling city. Viśvanâtha entered it on a richly adorned elephant, surrounded by badges of royalty bestowed by his suzerain. The great procession reached the temple of Mînâkshi where, we are informed, the 'Karta' alighted, and paid worship. He, then, we are told by Wheeler (on what authority we do not know) proceeded to his father's

---

[88] Wheeler's *Ind. Hist.* IV, p. 571-2. As usual the author has not given the authorities on whom he based his account.

[89] See Appendix I.

[90] *Ibid*; Wheeler IV, p. 573. It is very doubtful if Nâgama Naik was alive at this time. No MS. says anything about him after his unsuccessful rebellion.

residence and received his blessing after laying gold and silver flowers at his feet. The coronation ceremony was then once again gone through in the temple. A diadem of virgin gold beset with jewels, and a sceptre of gold, first worn by the goddess, were now presented by the priest to Viśvanâtha; and he, after the worship of the deity and prostration before his father, assumed the sceptre and the diadem. Eighteen bands of music then filled the air with harmony. From the temple Viśvanâtha proceeded to the court of Lakshmî and there, amidst the panegyrics of heralds, took his seat on the throne of the Pâṇḍyas, gave presents to Brâhmans, and invested Aryanâtha with the two rings of the Dalavâi and Pradhâni.

Wheeler's Version of the Naik Advent.

Such is the account, usually given, of the origin of the Naik dynasty of Madura. There are also some versions not so authoritative or true. Wheeler, for instance, a historian with more imagination than capacity, gives, on the basis of doubtful authorities, a version quite different from that which we have just seen. He attributes the foundation of the dynasty to the reign of 'Krishna Rai.'[91] The latter, he says, lightened the burdens of the imperial office by dividing his empire into various administrative divisions each of which he entrusted to a favourite servant. To his chief favourite he gave Mysore, to his betel-bearer Tanjore, and to the overseer of his cattle, Nâgama Naik, the kingdom of Madura. On the death of Krishna Dêva, his son and successor Râma Râja (Wheeler is of course wrong) could not, in consequence of his troubles with the Muhammadans attend to his dominions in the South. They, therefore, thanks to the ambition of the provincial chiefs, became practically independent or subject to disorder. The affairs of Madura drifted into chaos. "The twelve kings of Malabar" ceased to pay tribute. A vassal, Tumbichchi Nâik, set up the standard of rebellion. Oppressed by these revolts, the Pâṇḍyan felt himself unable to remit the tribute he owed to the emperor. Nâgama Nâik communicated this state of things to the emperor (whom Wheeler inconsistently calls here Krishna Rai and not Râma Raja). The latter promptly despatched Viśvanâtha the son of Nâgama Nâik, together with the gallant and faithful Aryanâtha Mudali, to restore order in Madura. Kûṇa Pâṇḍya,[92] the then Pâṇḍya king (!) received the imperial leader with joy. The latter easily defeated the kings of Malabar and compelled them to pay tribute to the Pâṇḍyan. He vanquished the troops of Tumbichchi Nâik at Paramakudi,[93] and beheaded that chief in the Pâṇḍyan's presence. Viśvanâtha's services were thus valuable and disinterested. But success turned his head and inspired schemes of ambition in his mind. The saviour became the spoiler. Forgetful of loyalty and justice, he turned against the very person whom he had come to save, and seized the crown. With a wise promptness he then took precautions to secure his usurpation. He distributed his army throughout the kingdom, put the forts in defence, and killed such of the king's troops

[91] Wheeler has evidently taken this version from one of the histories which Wilson refers to in his article on the Pâṇḍyan kingdom in J. R. A. S. III. Wilson also attributes the whole to the reign of Kṛishna Dêva Râya. It is unfortunate that the original MSS. on which Wilson depended are not available. If available, we can find out how far Wheeler is true to them. Wilson based his article on Muttiah's *Hist. of the Kings of Madura*; *Hist. of Telugu Rulers of Madura*, translated by Wheatley; etc. The *Madu. Manu.* gives a very good summary of the circumstances under which the Nâik Raj was established and the correct date 1559; but it wrongly says that it took place in the time of Kṛishna Dêva See also for very short but modern account *Madu. Gazr.*, chapter on Political History.

[92] This is absurd.

[93] In reality the Paramakuḍi affair took place in the time of Viśvanâtha's son and successor Kumâra Kṛishṇappa. See Chapter IV.

as had resisted. He then, it is said, placed Kûṇa Pâṇḍya in prison, massacred his women and children so as not to leave even a single member of the family, and then, **placing the conquered region in his father's charge, set out for Vijayanagar** with a view to pacify the indignant emperor. The golden head which he placed at the Râja's feet and the heap of money and spoils which he brought, were sufficient atonement for his conduct, and "Krishna Rai" did not only embrace him with affection and honour him with an equal seat and the title of partner in the government of the empire, but crowned him, on the first day of January[94] 1560, King of Madura at Vijayanagar. Wheeler then describes the coronation ceremony both at Vijayanagar and in Madura, and concludes by showing how with the confirmation of his crown in Mînâkshi's presence, with his father's joyous blessing, and with the fidelity of Aryanâtha, Viśvanâtha firmly established his dynasty on the old Pâṇḍyan throne.

Discussion of the Date of the Naik Advent.

The version of Wheeler is so full of inaccuracies and so directly contrary to the chronicles in regard to the character and conduct of Viśvanâtha, that we can dismiss it altogether as false. With regard to the other versions, however, we are not without difficulties. First of all, there is the inconsistency in regard to dates. A large number of the Polygar memoirs ascribe Nâgama, Chandra-Śêkhara and Viśvanâtha to the first half of the 15th century. The *Hist. Carn. Governors* and scores of other chronicles take this view. The *Pand. Chron.* and some other MSS. on the other hand, clearly say that Viśvanâtha's coronation took place in 1559. Where such a conflict of opinion exists, inscriptions should decide; and inscriptions[95] unmistakably prove that it was 1559. Taking then that Viśvanâtha founded his dynasty in 1559, two questions remain to be answered. Was the conquest sudden or was it a prolonged process of years? If it was an achievement of years, how many years elapsed between the beginning of it and the actual coronation of Viśvanâtha in 1559? Secondly, what were the *exact* circumstances under which Viśvanâtha assumed his crown? Taking the first question, we find that opinions vary among historians, Mr. Taylor, for instance, believed that not less than a generation must have passed between the punitive expedition of Nâgama Nâik and the invasion of his son. "Between the first conquest of Nagama Naicker," he says "his usurping the kingdom, being deposed, the death of Chandra Sêkhara, and the final election of Viśvanâtha Naicker, an interval of some few years must have occurred. Hence to fix the conquest by Nâgama Naicker at about SS. 1460 and the instalment of his son Viśvanâtha at about SS. 1480, seem to us best to accord with the true state of the question; supposing that the interval of twenty years may be tolerably well accounted for, and not pretending to exact

[94] The absurdity of Wheeler is clear from this. Krishna Raya died in 1530.

[95] Wilson was for an intermediate date, viz. 1520. He rejected Muttiah's date 1560 and also Wilk's date of 1530. "Muttiah's history enumerates," he says, "between 1560 and 1742 or 182 years; the other MS. 14—princes in 307 years,—former giving about 17 and the latter 22 years to a reign. But this proportion is too improbable as three of the 14 princes are brothers who reigned consecutively and the average of whose reign could not have exceeded half this number. We shall have a more probable result if we suppose the number of princes to be including Nagama 15, and the number of years 272; from 1520 to 1742, which will give us something less than 15 years to each reign." *See J. R. A. S.* III. Wilks says: "Nagama Naik, described to be head of the bullock department to Achyuta Deva Rayeel of Vijayanagar, founded the dynasty of Naicker of Madura about the year 1532, with the aid of a colony of Telingas, which seems to have been planted in that country sometime before by the government of Vijayanuggur." *Mysore*, I, p. 34 foot-note. The *Madr. Manu.*, with Wilson, attributes the event to the reign of "Krishna Raya." (See Vol. I, p. 154), but gives the date as 1559 : (*Ibid* p. 121); see also Vol. II, p. 96.

and definite certainty.[96]" Later on, Mr. Taylor revised his calculation in the light of the theory of Wilson that it was Krishna Dêva Râya that sent Nâgama Naik against the Choḷa, and the theory of Wilks that it was Achyuta Râya that did so in 1532: and concluded that the latter might be "the exact truth;" for "it is some confirmation that it accords with the date assigned to Viśvanâtha Naiker in the **Pandyan chronicle**, which is SS. 1481, or 1559 A. D. allowing 27 years for intermediate events. . . . . Nagama Naiker, at all events, must have been general to Krishna Rayer, having the southernmost portion of that king's extensive conquests assigned to him as his military government. It is also probable that the complaint of Chandra Śêkhara Pâṇḍyan was preferred to Krishna Rayer towards the close of his reign; and that the orders to repel the Soren (Chôḷa) and replace the Pâṇḍyan king were given by him. During the accomplishment, Krishna Rayer in all probability died; and the circumstance immediately following his decease would no doubt encourage Nagama Naicker to set up for himself in the newly conquered kingdom. For Krishna Rayer had no legitimate male children; and Achyuta Rayer, the nearest heir, variously termed brother, cousin and nephew, was absent[97]: and the late Rayer's minister, ostensibly according to the deceased king's order, set up Sada Siva, a pageant prince under his own tutelage, until the return of Achyuta Râya, and his assumption of the sovereignty. Here are circumstances very favourable to Nâgama Naicker's rebellion; and even without expressed treachery to his former master. If such were the state of circumstances, we must presume that, though Viśvanâtha Naicker rose into notice and employ under Krishna Rayer, yet it was by one of the latter's successors, that the founder of the Carnataca dynasty was formally designated to the viceroyalty of Madura."[98] One more quotation from Taylor illustrates his position clearly. "From Mr. Campbell's list of the Rayer dynasty," he says, "it appears that Krishna Rayer ruled 21 years, from SS. 1430 to 1452 (1509-1530 A. D.); Achyuta Râya 12 years, from SS. 1452 to 1464 (1530-1542). There then succeeds an interval of usurped powers on the part of Timma Râja and Râma Râja, though Sada Siva is nominally king for 22 years, from S. 1464 to S. 1486 (1542-1564). . . . . Now from the foregoing dates, it will appear probable (as before inferred) that Nagama Naiker received his orders to support Chandra Sêkhara Pâṇḍyan from Krishna Rayer; that he had effected the conquest in two or three years after; but that, availing himself of the unsettled state of things at Vijayanagaram during the earlier years ascribed to Achyuta Râya, when Timma Raja's influence as minister was predominant, he took measures to confirm himself in the independent sovereignty of Madura; that Achyuta Deva himself, having taken the reigns in hand, despatched Viśvanâtha on the expedition against his father; that Chandra Śêkhara Pâṇḍyan ruled as a tributary for some little time, supported by the northern army with Âryanâtha Mudaliar at their head; that, his death, occurring, Viśvanâtha Nâicker was installed by Sada Siva by virtue of the Pâṇḍyan's asserted adoption, and the promised protection of the two former Rayers; that he actually entered on his government about six years previous to the battle of Tellicotta."[99]

The conclusions of Mr. Taylor, however, do not seem to be incontrovertible. In the first place, they were made at a time when the evidences of epigraphy were very meagre. Secondly, they were not the results of a many-sided consideration of all the manuscripts and chronicles available. A study of these shews plainly at least one thing—that the

[96] *O. H. MSS.* II, 88.

[97] It is difficult to say whence Taylor derived this information.

[98] *O. H. MSS.* II, 95.

[99] *O. H. MSS.* II, 123.

as had resisted. He then, it is said, placed Kûṇa Pâṇḍya in prison, massacred his women and children so as not to leave even a single member of the family, and then, **placing the conquered region in his father's charge, set out for Vijayanagar** with a view to pacify the indignant emperor. The golden head which he placed at the Râja's feet and the heap of money and spoils which he brought, were sufficient atonement for his conduct, and "Krishna Rai" did not only embrace him with affection and honour him with an equal seat and the title of partner in the government of the empire, but crowned him, on the first day of January[94] 1560, King of Madura at Vijayanagar. Wheeler then describes the coronation ceremony both at Vijayanagar and in Madura, and concludes by showing how with the confirmation of his crown in Mînâkshi's presence, with his father's joyous blessing, and with the fidelity of Aryanâtha, Viśvanâtha firmly established his dynasty on the old Pâṇḍyan throne.

Discussion of the Date of the Naik Advent.

The version of Wheeler is so full of inaccuracies and so directly contrary to the chronicles in regard to the character and conduct of Viśvanâtha, that we can dismiss it altogether as false. With regard to the other versions, however, we are not without difficulties. First of all, there is the inconsistency in regard to dates. A large number of the Polygar memoirs ascribe Nâgama, Chandra-Śêkhara and Viśvanâtha to the first half of the 15th century. The *Hist. Carn. Governors* and scores of other chronicles take this view. The *Pand. Chron.* and some other MSS. on the other hand, clearly say that Viśvanâtha's coronation took place in 1559. Where such a conflict of opinion exists, inscriptions should decide; and inscriptions[95] unmistakably prove that it was 1559. Taking then that Viśvanâtha founded his dynasty in 1559, two questions remain to be answered. Was the conquest sudden or was it a prolonged process of years? If it was an achievement of years, how many years elapsed between the beginning of it and the actual coronation of Viśvanâtha in 1559? Secondly, what were the *exact* circumstances under which Viśvanâtha assumed his crown? Taking the first question, we find that opinions vary among historians, Mr. Taylor, for instance, believed that not less than a generation must have passed between the punitive expedition of Nâgama Nâik and the invasion of his son. "Between the first conquest of Nagama Naicker," he says "his usurping the kingdom, being deposed, the death of Chandra Sêkhara, and the final election of Viśvanâtha Naicker, an interval of some few years must have occurred. Hence to fix the conquest by Nâgama Naicker at about SS. 1460 and the instalment of his son Viśvanâtha at about SS. 1480, seem to us best to accord with the true state of the question; supposing that the interval of twenty years may be tolerably well accounted for, and not pretending to exact

[94] The absurdity of Wheeler is clear from this. Krishna Raya died in 1530.

[95] Wilson was for an intermediate date, viz. 1520. He rejected Muttiah's date 1560 and also Wilk's date of 1530. "Muttiah's history enumerates," he says, "between 1560 and 1742 or 182 years; the other MS. 14—princes in 307 years,—former giving about 17 and the latter 22 years to a reign. But this proportion is too improbable as three of the 14 princes are brothers who reigned consecutively and the average of whose reign could not have exceeded half this number. We shall have a more probable result if we suppose the number of princes to be including Nagama 15, and the number of years 272; from 1520 to 1742, which will give us something less than 15 years to each reign." *See J. R. A. S.* III. Wilks says: "Nagama Naik, described to be head of the bullock department to Achyuta Deva Rayeel of Vijayanagar, founded the dynasty of Naicker of Madura about the year 1532, with the aid of a colony of Telingas, which seems to have been planted in that country sometime before by the government of Vijayanuggur." *Mysore,* I, p. 34 foot-note. The *Madr. Manu.*, with Wilson, attributes the event to the reign of "Krishna Raya." (See Vol. I, p. 154), but gives the date as 1559 : (*Ibid* p. 121); see also Vol. II. p. 96.

and definite certainty.[96]" Later on, Mr. Taylor revised his calculation in the light of the theory of Wilson that it was Krishna Dêva Râya that sent Nâgama Naik against the Choḷa, and the theory of Wilks that it was Achyuta Râya that did so in 1532; and concluded that the latter might be "the exact truth;" for "it is some confirmation that it accords with the date assigned to Viśvanâtha Naiker in the **Pandyan chronicle**, which is SS. 1481, or 1559 A. D. allowing 27 years for intermediate events. . . . . Nagama Naiker, at all events, must have been general to Krishna Rayer, having the southernmost portion of that king's extensive conquests assigned to him as his military government. It is also probable that the complaint of Chandra Śêkhara Pâṇḍyan was preferred to Krishna Rayer towards the close of his reign; and that the orders to repel the Soren (Chôḷa) and replace the Pâṇḍyan king were given by him. During the accomplishment, Krishna Rayer in all probability died; and the circumstance immediately following his decease would no doubt encourage Nagama Naicker to set up for himself in the newly conquered kingdom. For Krishna Rayer had no legitimate male children; and Achyuta Rayer, the nearest heir, variously termed brother, cousin and nephew, was absent[97]; and the late Rayer's minister, ostensibly according to the deceased king's order, set up Sada Siva, a pageant prince under his own tutelage, until the return of Achyuta Râya, and his assumption of the sovereignty. Here are circumstances very favourable to Nâgama Naicker's rebellion; and even without expressed treachery to his former master. If such were the state of circumstances, we must presume that, though Viśvanâtha Naicker rose into notice and employ under Krishna Rayer, yet it was by one of the latter's successors, that the founder of the Carnataca dynasty was formally designated to the viceroyalty of Madura."[98] One more quotation from Taylor illustrates his position clearly. "From Mr. Campbell's list of the Rayer dynasty," he says, "it appears that Krishna Rayer ruled 21 years, from SS. 1430 to 1452 (1509-1530 A. D.); Achyuta Râya 12 years, from SS. 1452 to 1464 (1530-1542). There then succeeds an interval of usurped powers on the part of Timma Râja and Râma Râja, though Sada Siva is nominally king for 22 years, from S. 1464 to S. 1486 (1542-1564). . . . . Now from the foregoing dates, it will appear probable (as before inferred) that Nagama Naiker received his orders to support Chandra Sêkhara Pâṇḍyan from Krishna Rayer; that he had effected the conquest in two or three years after; but that, availing himself of the unsettled state of things at Vijayanagaram during the earlier years ascribed to Achyuta Râya, when Timma Raja's influence as minister was predominant, he took measures to confirm himself in the independent sovereignty of Madura; that Achyuta Deva himself, having taken the reigns in hand, despatched Viśvanâtha on the expedition against his father; that Chandra Śêkhara Pâṇḍyan ruled as a tributary for some little time, supported by the northern army with Âryanâtha Mudaliar at their head; that, his death, occurring, Viśvanâtha Nâicker was installed by Sada Siva by virtue of the Pâṇḍyan's asserted adoption, and the promised protection of the two former Rayers; that he actually entered on his gevernment about six years previous to the battle of Tellicotta."[99]

The conclusions of Mr. Taylor, however, do not seem to be incontrovertible. In the first place, they were made at a time when the evidences of epigraphy were very meagre. Secondly, they were not the results of a many-sided consideration of all the manuscripts and chronicles available. A study of these shews plainly at least one thing—that the

[96] *O. H. MSS.* II, 88.

[97] It is difficult to say whence Taylor derived this information.

[98] *O. H. MSS.* II, 95.

[99] *O. H. MSS.* II, 123.

establishment of Viśvanâtha on the Madura throne was a short, sharp, decisive affair. N doubt, as we have already seen, he was viceroy for years before his elevation to the roy dignity; but his actual elevation to the Pâṇḍyan's throne was posterior to his earli viceroyalty and the immediate outcome of his father's revolt and the Pâṇḍyan's weaknes Almost every chronicle seems to imply that Nâgama Naik's expedition to the sout was promptly followed by his revolt and then his subjugation by his son. They seem t imply that the various stages of these events followed one another in rapid successio They do not seem to say that they covered the long period of a generation. The evidence of inscriptions moreover give a passive proof of this fact. They clearly point out tha Achyuta Râya led an expedition to the south in 1532, that he wielded a real powe throughout his reign, that his successor Sadâ iva Râya was an equally powerful sovereig They also point out how from 1535 to 1557 Viśvanâtha Nâik and Viṭṭhala were the imperia viceroys. If Nâgama Nâik's revolt had taken place during the administration of thes viceroys, it would certainly have been recorded in some at least of the inscriptions of th day. In fact we have positive reasons to shew that he could not have rebelled in thi period; for the first of the two viceroys was his son, the other his relative. If he ha attempted independence, it must have been before 1535; but we have already seen how in 1532-33 Achyuta Râya had Nâgama as a loyal lieutenant of his and how his power was not menaced after his victorious campaign. All these facts go to prove that Nâgama's defection must have taken place in 1557 or 1558 and that his defeat and his son's elevation must have been accomplished in 1559.

The Nature of the Naik Accession.

The date having been thus disposed of, the circumstances under which Viśvanâtha's elevation took place remain for consideration. It is to be feared that no solution can be reached in regard to this question. We have already seen how variant are the accounts of his relations with the Pâṇḍyas. We have seen how some say that Chandra-Śêkhara was the last of the line and that the crown naturally devolved on Viśvanâtha as he was adopted by him; and how others say that Chandra-Śêkhara was succeeded by his son Vîra-Pâṇḍya who, however, died childless, bequeathing his crown to Viśvanâtha; and how still others maintain that Viśvanâtha destroyed the Pâṇḍyan family and usurped the crown. All agree that the Râya supported Viśvanâtha and recognized him to be the ruler in place of the ancient Pâṇḍyan dynasty. Was Viśvanâtha a usurper or legitimate claimant? Was he in reality a destroyer of the old Pâṇḍyan line or an adopted and therefore legitimate heir? The question will perhaps be never solved. The chronicles unanimously give a favourable view of Viśvanâtha's conduct; but Wheeler gives, as we have already seen, a diametrically opposite version. The late Mr. Nelson also points out that, even after his full attainment of power, Viśvanâtha had under his control two Pâṇḍyan princes.

The Characteristics of Naik Rule.

However it was, there can be no question that the establishment of the Nâik dynasty was of immense significance in South Indian History. For the next two centuries the country from the Kâvêri to the Cape and from the western mountains to Ceylon, was under the sway of Viśvanâtha's descendants. They were not great men, as a rule, in the ordinary sense of the word. High statesmanship was comparatively rare among them, but they left, throughout the land which acknowledged their rule, a series of monuments which will never die, and which will ever keep their memory fresh in the annals of India and of art.

Temples and choultries, tanks and villages, without number, owed their existence to their benevolence or liberality, and a chain of forts of skilful design and patient labour even now testify to their martial spirit. Thousands of Brâhman villages of the south remind us of the enlightened interest of some Nâik king and the great veneration he had for the Brâhmans, and almost every temple or house of charity traces its history to the piety or generosity of a Nâik. No greater example have we in history of a line of a kings so uniformly industrious in the promotion of religious architecture and military fortification, and no line which so heartily co-operated with the intellectual aristocracy of the land. It may not be quite possible to endorse the statement of an able English writer that the Nâik dynasty " raised the country probably to the highest level of civilization attainable by it under a native government."[100] For, as we shall see later on, the Nâiks sometimes displayed their enthusiasm for building at the expense of good government, and their munificence at the expense of popular welfare. Under their exorbitant sway the burden of taxation was, as a rule, very great, and the security of people precarious. Not even for a decade, during their rule of two centuries, did they cease from the horrors of war and the hardships of military exercises. Entirely oblivious of their subject's needs, they very often readily courted military engagements with an easy mind and a culpable recklessness which made settled government a mockery. Nevertheless there is much of truth in what Mr. Nelson says. Misrule was not continuous. It had welcome breaks, while statesmen of the stamp of Viśvanâtha are not entirely wanting. Above all, the service they rendered to Hindu religion and civilization is incalculable. Guided at every step by Brâhmans, the Nâiks seemed to be more the servants of the Church than the masters of their kingdom, and as the establishment of villages, the construction of canals, the excavation of tanks, and similar tasks of utility and benefit were, in the eyes of their advisers, at once acts of policy and religion, it is not difficult to see how Brahmanical influence was calculated to benefit the masses and the cause of civilization.

NOTE.

Manucci's Theory of the Origin of the Naik Kingdom.

The Venetian traveller Manucci gives an even wider account of the origin of the southern kingdom than Wheeler. " More than 200 years ago, " he says, " there reigned an emperor called Râma Râja who was so generous that it is remarked in the chronicles that he never refused any favour asked. " (*Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 98). His liberality gained him a high renown and a host of servants from alien countries. His empire extended from the Narbada and Jagannath to the Cape and included the Coromandel, Travancore and Konkan coasts. His empire was highly prosperous and abounded in pearls and diamonds, in food-stuffs and grains, in cities, forts and harbours, and was consequently the resort of adventurers of all nations, especially those of China and Achin. The emperor, continues Manucci, gave with characteristic generosity the government of the different provinces to his servants and slaves. Bîjâpur, for instance, he bestowed on a Georgian Yusuf Ali, the carver at his table; Gulbarga, to his huntsman Abraham Maly (Ibrâhîm Malik); Daulatâbâd to his Abyssinian slave and chamber-servant, Nizâm Shâh; Golcondah, to another of his slaves who had charge of the hawks, falcons, etc., and of the royal hunting establishments, and was known as Baram (falcon) Kutb Shâh; Burhânpur, to his carpet-spreador; and so on. " The remaining lands of the Carnatic were divided among his Hindu pages, while he retained some territory and a few fortresses scattered here and

[100] Nelson; *Madu. Manu.* 86.

there in the middle of the said Carnatic. This splitting up of his realm and giving it away, was the cause of this emperor's ruin, for not many years passed before the princes, called Naiks, rebelled. One of these took possession of Madurey (Madura) and another of Taniaur (Tanjore), another of Maxur (Mysore), another of Cholomangalao (Choromandal). They ceased to send in their tribute, giving him nothing but a small sum just sufficient for his support. Upon his death, they crowned themselves and announced themselves princes of the countries they held. All of them were rich and powerful, taking no notice of, nor acknowledging, the descendants of the Emperor Râma Râja, their former suzerain." (III, p. 235). After Râma Râja's death, Manucci continues, his descendants lost the allegiance of the governors, and remained in the Carnatic territory in poverty, subsisting on the charity which the rebel governors gave. "There still survive some of them," he concludes (*i. e.*, in 1700), but "they keep in obscurity not to be recognized, otherwise Aurangazeb and his governors would most certainly take their lives. They subsist by begging for alms. One of them discovered himself to the Rev. Father Paul, Carmelite, and held several conversations with him. In one talk he requested him to prevail on one of the kings of Europe to send an army to his assistance. He promised that if such help were afforded, he would give a great reward, with much land and many privileges. The said father, I well know, made proposals to several European nations, but his efforts had no results." (*Storia do Mogor.* III, p. 235-6).

Manucci's theory in regard to the Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan is absurd, but it is noteworthy that it corroborates Ferishta's statement that Râma Râja treated the Sultans as more or less servants of himself. It is also curious that something similar to Manucci's version is given by Dr. Fryer who travelled in India about 1680. (See edition 1879 p. 399).

(*To be continued.*)

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADHVA ACHARYAS.

BY G. VENCOBA RAO, OOTACAMUND.

Continued from p. 222.

For fixing the exact dates of birth and death of Madhvâchârya, we must first enter into the details of the life of Narahari Tîrtha, for whom we have several dates given in inscriptions, discovered in the Telugu districts. If we fix the land-marks in the life of Narahari, it would become easy to arrive at the dates for the various events in the life of Madhvâchârya.

In a short poem entitled *Narahariyati-stôtram*, written by one Kṛishṇa, a disciple of Appayyâchârya of Vyâghrapuri,[15] it is stated that the name of Narahari Tîrtha before he assumed the *saṁnyâsâśrama* was Sâma Sâstrin, and that he having met Ânanda Tîrtha, implored the latter to make him his disciple and a *saṁnyâsin.* Ânanda Tîrtha gave him the *kâshâya* and named him Narahari. Leaving his guru he went by his command to the Kaliṅga Country to act as the regent during the minority of the prince of that country, and at the end of his tenure secured for his master the images of Râma and Sîtâ.[16] His Regency extended to twelve years. Ânanda Tîrtha is said to have worshipped the images for a period of eighty days and finally made them over to Padmanâbha Tîrtha, and went eventually to

[15] Published in the Collection of *Stôtras*, called *Stôtra-mahôdadhi*, at Belgaum.

[16] पूर्वं यः शामशास्त्री सकलमुनिनुतं श्रीमदानन्दतीर्थं नत्वा प्रोवाच भक्त्या दिशतु मम भवान् प्रीतिपूर्वं यतित्वं। श्रीपूर्णप्रज्ञनाम्ना नरहरिमुनिरित्याह्वयं प्राप्य चोक्तः साधो त्वं गच्छ शीघ्रं गजपतिनगरं तत्र राजा भवेति ॥ २ ॥

Badarikâśrama.[17] Padmanâbha Tîrtha ruled as the pontiff of the Mâdhvas for six years, nine months and twenty days.[18] He was succeeded by Narahari Tîrtha, whose pontificate extended to nine years, one month and twenty-three days, beginning from the 14th *tithi* of the month of Kârttika of the year Raktâkshin. During this period, he set up in a temple the image of Nârâyaṇa found in a lake, and renamed the village Nârâyaṇadêvarakere (in the Bellary District). He died on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the tenth month in the year Śrîmukha.[19]

As already stated, there are a number of inscriptions in the Telugu districts mentioning Narahari Tîrtha. The records range from S. 1186 to S. 1215, *i.e.* for nearly a period of 30 years. The earliest of these mentions that Narahari Tîrtha made a gift of some gold to the temple of Kûrmêśvara.[20] Two others dated S. 1205 mention a certain Narasimha Mahâbhattôpâdhyâya, who is described as a contemporary of Anaṅgabhîma.[21] This Narasimha Mahâbhattôpâdhyâya is said to have constructed an enclosure of black stone for the temple of Kûrmêśvara. Another inscription informs us that Anaṅgabhîma belonged to the family of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.[22] No. 290 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for the year 1896 describes Narahari Tîrtha as the disciple of Ânanda Tîrtha, who was a disciple of Purushôttama Tîrtha. Narahari is therein represented "as a (dutiful) son following the profession of (his) father, practising high politics in a righteous manner (and) himself facing the frightened garrisons (?) of the fortresses of crowds of hostile kings; and being devoted exclusively to the great services of the Lord of Śrîkamatha, holds, in order to prevent the ruin of this (temple), an excellent sword (which is) a thunderbolt to the mountains—the Sabaras,—(but) the proper action of which was totally imperceptible because no victim was left, the enemy having lost his life through its mere flash."[23] This inscription is dated Saka 1203. One other inscription states that the S. 1215 corresponded to the 18th year of the reign of Pratâpa Vîra-Narasiṁhadêva[24]; that is, the last known dated record which mentions Narahari Tîrtha belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Narasiṁhadêva. Hence, the first year of his reign or the year of coronation of this prince must have taken place in S. 1197.

With these facts gathered from epigraphical sources let us scrutinise the life of Narahari Tîrtha as given in the *stôtra*. That Narahariyati followed the footsteps of his father in protecting the Kaliṅga country enables us, as was rightly observed by Mr. Krishna Sastri, to infer that his father was also like himself the prime minister of the kings of Kaliṅga. The country appears to have been always subjected to attacks from the wild mountain race, the Sabaras, and Narahari's attention was constantly bestowed upon his troublesome neighbours. From the statement that one Narasiṁha Mahâbhattôpâdhyâya was a contemporary of Anaṅgabhîma. We are inclined to take that Narahari is meant thereby. If this

[17] आनीतं नरहरिभिक्षुणा सीतं श्रीरामं खगज(80)दिनानि पूजयित्वा। हृष्टस्सन् विपुलहृदब्जनाभतीर्थं त्वं पूजां कुरु महतीमिति त्यवादीत् ॥ ६ ॥

[18] श्रीमानंबुजनाभतीर्थयतिराट् संपूज्य षड्वत्सरान् श्रीरामं नृहरिव्रतीश्वर करे दत्त्वा ययौ स्वं पदम्। रक्ताक्षीशरदश्चतुर्दशातिथावूर्जाख्यमासे सिते पक्षे श्रीनृहरिव्रती समभजद्भूमण्डलाचार्यताम् ॥ ८ ॥

[19] संचारकाले पुनराप्य किंचित्स्वप्ने तटाकस्थहरिं समीक्ष्य। संस्थाप्य नारायणदेवपद्माकराभिधानं नगरं चकार ॥ १० ॥

एवं श्रीयतिराण्महामहिमयुक् श्रीरामदेवं ततो दत्त्वा माधवतीर्थहस्तकमले संप्राप्य तुंगातटम्। वर्षे श्रीमुखनाम्नि मासि दशमे पक्षे सिते सप्तमे घस्रे देहमिमं त्यजन् पदमगाच्छ्रीविष्णुनाम्नः शुभम् ॥ ११ ॥

[20] No. 369 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1896.

[21] Nos. 296 and 298 of the same.

[22] No. 307 of the same.

[23] The translation of Mr. Krishna Sastri is quoted here. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 330.

[24] No. 363 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1896.

surmise is correct, we can assert that Narahari served Anaṅgabhîma as his minister and later on as regent to his son. The prince Pratâpa Vîra-Narasiṁhadêva, whom we know as the son of Anaṅgabhîma, assumed sovereignty in the year S. 1197, and hence the regency of Narahari must necessarily have come to a close that very year. The same year Narahari returned to Uḍipi with the images of Râma and Sîtâ and made them over for *pûja* to his master, Ânanda Tîrtha, who, as we have already seen, worshipped them for a period of eighty days and finally retired to Badarî (*i. e.* died).[25] It means that Ânanda Tîrtha died in the year S. 1197.

Now, the year S. 1197 must according to the *Narahari-yati-stôtra* must be the twelfth year of the regency of Narahari; the regency therefore must have begun in the year S. 1165. As a matter of fact we find records mentioning Narahari only from the year S. 1186 and not earlier. We consider this evidence corroborates well the statement of the *stôtra* that he reign over Kaliṅga a regent for twelve years. After the demise of the great Dvaita leader in S. 1197, Padmanâbha Tîrtha ruled as the pontiff of the Mâdhvas, according to the *maṭha* lists, for 6 years, 9 months and 20 days. The same list gives 9 years, 1 month and

[25] The followers of Ânanda Tîrtha believe that their great teacher still lives in the jungles of Badarî on the Himalayas. He is considered to be an *aṁśa* of Vâyu in the latter's third incarnation (*avatâr*), the three *avatârs* of Vâyu being Hanumân, Bhîma and Ânanda Tîrtha. It appears that something like the following is the probable explanation of the phrase that a man is the *aṁśa* of a particular deity: *e.g.*, Kumârila Bhaṭṭa is considered to be the incarnation of Kumâra (Subrahmaṇya), who heralded the advent of his father Śaṅkara (Śiva) on this earth as Śaṅkarâchârya; Śaṅkarâchârya is similarly believed to be the *aṁśa* of Śiva or Śaṅkara. People seem to have wondered at the prodigious intellect of this remarkable man and in their admiration they began to attribute such extraordinary powers to something supernatural. The name indicates of whom he might be an *aṁśa* : "Verily he must be another Śaṅkara (Śiva) that has come down upon the earth for the purpose of reclaiming humanity." The feeling that Śaṅkara might be Śiva grows stronger as the mist of ages thicken round such a faith, till in the long run the analogy is forgotten and identity is established between the object of comparison and the object compared to it.

The great Vaishnava reformer Râmânuja, is asserted to be an *avatâr* of Âdiśêsha. Râmânuja was called Lakshmaṇa (Iḷaiyâḷvâr) by his father. When he took the *sanyâsâśrama* he came to be known by the name of Râmânuja (the brother of Râma, *i. e.* Lakshmaṇa). When Vishṇu desired to be born on the earth as Râma, he made Lakshmî, Âdiśêsha, the *śaṅkha*, the *chakra*, etc. be born also as Sîtâ, Lakshmaṇa, etc. Adiśêsha was represented by Lakshmaṇa. Hence Râmânuja of vast learning must be as wise as Âdiśêsha (Lakshmaṇa, *i. e.*, Râma's *anuja* in this case).

An exactly similar reasoning has been applied by the Mâdhvas in identifying Ânanda Tîrtha with Bhîmasêna and Hanumân. Like the former, he has also performed several gastronomic feats (see pp. 176, 177, and 36 of Mr. C. M. Padmanâbhacharya's book). He lifted a huge boulder like Hanumân and threw it in the river Tuṅgabhadrâ (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Mg. No. 89). That the Âchârya possessed an uncommonly strong digestive faculty and consequently a very healthy frame of body has to be inferred from these facts. He was not like many intellectual giants weak in health. Having posited that Mâdhvachârya was a strong man and resembled Hanumân and Bhîma, in course of time he passed to be *avatâras* of these Pauranic heroes. This supposition being granted, it follows as a logical consequence that Madhvâchârya must also be as immortal as these heroes. Hence he could not or did not die. He lives like the others in a manner we ordinary mortals cannot see or know.

It is extremely repulsive to the mind of the Mâdhva to be told that his Âchârya died. He is said to have gone to Badarî, whereas all other Âchâryas are distinctly mentioned as dead. If their Âchârya also had actually died, surely his biographers would have also written "died" instead of 'gone to Badarî.' In this connection we should refer our readers to the euphimistic way in which the death of a person is referred to among the Śrîvaishnavas, which is "*Svâmi tiru-nâṭṭukku eḻundaruḷiṉâr,*" meaning that he went away to Svarga (*lit.* to the sacred land).

23 days as the length of the pontificate of Narahari Tîrtha. That is, the last year of Narahari must be the last year of Mâdhvâchârya's life *plus* the periods of the pontificates of Padmanâbha Tîrtha and Narahari Tîrtha, which comes to nearly the Saka year 1214-5. If fact, the latest date we got from the inscriptions for Narahari was S. 1215. The records engraved between Saka 1186 to 1197 might have been written at his own command, whereas those found after S. 1197 and till S. 1215 must have been caused to be written by the command of the prince Nârasiṁha, for the merit of his late regent. The striking coincidence of the dates with the facts given in the *stôtra* make it more than probable that S. 1197 might be the last year of Madhvâchârya. This Saka year corresponds to the cycle year Yuva.

According to the traditional lists Madhvâchârya was born in the Cyclic year Piṅgala and lived for 80 years (until Yuva) the year of birth of Madhvâchârya, must therefore correspond with the Saka year 1117 or 1118. We find from the tables that 1118 is Piṅgala. Hence the date of birth of Madhvâchârya must be S. 1118.

The year arrived at by this process of reasoning is in close agreement with the dates given in the *Bhârata-tâtparya-nirṇaya* and *Chhalâri-smṛiti*. The first gives Kali 4300 (S. 1120) as the date of birth of the Âchârya,[26] where as the second states that Madhva-guru was born in S. 1128.[27] The first is almost the date that we have arrived at from a study of the epigraphical records. The second perhaps refers to the date of assumption of *saṁnyâsa* by Vâsudêva,—for, tradition says that he became a *saṁnyâsin* in his eighth year,—hence both might be correct, referring each to an incident in the life of the teacher. When a person takes the *saṁnyâsâśrama* he is believed to have entered a new life and the rebirth of Vâsudêva as Ânanda Tîrtha might therefore have been recorded by Chhalâri. The words—*vipra-tanu* and *Madhva-guru*—used to denote the individual are very suggestive. The former signifies physical birth and the latter the spiritual birth.

It now remains to explain how the date of the Âchârya came to be recorded as the year S. 1040, corresponding to the cyclic year Viḷambin, in the *maṭha* lists. The date of the death of each *âchârya* is observed as a holy day among the Mâdhvas and these days are known as *puṇya-divasas*. But in the case of Mâdhvâchârya, who is believed to have never died at all, there cannot be a *puṇya-divasa* and consequently perhaps his day of birth was taken as the *puṇya-divasa*. In later times, when the lists of the *maṭhas* were written, the *puṇya-divasa* of Mâdhvâchârya must have been taken, as in all other cases, as the date of death of the Âchârya (*i. e.*, his departure to Badarî) and knowing from tradition

---

[26] चतुस्सहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुस्स भीमो दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्त्वमाह ॥

It appears improbable that the verse belongs to the original work, and is more likely to be an interpolation. For, it is quite unlikely that the Âchârya would boast of himself as the incarnation of Bhîma, taken to destroy the *daityas*. Besides there is no need, in the present instance, for him to give the date of his birth. It must be that the interpolation was made by some pious hand with a desire of recording the date of the birth of the Guru, in his work itself.

[27] कलौ प्रवृत्ते बौद्धादिमतं रामानुजं तथा । शाके ह्येकोनपंचाशदधिकाब्दसहस्रके ॥
निराकर्तुं मुख्यवायुं सन्मतस्थापनाय च । एकादशशते शाके विंशत्यष्टयुगे गते ॥
अवतीर्णं मध्वगुरुं सदा वंदे महागुण ॥ (There is no other date Saka 1049 mentioned herein the relevency of which is not clear. Can it be that it refers to the advent of Râmânuja ?)

that he lived for eighty years, they must have deducted this number from S. 1120 (the date given in the (*Bhârata-tâtparya-nirṇaya*) and arrived at S. 1040 for the date of birth of Madhvâchârya.

If, according to the matha list, we take the date of demise of Madhvâchârya to be S. 1120, the date of the end of Padmanâbha Tîrtha's pontificate would become S. 1126-7, and of Narahari, S. 1135-6. Then Narahari could not be represented as making or causing others to make gifts to temples in the years between S. 1186-1215, that is, fifty years after his death in S. 1135-6.

In a foot-note in his paper on the Srikurman inscription of Narahari Tîrtha, Mr. Krishna Sastri writes that the Svâmi of the Phalmâru matha told him that his matha list gives Piṅgala and Îśvara as the dates of birth and death of Mâdhvâchârya[28] and this is very near the dates arrived by us.

The *Madhva-vijaya* mentions that a certain king named Îśvara was ruling over the Mahârâshtra country when Mâdhvâchârya passed through it. This king is identified by Mr. Krishnasami Ayyar with Mahâdêva of Dêvagiri who ruled from A. D. 1260-1270 (S. 1182-1192), his reason being that both of them possess a name which refers to Siva, and poet Narayana Panditâcharya, the author of *Madhva-vijaya,* might have, for exigencies of metre, rendered the real name Mahâdêva into its equivalent, Îśvara. We do not know how far this identification is tenable. In case the identification is assumed to be correct the meeting of Mâdhvâchârya and Mahâdêva must have taken place in the last part of the life of the former, which is not what the Madhva-vijaya has. Therein the event is said to have taken place in the middle of the life of the Âchârya, that is, when he undertook his second journey to Badarî.

A second prince is also mentioned in the *Madhva-vijaya*; *viz.*, Jayasiṁha of Kumbla.

We confess we are at present unable to identify this king with any hitherto known to history.

The facts noticed in the previous paragraphs may be tabulated as follows :—

Birth of Mâdhvâchârya	S. 1118 (or 1120)
Assumption of holy orders..	S. 1128.
Tour to the south.	
Pilgrimage to Badarî.	
Conversion of Sôbhana Bhatta, Sâma Sâstrin, and Govinda Bhatta.	
Second tour to Badarî	
Narahari's regency begins...	S. 1186
Do. do. ends	S. 1197
Death of Madhvâchârya and the accession of Padmanâbha ...	S. 1197
Death of Padmanâbha Tîrtha	S. 1204
Narahari's pontificate	S. 1204-1215

(*To be continued.*)

[28] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI, p. 263, footnote 1.

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

(*Continued from Vol. XXXIV. p. 176.*)

No. IV.

JOHN SMITH.

JOHN SMITH, the fourth of our "Worthies," resembles William Jearsey, the fiery chief of Masulipatam[1] rather than either Walter Clavell or Ambrose Salisbury, his contemporaries in Bengal. Like Jearsey, Smith, as head of a subordinate factory, openly defied his superiors, was dismissed the service, refused to return to England, and turned 'interloper.' Here, however, the resemblance ends, for Smith had no powerful supporters among those in office, and his attempt at independent trading ended prematurely and disastrously.

The first mention of John Smith in the Records of the East India Company is on the 18th October, 1667, when he was elected by a Court of Committees to serve as a factor in the Bay of Bengal at a salary of £20 per annum. In this capacity he was obliged to give security for £1000. His sponsors were "James Smith of Withington in Salop, Clerk," and Matthew Shepherd.[2] The former, who was incumbent of St. John the Baptist, Withington, from 1654 to 1684 was probably a relative.[3]

John Smith sailed to India in one of the five ships sent to Madras in 1668,[4] probably in the *Blackamore*, with Richard Edwards, another newly elected factor. Fort St. George was, at this time, in a state of turmoil owing to the actions of Sir Edward Winter, the late Agent, who, for over two years had defied the Company, had ignored their orders for his return to England, and had imprisoned his successor, Sir George Foxcroft. While the "Commissioners" empowered to reduce the mutinous Sir Edward to obedience were carrying out their instructions, the ships, with the Company's junior servants destined for Bengal, sailed to Masulipatam. Here they were detained by bad weather, and were unable to land their passengers at Balasor until early in 1669.

Smith appears to have been immediately ordered to Hugli, where he arrived on the 5th March,[5] leaving Edwards at Balasor. The two had apparently struck up a friendship during the voyage from England and had already arranged to assist each other in private trade. Smith lost no time in buying and selling on his own and Edwards' account at Hugli, where he had temporary charge of the Company's factory, with a "diet allowance" of Rs. 30 per month.[6] He began with some sword blades, but considered that the price offered by the local governor was too low.[7]

In April, 1669, Edwards was sent to Kâsimbâzâr to join Thomas Jones[8], another of the Company's newly-arrived servants, while Smith accompanied John March on a special mission to Dacca.[9] March was selected by Shem Bridges, head of affairs in Bengal, to plead the cause of the English to the Nawâb Shâista Khân and to endeavour to obtain

[1] See *ante.*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 163, 286 ff.

[2] *Court Minutes*, vol. 26, fols. 48, 68, 74.

[3] The *Shropshire Parish Registers* mention James, Joseph, Mary and Rachel as children of the Rev. James Smith, but there is no record of any child of the name of John.

[4] *Letter Book*, vol. 4.

[5] *O. C.* No. 3255.

[6] *O. C.* No. 3282.

[7] *O. C.* No. 3255.

[8] *O. C.* No. 3264.

[9] *O. C.* Nos. 3265, 3272.

redress from the grievances imposed on the Company's servants by Malik Kâsim, the native governor at Hûglî. A halt was made at Kâsimbâzâr, and Dacca was reached about the end of May.[10] Six weeks later March wrote to Edwards that "Business goes on soe slowly in this cursed Durbar," that it would be another month before he could accomplish his mission and be ready to "return for Cassambazar," when he should leave John Smith in charge of the Company's investments at Dacca.[11] At the same time Smith himself wrote to Edwards, posing as a champion of the Company's rights. He regretted that Roger Broadnax was under suspicion of "Treichery" and feared the Company would be sufferers by the "unworthy Dealings" of William Blake, the late Agent in Bengal. During the remainder of the year 1669 he was presumably in sole charge at Dacca. Two letters addressed to him by Edwards at Kâsimbâzâr are extant, the one[12] acknowledging the receipt of money which arrived too late for the investment of 1669, and the other[13] expressing sympathy that "the Mogull who made a bargain with Mr. March . . . Should tand of [off]."

In the following year, 1670, there is no record of Smith, except in a private capacity, nor any indication to show whether he was as busily employed in the Company's affairs as he was in carrying out his own and his friend's investments. In March he wrote to Edwards[14] that he had procured his "Tangeebs" (*tanzêbs*) and would shortly forward the "Jelolsies"[15] desired. In reply, he received a letter from Edwards, sent per Thomas Jones, "who is to reside with you,"[16] giving directions about the "Jellolsyes" and arranging for the payment of them. Jones fell ill immediately on his arrival, which, "discouraged him soe much" that he returned to Kâsimbâzâr. He was, however, sent back a month later, when he was again the bearer of a letter from Edwards to Smith with directions about various "adventures" and "2 ps. braid."[17] Edwards had apparently offered to act as matrimonial agent for his friend, for on the 23rd August 1670, Smith wrote,[18] "I humbly thank you for your news and for your kind offer of an English Lady. My confidence in you is great, yet not soe as I can trust you to choose a wife for mee when you are unprovided your Selfe, which want pray first supply, and if there's none left for mee, I'm content to stay till an other Spring."

Beyond a short letter from Edwards, on the 31st January 1671, regretting the failure to dispose of his swords at Dacca,[19] there is no further reference to Smith until December of that year, when he officially informed Walter Clavell, who had succeeded Shem Bridges as "Chief" in "the Bay," that he could find a market for the Company's lead or tin.[20] Smith had apparently realized that the new chief was not favourably disposed towards him, for in January 1672, he wrote to Edwards at Kâsimbâzâr,[21] "I writ severall times to Mr. Clavell for the Bale Silk Mr. Elwaies provided for mee but hee did not deliver it, by

[10] At "Hutchora Hattee" (Hajrahatî) Smith missed his "little carpet" which had been left at Kâsimbâzâr through the "Rougrie" of Edwards' "man." (*O. C.* No. 3277).

[11] *O. C.* No. 3306. [12] *O. C.* No. 3339.

[13] *O. C.* No. 3370. [14] *O. C.* No. 3411.

[15] Fine piece goods, probably *jalâlshâhî*. See Sir Richard Temple's note on this word, ***Diaries of Streynsham Master***, I. 430*n*.

[16] *O. C.* No. 3419. [17] *O. C.* No. 3436.

[18] *O. C.* No. 3463. [19] *O. C.* No. 3533.

[20] ***Factory Records, Miscellaneous***, vol. 3, p. 122. [21] *O. C.* No. 3622.

which I am greatly disappointed. I heare hee hath two of my Europe Letters in his custody, which hee sends not, nor have I received any answer to any Generall or perticular sent him this five months; I understand not the meaning of it." The remainder of the letter refers to Edward's own affairs and to their mutual trade—"I am sorry you are like to come to a losse for your trouble in packing the Company's goods, but glad to heare of your advance in Sallary and place, in which wish you much happinesse and prosperity . . . I have at laste sold our Pepper at 19 rupees, a poore price, feare there will bee Little or noe proffet. As soone as I have opportunity, shall remitt your mony with your lace etc. here, which I intended to have carried with mee if had gone last Shipping. Your Successe as well as mine is bad in tradeing here; the swords believe will ly as long as the Pepper, here being many arrived." From the above it seems that Smith had intended to leave Dacca in 1671. but there is no record of any request to that effect. On the 31st March, 1672, he again wrote officially to his chief about investments that could be made at Dacca, adding, "This is the only place for Cossaes (*khâssa*), Adathecs (*adhotar, dhotî*) and Hummums (*hammâm*)."[22] Meanwhile, Clavell's enquiries had convinced him that Smith was mismanaging affairs with the officials at the *darbâr*, and he consequently dispatched James Price, who had had previous experience, to act as the Company's *vakîl* at Dacca. Edwards sent a timely warning to his friend, and Smith, who either would not, or dared not, brook investigation into his methods at Court, refused to allow the *vakîl* to carry out his orders, alleging that most of the "troubles" were ended before his arrival. The following extract of Smith's reply to Edwards shows that the charge, made later, of his high-handed treatment of Price was not unfounded:—*Dacca 20 June 1672.*[23] "By James Price received a letter from you and thank you very kindly for your advice concerning him; wee have used him accordingly and never imployed him in a Cowryworth of service; wee doe this day dispeed him with a Letter . . . and your Brother [?brother-in-law] J. V. [John Vickers] hath been honourd with another. Thank God wee have now ended most of our troubles and got two Phirwannas (*parwâna*), which will send in a few days; hope shall now please them all. If you hear of James, as 'tis like he will, that he ended this business, doe mee the favour to tell him from mee that hees a lying Rogue and never was imployed."

On the 24th June, 1672. Smith reported his success in his negotiations with the Court officials, and stated that "Malik Cossum" (Malik Kâsim) had promised to pay what "he forced from the English."[24] This letter did not modify Clavell's opinion of Smith's incapacity, but still no steps were taken against him until the following year. He continued to trade on his own account, and in November, he sent a consignment of cloth to his friend Edwards.[25]

However, on the 17th January 1673, Robert Elwes, then at Patna, was ordered forthwith to repair to Dacca, "Sundry causes having moved us to dismiss Mr. John Smith from his Imployment and to constitute you in his place."[26] Writing to the Agent at Fort St.George on the 16th March, the Council at "the Bay" detail these "sundry causes" as follows:[27] "Having many just reasons to complain of the slackness of Mr. John Smith in

22 *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3. p. 125.

23 *O. C.* No. 3652.

24 *Factory Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. 3, p. 126.

25 *O. C.* No. 3701.

26 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

27 *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

Dacca, as well in giving us advices, as in dispatching away the Company's goods provided by him and giving us his acompts, wee recalled him from thence and ordered Mr. Elwes to leave Pattana and proceed to Dacca there to receive the Companys remaines and dispose of their goods . . . and have confidence that from him and Mr. Hervy wee shall have a more strict correspondence and complyance with our orders then hitherto wee have had from those who reside there."[28]

Elwes duly notified his arrival at Dacca and the delivery of the Council's order to "John Smith for his surrender of the Companys remaines and repaire" to Balasor within ten days, and Smith's representation thereon.[29] In reply, Clavell remarked that the allotted days were ample for preparation, since Smith was apprised of his recall in January and therefore had had plenty of time to arrange his business. His presence was required at Balasor "to perfect his accompts, which for want of a good correspondence with him lye in no good plight, and its high time they were better methodized." Clavell also imputed to Smith's mismangement the fact that so large a *peshkash*, or forced offering, had been demanded of the English by the Nawâb—"The Company have so much the more to thanke Mr. Smith for that by his negligence and bad correspondence hath drawne upon them such a charge."

Smith, however, ignored the summons to return to Balasor. On the 3d April 1673, Clavell again wrote to Elwes that they "know not what there might bee remaining of Mr. Smith's [at Dacca], having scarce received any advice from him what hee had done;"[30] and with regard to alleged outstanding debts to Tilok Chand and others, he added, "The business of the brokers wee can say nothing to till wee heare further from you, but admire that there should bee such large remaines as you intimate, which concerne Mr. Smith to looke unto, hee having had now almost a yeares warning to get them in, but of this wee shall not write much, expecting Mr. Smith suddainely here, and then wee shall understand the state of his accompts, for wee expect he make no delay or frivolous pretences for his stay." In spite of these peremptory orders Smith did not hurry away from Dacca. In a letter from Samuel Hervy, of the 29th April 1673, to that popular correspondent, Richard Edwards, there is the remark, "Mr. Smith departs hence within three or four dayes and takes Cassimbazar in his way."[31] However, a month later, on the 29th May, Smith was still at Dacca, and Hervy stated that he "departs hence I think tomorrow," leaving "musters of his silke" in Hervy's charge.[32] In the end, it was the 9th June 1673, before Smith started for Kâsimbâzâr *en route* for Balasor.[33]

During his leisurely journey, he wrote to Edwards from "*Hudgora Hattee* [*Hajrahati*], *Friday June* 20 [1673] if mistake not—Esteemed friend I am now arrived at Hudgora Hattee and expect this day to reach Merdadpore [Mîrdâûdpur] to which place would intreate the favour from you to provide and send me a Pallakee [palanquin] and a set of Cahars [*kahâr*, porter] that I may, haveing this oppertunity (which is my great desire) see you [in] health and prosperrity; therefore hope you will not fayle mee in sending Cahars and Pallakee, which I desire might bee on my accompt. I shall stay at Merdadpore about 24 hours and

[28] At the time of his dismissal, Smith was in receipt of a salary of £25 per annum and ranked as "9th in the Bay."

[29] *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

[30] *Factory Records, Hugli*, vol. 4.

[31] *O. C.* No. 3783.

[32] *O. C.* No. 3791.

[33] *O. C.* No. 3798.

then if they arrive not shall put forward for Hugly. If you think I may meet with any afraunt, pray advise me, and how to avoid it."[34] The last sentence is written in a simple cypher, which, from this time, Smith frequently employed in his correspondence with Edwards. The reply to the above letter does not exist, but it seems probable that Smith was advised not to break his journey nor to come in contact with Matthias Vincent, the Chief at Kâsimbâzâr, for, on the 28th June 1673, Clavell wrote to Dacca that Mr. Smith had "lately arrived" at Balasor, and that they should "now suddainely" examine his accounts. He had been told of the "difference in broad cloth," but attributed the mistake to Elwes.[35]

For three months there is no mention of Smith and his affairs. On the 27th September he was still at Balasor, writing in cypher to Edwards,[36] "I am sorry you are out, and E. L. [Edward Littleton] made third; we have had noe words of my going to Decca; when goe about that must go through quick." This seems to imply either that he expected reinstatement, or was hoping to return to Dacca to settle his own concerns. Finding himself mistaken and in ill odour with the authorities in "the Bay," Smith decided to appeal to headquarters, and on the 12th October 1673, he voiced his grievances in a letter to Nathaniel Herne, then Governor of the East India Company. He wrote,[37] that he "had served the Company in Dacca nearly five years and eight months," and that Vincent had sought his ruin because he was unsuccessful in a private matter he undertook for him. Further, he stated that Vincent had been heard to declare he would not rest till he had ruined him "tho' it cost him half his fortune," and to Vincent's influence with Clavell he attributed his recall from Dacca. He complained that the time limited was insufficient for him to settle his affairs and that, consequently, he was practically ruined, but he left the Company in ignorance of the fact that he had taken three months instead of the allotted ten days in which to arrange for his departure. He objected to the appointment of Hervy at Dacca on the ground that he was his avowed enemy and a "known atheist." With regard to the large *peshkash* given to the Nabob in 1672, for which he was blamed by Clavell, Smith pretended that no such bribe would have been necessary had not Clavell most injudiciously neglected to pay a ceremonial visit to the Governor of Hûglî before he started for Dacca. Finally, Smith accused Vincent of forcing money unjustly from some of the native servants at Kâsimbâzâr and of being answerable for the death of Raghu the *poddâr,* an affair which cost the Company Rs. 13,000. He concluded by assuring the Court of Committees of his faithful service and by begging to be restored to his chiefship at Dacca in order to secure the Company's estate, and, as a secondary consideration, his own, for Clavell was detaining some of his goods at Balasor as security for debts which he repudiated.

This letter does not appear to have been sent to England until late in the following year, for, on the 20th August 1674, the Council at Fort St. George wrote to the Company, enclosing "papers from Mr. John Smith late chief of Decca, who complaines, of much injustice done him; we have sent Coppies thereof to the Chief and Factors there, desiring them to cause things to be duly examined, which is all that we can do at present untill we can send some person to enquire into these matters. In the mean time your honours great prudence will be pleased to give us your sense and directions upon the premisses."[38]

(To be continued).

[34] *O. C.* No. 3803.
[35] *Factory Records,* Hugli, vol. 4.
[36] *O. C.* No. 3860.
[37] *Factory Records, Miscellaneous,* vol. 3, p. 153.
[38] *O. C.* No. 3992.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SARVAJÑÂTMA.

LAST YEAR if I remember aright there was a discussion on the date of the abovenamed person in the pages of this *Journal* by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The date he arrives at is also borne out by the succession list of the Sringeri Âchâryas printed by Mr. B. Suryanarain Row in his *History of Vijayanagar*, which list he says he got from the then Jagadguru. Except for the date of Sureśvarâcharya, the list seems to be quite reliable, but it is very surprising that Mr. Suryanarain Row should have himself fallen into a good deal of inaccuracy in defending the accuracy of the statement in the list about Sureśvarâchârya, who according to it sat for a trifle of 800 years on the 'pontifical throne'.! We might safely accept A. D. 773 as the date of Sureśvarâchârya's death, but there seems to have been an interregnum of three years unaccounted for in the list. Sarvajñâtma succeeding only in A. D. 758 and ruling for 90 years.

G. D.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

BENEFIT OF CLERGY.[1]

THE following note from the records of Fort St. George, dated 14 June 1697, is of interest as to changes in manners.

Att a Counsultation Present :[2] The Hon. Nath. Higginson Esqr.. Lieut. Genl. of India, Mr. John Styleman, Mr. Wm. Fraser, Mr. Roger Bradyll, Mr. Chas. Barwell, Mr. Thos. Wright, Mr. Matthew Empson.

* * *

The Judge reports that [at] a Generall Sessions held on the 10th and 11th Instants Richard Caswell an Englishman and Adrian van Reed a Dutchman were found guilty of felony, for being concerned in the running away with the Rt. Hon. Company's Ketch *Josia* out of this road and Brigantine *Gingerlee* from Anjengo. But claiming the benefitt of their Clergy did both read, and were burnt in the hand and returned to the custody of the Marshall.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK NOTICE.

QUELLEN DER RELIGIONS GESCHICHTE. (Sources of the History of Religion). 5 Vols. issued; 2 ready; 30 projected. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Göttingen: T. C. HINDICHS, LEIPZIG.

THE Royal Society of Philosophy at Göttingen has issued a very interesting prospectus of a Commission, which has been appointed to investigate the developments and history of the various World Religions. The Members of this Commission are all well known scholars, who have made a life study of this most fascinating of all human problems, and Herr Oldenburg will be the President of the whole undertaking. The first beginning of a scheme of this kind was due to Julius Boehmer, under the title of *Religions-Urkunden der Völker*, and this will be associated with the new enterprise which is to be called the "Quellen der Religions Geschichte," the sources of the History of Religion. The task of the Commission will be, to examine all the religious books of the East, the traditions and developments of the early creeds of Oceania, South America and Africa, to publish critical texts of all available documents; in fact to produce a world-embracing study and history of this most important branch of the slow education of the human race. The scheme will embrace the entire religious history of the world, illustrated by contemporaneous literature, folk-lore, and tradition, and will be corrected and brought up to date, by the experience of men actually working in various parts of the world. There will be twelve groups, of religious investigation.

1. Religions of the Indo-German Races in Europe.
2. Egyptian and ancient Semitic.
3. Judaism.
4. Islam.
5. Religions of the Ural-Altaic and Arctic Races.
6. Iranian, Armenian, Asia-Minor, Caucasian Religions.
7. Indian Religions (Buddhism excepted).
8. Buddhism.
9. Eastern Asiatic Religions.
10. African Religions.
11. American Religions.
12. Primitive Religions of Southern Asia and Oceania.

We wish all success to the gigantic work, projected and begun by this Commission, and we are sure that our readers will watch the further developments with interest and sympathy. Five volumes have already appeared, and another two are in the Press, and thirty more volumes have been assigned to distinguished scholars, and will appear in due course.

T. HART DAVIES.

---

[1] Benefit of Clergy arose in the 12th century. Psalm LI., Vol. I. was the usual test of literacy and was known as the "neck-verse." Felons who passed the test were only burnt in the hand instead of being hanged. The privilege was abolished by a statute of 1827.

[2] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, vol. 9, pp. 152-3.

FOLKLORE OF THE KONKAN.

CHAPTER I.

NATURE POWERS.

THE worship of minor local deities is connected with such low castes as Guravas, Bhopis, Marátha Kunbis, Dhangars, Wághes, Murlis, Mahárs and Mángs in the District of Kolhápur. It is believed by the Bráhmans that once an image is consecrated and worshipped, it should be worshipped uninterruptedly every day, and he who neglects to worship such an image daily incurs the sin of *Brahma-hatya* or Bráhman-murder. For this reason Bráhmans generally do not worship minor local deities. In former times Bráhmans who worshipped these deities were excommunicated by their caste-men. Such *Pujáris* were compelled to wear a folded *dhotur* or waist cloth, and were forbidden to put on the *gandh* or sandal paste mark in straight or cross lines. They were allowed to put on the *tila* or circular mark of sandal paste. Another reason why Bráhmans are not the *Pujáris* or worshippers of such deities is that Bráhmans cannot accept or partake of the *Naivedya* offering of cooked food, fowls, etc., made to them. Lower class people can partake of such offerings, and are therefore generally the worshippers or ministrants of minor local deities.

At Palshet in the Ratnágiri District, there are two *grámdevis*, viz., Jholái and Mhárjái, and the *pujáris* of these deities are respectively a Gurav and a Mahár.[1] The *pujáris* of goddesses are generally men of the lower castes. The guardian goddesses of the villages of Pule, Varavade, Nandivade, and Rila have Kunbis as their *pujáris*; while the *pujáris* of the goddesses Mahálakshmi, Bhagvati, Mahákáli, and Jogái are generally chosen from the Gurav caste.[2] In the Konkan the Ráuls (Shudras) are the *pujáris* of the deities Vithoba, Ravalnáth and Bhaváni; the Ghádis are the *pujáris* of the deities Sáteri and Khavaneshwar; while the deities Mahádev and Máruti are worshipped by *pujáris* belonging to the Gurav caste.[3] The goddesses Makhajan and Jakhmáta at Sangameshwar in the Ratnágiri District are worshipped by *pujáris* who belong to the Gurav and Bhoi castes respectively. The god Ganpati at Makhnele has for his *pujári* a Wáni. The *pujáris* of the temple of Shiva at Lánje in the Ratnágiri District are Wánis.[4] It is said that the *pujári* of Pundárik at Pandharpur is a Kiráta (fisherman) by caste.[5]

The *pujári* of the goddess Narmáta at Sidgad in the Thána District is a Koli; whilst the *pujáris* of Kánoba, Khandoba, and Vetál are of the lower castes.[6] The goddesses Mahálakshmi of Kolvan and Vajreshvari have their *pujáris* chosen from the lower castes.[7] The *pujáris* of Jari-Mari, Mhasoba, Bahiroba, Cheda and other deities which are said to prevent contagious diseases, are always men of the lower castes.[8]

The *pujáris* of the guardian goddesses of the villages Petsai, Dasgaum and Nizámpur are a Mahár, a Kumbhár or potter, and a Marátha, respectively.[9] The *pujári* of the

[1] School Master, Palshet, Ratnágiri.
[2] School Master, Adiváre, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Parule, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Makhnele, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Rájápur, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Masters, Ágáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[7] School Master, Málád, Thána.
[8] School Master, Shahápur, Thána.
[9] School Master, Dasgaum, Kolába.

guardian goddesses of Chaul in the Kolába District belongs to the lower castes.[1] The goddess Mángái has always a Mahár as her *pujári.*[2] Everyday the god Shiva is required to be worshipped first by a *pujári* of the Gurav caste. The *pujári* of Bahiri, a corruption of the word Bhairav, one of the manifestations of Shiva, is a man belonging to the lower castes. Similarly the *pujáris* of Bhagavati, Bhaváni, Ambika, Kálika, Jákhái, Jholái, Janni, Kolhái, Vadyájái, Shitaládevi, Chandika, etc., are persons belonging to lower castes.[3]

It is considered by the Hindus very meritorious and holy to worship the Sun; and by Bráhmans the Sun is considered to be their chief deity. The *Gáyatri Mantra* of the Bráhmans is a prayer to the Sun-god or the Savita Dev, and the Bráhmans offer *arghya* or oblations of water to the Sun thrice a day. Those who want health, wealth and prosperity propitiate the Sun-god by prayers and ceremonies. The *Ratha Saptami* is considered to be the principal day for special worship and festivities in honour of the Sun-god. On this day, on a low wooden stool, is drawn, in red sandal paste, a figure of the Sun in human shape seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses, or by a horse with seven faces. This figure is then placed in the sun-shine, and it is then worshipped by offering it *arghya* or spoonfuls of water, red powder, red flowers mixed with red sandal paste, camphor, incense and fruits. Some people kneel down while offering the *arghyas* to the Sun. These *arghyas* are either three or twelve in number. Some persons make a vow not to eat anything unless they have worshipped the Sun and performed the twelve *Namaskaras* by falling prostrate and bowing with folded hands twelve times, and at each time repeating one of the twelve names of the Sun.*

In the Ratnágiri District some people worship the Sun on the Sundays of the month of *Shrávan.* A ceremony held on the *Rathasaptami* day, *i.e.,* the 7th day of the bright half of *Mágh,* is deemed a special festival in honour of the Sun-god. On that day people draw, on a small wooden stool, an image of the Sun, seated in a chariot drawn by seven horses, and worship it with great reverence. Milk is then boiled on a fire made of cow-dung cakes in front of the household *Tulsi* plant. If the milk overflows to the east, it is believed that there will be abundance of crops, but if it flows to the west it is taken as a sign of the near approach of famine.[4] The Sun-god is also worshipped on the following occasions, *e.g., Trikal, Gajaccháya, Ardhodaya, Mahodaya, Vyalipát, Makar-Sankránt, Kark-Sankránt* and the Solar eclipse.[5] Though there are few temples dedicated to the Sun, the village of Parule has the honour of having one called "the temple of Adi-Náráyan." Non-Bráhmanical classes are not seen worshipping the Sun in this district, despite the fact that the Sun is said to be the embodiment of the three principal deities of the Hindus.[6]

The people of the Thána District believe that the *Swastika* is the central point of the helmet of the Sun, and a vow called the *Swastika Vrata* is held in its honor. A woman who observes this vow, draws a figure of the *Swastika* and worships it daily during the *Cháturmás* (four months of the rainy season), at the expiration of which she gives a Bráhman a golden or silver plate with the sign of the Swastika upon it.[7] Another vow named *Dhanurmás,* common to all districts in the Konkan, requires a person to complete his daily rites before sun-rise, and to offer a

1 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
2 School Master, Akola, Kolába.
3 School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.
* These twelve names are :—1 Mitra, 2 Ravi, 3 Surya, 4 Bhanu, 5 Khaga, 6 Pushne, 7 Hiranyagarbha, 8 Marichi, 9 Aditya, 10 Savita, 11 Arka, 12 Bhasker.
4 School Master, Phonden.
5 School Master, Devarukh.
6 School Master, Parule.
7 School Master, Anjur.

preparation of food called *Khichadi* to the Sun-god. The observer of this vow then partakes of the food, regarding it as a gift from that god. This is either done for one day or repeated for a month till the *D'hanu-Sankránt.*[1] On the *Somavati-Amávásya* day (the 15th day of the dark half of a month falling on Monday), and the *Kapiláshasthi* day, the Sun is held in especial reverence.[2] A curious story is narrated regarding the offering of *Arghya* to the Sun. It is said that the Sun rejoices at the birth of a Bráhman, and gives 1,000,000 cows in charity, believing that the *Arghya* which the Bráhman will offer later on will devour his foes, one drop of the *Arghya* killing 1,000 of them*. The repetition of the *Gáyatri-mantra* 108 times a day is supposed to release a Bráhman from the debt of 1,000,000 cows owed in this way to the Sun. [3] The *Yoga-Sutras* of Pátanjali however prohibit a man from looking at the setting Sun, though the sin thus incurred is made amends for by the offering of *Arghya* to that god. [4] It is interesting to note that women do not grind corn on the *Ratha-Saptami* day. [5]

Women bow down to the Sun on the 11th, 12th, 30th or 40th day after their delivery; but Kunbi women generally worship that god on the 7th day.[6] On this occasion some women show a churning handle† to the Sun-god and offer him some grains of rice.[7]

The *Swastika* is considered so holy in the Konkan that it is always drawn on the *Antarpat*; and at the time of the *Punyáha Wachan* ceremony which precedes a Hindu wedding, a *Swastika* drawn in rice is worshipped.[8] The principal deities of the Hindus, whenever they are invoked on special occasions, are seated on the *Swastika.*[9] The people of the Ratnágiri District worship the *Swastika*, regarding it as the symbol as well as the seat of the Sun-god.[10]

By some the *Swastika* is regarded as the foundation-stone of the universe[11] and is held to be the symbol of the god Shiva, and not of the Sun.[12]

The conception of Kunbi is said to have taken place by the influence of the rays of the Sun.[13]

The *Swastika* is considered as an emblem of peace and prosperity, and for this reason Bráhman women draw a figure of the *Swastika* in front of their houses. [14] The custom of moving round such sacred objects as the Banyan, the *Pipal*, the *Tulsi* or sweet basil plant, the *Umbar*, the *Avala* (Phylanthus emblica), etc., is prevalent in the district of Kolhápur. There are no cases recorded in which women after child-birth are exposed to the Sun. But on the 12th day after her delivery, the mother puts on new bangles and new clothes; cocoanuts, betel-nuts and leaves, grains of rice, plantains and grains of wheat are placed in her lap. She then comes out and bows to the Sun. Wealthy persons on this occasion perform a *homa* sacrifice in their houses by kindling the holy fire and feeding Bráhmans. No one in this district believes that conception is caused, or is likely to be caused, by exposure to the rays of the Sun.

The Hindu women of the Konkan walk round *Pipal*, *Tulsi*, and *Umbar* trees every Saturday and on the *Somavati-amávásya* day, *i.e.*, the 15th day of the dark half of a month when it falls on Monday.[15] Sometimes, however, women make a vow to walk round a

[1] School Master, Vasind.
[2] School Master, Málád.
[3] School Master, Málád.
[4] School Masters, Agashi and Arnala.
[5] School Master, Padaghe.
* 33,000,0000 demons are said to be born every day to impede the journey of the Sun.
[6] School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
[7] School Master, Nevare, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Mithbáv, Ratnágiri.
[9] School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
[10] School Master, Pendhur, Málvan, Ratnágiri.
[11] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála.
[12] School Masters, Chauk, Karjat, Kolába.
[13] School Masters, Chauk, Karjat, Kolába.
[14] Rao Saheb Shelke.
[15] School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
† The churning handle or rod is called in Maráthi *Ravi*, which is one of the names of the Sun.

temple or a sacred tree one-hundred thousand times; and for the fulfilment of this vow they walk round the temple or tree for about seven or eight hours every day. If they find it difficult to make up the number of rounds themselves, they ask their near relations to assist them in their undertaking.[1]

The Moon is worshipped by the Hindus on the 2nd of the bright half of every month. On this day it is considered very lucky to see the moon, and many people, particularly the lower classes, pull out threads from the clothes they wear, and offer them to the moon, saying "O! God, accept these old clothes of ours and be pleased to give us new ones in their stead." Some people worship the moon on the *Sankasti Chaturthi* 4th day of the dark half of every month; and such people will not eat anything until they have seen and worshipped the moon on that day. The moon is not worshipped on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day that is, the 4th of the bright half of the month of *Bhádrapad*, as it is considered very unlucky to see the moon on that night. It is firmly believed that any one who sees the moon on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day even by accident will be falsely accused of theft or some other crime. In order to avoid this, people who have accidently seen the moon, throw stones at the houses of their neighbours, and if the neighbours abuse them in return, the mischiefmakers consider themselves freed by the abuse from the sin of having looked at the moon on a forbidden night.

The spots on the surface of the moon are believed by some to be the *rath* or chariot of the god. Others think that they are lunar mountains; but many believe that the spots are the visible signs of the stain on the character of the moon-god due to his having outraged the modesty of the wife of his *guru*, the god Brahaspati or Jupiter. In the *Puráns* it is stated that on one occasion, a dispute arose between the moon and Brahaspati or Jupiter about the wife of Brahaspati, each of them claiming to be the cause of her conception. Subsequently a son was born who was named Budha (Mercury). Brahaspati's wife, on being asked who was the father of the child, named the moon. Thereupon Brahaspati cursed the moon for his adultery. The spots on the surface of the moon are said to be the effect of this curse.

The moon-god is believed to distribute nectar through his rays, and therefore this deity is said to have the power of removing diseases and restoring human beings to health. The moon is the king of herbs, and all trees, plants, etc., thrive owing to the influence of the moon. Sometimes people place at night, figs, plantains, sugarcane and other eatables in the moonlight and eat them early in the morning; and it is said that those who do so improve in health. The practice of drinking the moon's rays does not prevail in the Kolhápur district. But people occasionally dine in the moon light.[2]

On a full moon day people perform the special worship of their chosen deity. On the full moon of the month of *Kártika* temples are illuminated, and on the full moon day of *Mágha*, raw corn such as wheat, *bájri*, etc., is cooked and offered to the household and other deities.* On this day are also performed the special rites and ceremonies that are required in connection with the *Kula-devatás* or family gods or goddesses. On the full moon day of *Fálguna* the *Holi* fire is kindled and worshipped. In certain families the full moon of *Chaitra* is considered auspicious for making offerings to family deities. On the full moon day of *Shrávan* is observed the feast of Cocoanut day, and on this day Bráhmans put on new sacred threads. The full moon is considered by the *Sanyásis* or ascetics an auspicious day for shaving their heads.

1 School Master, Phonde, Ratnágiri.

2 Rao Sahib Shelke.

* In the Konkan the *Navánna Purnima* or full moon day of new food is observed in the month of *Ashwina*. This is, no doubt, due to the difference in the season of the harvest.

On the new moon day the *Pitras* or Manes are worshipped. Lighted lamps are worshipped on the new moon day, of *Ashádha*. In the Kolhápur State this is called *Tadali* new moon day, and in the Konkan it is called *Divali* new moon day. On the new moon day of *Ashwin*, Lakshmi the goddess of wealth is worshipped. All special ceremonies for the propitiation of the *Bhutas* or evil spirits are usually performed on the new moon day. The *Dwitiya* or 2nd day of every month is considered sacred to the moon, and on this day the moon is worshipped; while the *Chaturthi* is considered sacred to the god Ganapati, and on the Cháturthi of Bhádrapada a special festival is held in honour of the god Ganpati. [1]

On the 15th day of the bright half of the month of *Ashwin* people put milk in the rays of the moon for some time, and then, after offering it to the moon, they drink it. Drinking milk in this way is called drinking the rays of the moon. [2] On the *Sankránt Chaturthi* day and on that *Chaturthi* which immediately follows the *Dasara* holiday, people draw an image of the moon and worship it. [3] In the Ratnágiri district several conflicting theories are held regarding the spots on the surface of the moon. Some believe that the spot observed on the moon is a tamarind tree in which that god has stationed himself; others hold that the spot is the reflection of a deer which is yoked to the chariot of the moon.[4]; while many more believe that it has been occasioned by the hoof of the horse of King Nala. Some say that the spot on the surface of the moon represents a *Pipal* tree and a cow fastened to the roots of the tree; others on the authority of Hindu mythology suppose that God created *Madan* (cupid) from the essence taken from the body of the moon and hence the moon-god has spots on his body.[5] In the *Mahábhárat* it is stated that on the surface of the moon is reflected the island of Sudarshan on this earth, together with some trees and a great hare, the bright part being nothing but water.[6] The spot on the surface of the moon is considered by some a deer which the god has taken on his lap.[7] Some believe that Yashoda, the mother of Krishna, after waving an earthen dish round the face of Krishna, threw it at the sky. It struck the moon and thereby the spots on the surface of the moon were caused. Nectar is supposed to have been derived from the rays of the moon; and in some sacred books it is stated that the Chakora bird (Bartavelle Partridge) drinks the rays of the moon.[8]

The people of the Thána District hold similar notions regarding the spots on the surface of the moon. It has been said by some that the portion in question represents mud, while others say that the moon has been disfigured owing to a curse from a sage. [9] Some people say that the spots are due to the moon being cursed by his preceptor Brahaspati with whose wife the moon-god had connection. Being unable to bear the pain of the spots, the moon, it is said, propitiated his preceptor, who directed him to bathe in the Bhima river to alleviate the agony. Accordingly the pain was assuaged, and the part of the river where the Moon-god bathed thus came to be called *Chandra bhága*. [10] Some persons suggest that the spots are a *Pipal* tree with two deer feeding upon it from two sides[11]. Others hold that the spots on the surface of the moon are due to its having been kicked by a deer which, when pursued by a hunter, was refused shelter. [12]

1 Rao Saheb, Shelke.
2 School Master, Ibhrámpur.
3 School Mster, Gaumkhadi, Rájápur.
4 School Master, Adivare, Rájápur.
5 School Master, Dábhol, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Ubhádánda, Vengurla.
8 School Master, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Murbád.
10 School Master, Vásind, Sáhápur.
11 School Master, Wáda.
12 School Master, Edvan, Máhim.

The people of the Thána District believe that the rays of the moon influence conception. [1]

In the Kolába District, to sit in an open place on a moon-light night, is regarded as drinking the rays of the moon. [2] The elongated part of the orb of the moon pointing towards the north or the south is supposed to forebode scarcity or abundance, respectively.[3]

It is a common belief that the moon should not be seen on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day, *i.e.*, the 4th day of the bright half of *Bhádrapad.*

Looking at the moon continuously for a short time on every moon light night is said to keep one's sight in good order.[4]

If the *Amávásya* falls on Monday, Bráhman women of the Thána District walk round a *Tulsi* plant or a Pipal tree and make a vow to a Bráhman.[5]

In the Kolába District a special ceremony is held in honour of minor goddesses on the 8th day of a month. The following things are avoided one on each of the fifteen *tithis* respectively :—
Kohala (pumpkin) *dorli* (Solanum indicum,) salt, sesamum, sour things, oil, *ávale* (Emblic myrobalan), cocoanuts, *bhopala* (gourd), *padval* (snake-gourd), *pávte*(Dolichos Lablab) *masur* (Lens esculenta) brinjal, honey, gambling. [6]

The people observe a fast on the 13th (*Pradosha*) and the 14th day (*Shivarátra*) of the dark half of every month.[7] On the 15th day of the bright half of *Chaitra*, a fair is held in honour of the guardian deity of a village, and hens, goats, etc., are offered as a sacrifice.[8]

The following are days of special importance.

Gudhi-pádva, i.e., the first day of the bright half of *Chaitra*:—This being the first day of the year, *gudhis* and *toranas* are hoisted in front of every house and are worshipped.[9]

Bháu-bij :—On the 2nd day of the bright half of *Kártik* every sister waves round the face of her brother a lamp, and makes him a present. [10]

The ceremony on the *Bháu-bij* day has come into vogue on account of Subhadra having given a very pleasant bath to her brother Krishna on that day. The Court of Yama is also said to be closed on that day, since he goes to his sister; and consequently persons who die on that day, however sinful they may be, are not supposed to go to *Yamaloka i. e.*, hell.[11]

Akshya Tritiya:—On the third day of the bright half of *Vaishákh* cold water and winnowing fans are distributed as tokens for appeasing the *Manes* of ancestors. On this day is also celebrated the birth of the god Parashurám.[12]

Ganesh Chaturthi:—On the 4th day of the bright half of *Bhádrapad*, an earthen image of Ganpati is worshipped and a great ceremony is held in his honour.[13] The fourth day of the bright half of every month is called *Vináyaka-Chaturthi*; while that of the dark half is called *Sankasti-Chaturthi.* On the *Vináyaka-Chaturthi* day, people fast the whole day and dine the next day; while on the *Sankasti Chaturthi* day, they fast during the day time and dine after moon-rise.[14] That *Sankasti Chaturthi* which falls on Tuesday is considered the best.[15]

[1] School Master, Kalyán, No. 1 and School Master, Padaghe, Bhivandi.
[2] School Master, Chidhran, Kolába.
[3] School Master, Poládpur.
[4] School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
[5] School Master, Anjur, Thána,
[6] School Master, Chauk, Kolába,
[7] School Master, Poládpur.
[8] School Master, Poládpur, Kolába
[9] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[10] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[11] School Master, Pendur, Málvan, Ratnágiri.
[12] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[13] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[14] School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
[15] School Master, Ubhádánda, Vengurla.

Nágpanchami:—On the 5th day of the bright half of *Shrávan*, pictures of serpents and snake holes are worshipped.[1]

Champá-Shashti:—On the 6th day of the bright half of *Márgashirsha*, some ceremony relating to the family-deity is performed.[2]

Ratha-Saptami:—On the 7th day of the bright half of *Mágh*, the sun is worshipped and milk is boiled until it overflows.[3]

Gokul-Ashtami:—On the 8th day of the dark half of *Shrávan* the birth of the god Krishna is celebrated.[4]

Ráma-Navami:—On the 9th day of the bright half of *Chaitra* the birth of the god Ráma is celebrated.[5]

Vijayádashmi :—On the 10th day of the bright half of *Ashvin* people cross the boundary of their village and distribute *sone* (leaves of the *Shami* and *Apta* trees). It is a popular belief that a work commenced on this day is sure to end well. Weapons are also worshipped on this day.[6]

Ekádashi:—On the 11th day of *Ashádh* and *Kártik* a special fast is observed. People also fast on the 11th day of each month. A man who dies on this auspicious day is supposed to go to heaven.[7] Sometimes the *Ekádási* falls on two consecutive days; in which case the Smártas observe the first, while the Bhágvats observe the second.[8]

Wáman-dwádashi :—On the 12th day of the bright half of *Bhádrapad* Wáman is worshipped and one or twelve boys are adored, being held to represent Wáman. The marriage of the *Tulsi* plant is sometimes celebrated on this day.[9]

Dhana-Trayodashi:—On the 13th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*, Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth is worshipped.[10]

Narak-Chaturdashi :—On the 14th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*, the demon Narakásur was killed. In consequence, on this day people take their bath before sun-rise, break *Karinta* (a fruit), regarding it as a demon, and apply its seeds to their heads.[11]

Nárali Paurnima :—On the 15th day of the bright half of *Shrávan*, people worship the sea and throw into it a cocoanut.[12]

Wata-Paurnima :—On the 15th day of the bright half of *Jyestha*, women whose husbands are alive fast the whole day, and worship the *Wata*-tree.[13]

On the 15th day of the bright half of *Ashvin*, people keep themselves awake the whole night and amuse themselves in a variety of ways. On the 15th day of the bright half of *Kártika* houses are illuminated. This day is called *Tripuri-Paurnima*. On this night people illuminate with earthen lamps all temples in the village, but particularly the temple of Shiva. This is done in commemoration of the triumph of the god Shiva over the demon Tripurásura. The full-moon day of the month of *Mágha* is called *Chudi Paurnima*. On this night people light *chudies* torches and with them slightly burn certain flowers, trees and plants. The full-moon day of the month of *Fálguna* is called the *Holi* or *Holi-Paurnima* and is the biggest holiday of the lower class Hindus. On this night the Hindus kindle the Holi-fire and worship it.[14] On the 15th day of the bright half of *Ashvin* people eat grain of the new harvest. On the full-moon day of *Shrávan* they perform the *Shrávani* ceremony and give a lamp in charity. On the full-moon day of the month of *Chaitra*, *Vaishakha* and *Márgashirsha*, the births of Máruti, Narasimha and Dattátraya respectively are celebrated.[15] The Kunbis of the Ratnágiri District believe that

1 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Málgund, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
12 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
13 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
14 School Master, Bandivade Budruk, Ratnágiri.
15 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.

on the 15th or full-moon day of *Paushá*, the Hindu gods go out hunting and that they return from their hunting expedition on the full-moon day of the month of *Mágha*. During this period the Kunbis abstain from worshipping their gods.[1]

Amávásya:—On the 15th day of the dark half of every month, oblations are given to the *Manes* of the dead.[2] The commencement of a good deed, journey to a distant place, and the ploughing of land are postponed on the no-moon day of a month.[3] Sanyásis are enjoined to get their beard shaved on the *Páurnima* and *Amávásya* days only.[4]

People do not set out on a journey on the following *tithis*, regarding them as *rikta* (unfruitful or inauspicious):—

Chaturthi, *Navami* and *Chaturdashi*.[5]

The Chándráyana Vrata:—Widows fast on the no-moon day of a month. They are required to regulate their diet in such an increasing proportion that on the next full moon day they should have a full meal. The reverse process follows for a fortnight after, so that they observe an absolute fast on the following no-moon day.[6]

People have various ideas about the cause of the eclipses of the sun and the moon. Some say that the sun and the moon are superior deities, and that the demons Ráhu and Ketu who belong to the caste of Mángs attempt to touch them and to devour them. Others believe that the planets Ráhu and Ketu stand in the path of the Sun and the Moon and thereby darkness is caused on the earth. It is believed that about 5 hours before the commencement of the obscuration, in the case of the Sun and about 4 hours in the case of the Moon, the *Vedha* or malign influence of the monsters begins and during the period till the whole eclipse is over a strict fast is observed. At the commencement of the eclipse, as well as at its close, people bathe. Some sit on a low wooden stool with a rosary in their hands repeating the names of the gods, or the *gáyatri* or some of the *mantras*. But those who want to acquire the art of magic or witch-craft or the power of removing the evil effects of snake-poison, or scorpion sting, go to a lonely place on the riverside, and there standing in water repeat the *mantras* taught to them by their *guru* or teacher. People give alms to Mahárs and Mángs on this occasion, and therefore persons of this class go about the streets saying loudly "Give us alms and the eclipse will be over" *De dán suté girán*.

A strict fast is observed on an eclipse day, but children and pregnant women who cannot bear the privation are given something to eat under a *sike*. The eclipse time is so inauspicious that children and animals born at that time are considered unlucky.[7] Sometimes an eclipse cannot be observed owing to the intervention of clouds. On that occasion the people of the Konkan resort to the following expedient in order to ascertain whether the luminary is eclipsed or not. They take a potful of water and hold in it a *musal*. If it stands in the pot unsupported it is regarded as indicative of the existence of an eclipse. Mángs, Mahárs, etc., are supposed to be the descendants of Ráhu and Ketu; and for this reason gifts are made to them in charity on an eclipse day.[8]

The people of the Thána District believe that corn grows abundantly in a year that witnesses many eclipses.[9]

The popular cause of an eclipse in the Kolába district, is the *Girha*, a minor deity which is said to wander through the sky and swallow the Sun and the Moon when

1 School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Rájápur, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Uhhádánda, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Khetwádi, A.V. School, Bombay.
8 School Master, Khetwadi, A.V. School, Bombay.
9 School Master, Padaghe, Thána.

they cross his path.[1] Besides the mythological story regarding the cause of an eclipse, the people of the Ratnágiri District also believe that the *Girha* throws his shadow on the sun and the moon, when he comes to demand his dues from them.[2] The Konkan villagers, on an eclipse day, strike barren trees with a pestle,[3] in order that they may bear fruits and flowers. A barren woman is also beaten with the same motive. Similarly many other superstitious beliefs are connected with an eclipse. Pregnant women are not allowed to see the eclipse of the sun or the moon, nor are they to engage in cutting, sewing, etc. as this is believed to be injurious to the child in the womb.[4] The eclipse time is supposed to be the most suitable to learn *mantras* or incantations.[5] The *mantris* also mutter incantations during an eclipse in a naked condition.[6] The people who believe that the eclipses are caused by the influence of the planets *Ráhu* and *Ketu* offer prayers to *Ráhu* on the lunar eclipse day and to Ketu on the solar eclipse day.[7]

The planets and stars are worshipped by the Hindus. It is believed that a person who is to die within six months cannot see the polar star. From the movements of the planets past and future events of one's career are foretold by Bráhman and other astrologers. And as it is believed that man's good and bad luck are dependant upon the influence of the planets, offerings of various kinds are made and sacrifices performed for securing the favour of the *Navagrahas* or the nine planets. In order to avert the effect of the evil influence of certain planets people sometimes wear rings of those precious stones which are supposed to be the favourites of the planets.

The rainbow is called *Indra dhanushya* or the Indra's bow, and it is believed that if the rain-bow appears in the east, it indicates the coming of more rain, and if it appears in the west it is a sure sign of the close of the monsoon.

The milky way is believed to be the heavenly Ganges. Well known tradition relates how Wáman (the 5th incarnation of Vishnu) went to Bali the king of the lower regions and asked him to give him land measuring three feet only. The king consented, whereupon the god Wáman enlarged his body to such an extent that by his one footstep he occupied the whole earth and by the second he occupied heaven. Upon this the god Brahma worshipped the foot of the god Vishnu which was in heaven, and from that foot sprang the heavenly Ganges which flows in heaven and is called Dudha Ganga or the milky Ganges.

The worship of stars and planets is in vogue among Konkan Hindu families of the higher castes. The polar star in particular is seen and worshipped by the bride and the bridegroom after the ceremony at the marriage altar is over.[8] A very interesting story is connected with the polar star. By the great power of his penance the sage Vishvámitra despatched king Trishanku to Heaven, but the gods hurled him down. Thereupon Vishvámitra became enraged and began to create a new heaven. Hindu mythological books say that he thus created the sages Vashista, Angiras, Pulah, Pulastya, Rutu, Atri, and Marichi, and stationed Trishanku in the sky. The *Nava-grahas* or the nine planets are worshipped before the commencement of all important ceremonies.[9] A cluster of seven stars called the *Sapta-rishis* are worshipped by men at the time of the *Shrávani* ceremony, while women worship them on the 5th day of the bright half of

[1] School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Masuri, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Kalse, Ratnagiri.
[4] School Master, Vijayadurg, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
[9] School Master, Devarukh, Ratnágiri.

Bhádrapada.[1] These *Sapta-rishis* are said to have been created by the God Brahma from his own body; and teaching them the four Vedas, he handed them over to them and asked them to regulate the affairs of the world.[2]

Some people of the Ratnágiri District believe that the rain-bow is the bow used by Ráma, the hero of the Rámáyana. Its appearance on the east is regarded by them as symptomatic of the approach of rain, while its appearance on the west is equivalent to the departure of rain.[3]

The short duration of the rain-bow is held to indicate an excessive fall of rain while its long duration forbodes a scarcity of rain.[4] The appearance of the rain-bow on a river is supposed to indicate the approach of rain, while its appearance on a mountain means the departure of rain.[5] Of the two bows of which the rain-bow seems to be composed, the larger is believed to belong to Ráma, and the smaller to Lakshman.[6] Since the God Indra is supposed to send rain, the *Indradhanushya* (the rain-bow) is regarded as a sign of the advent of rain.[7]

By some Hindus it is believed that the milky way is a heavenly river which is a favourite bathing place of the gods.[8] Others suppose it to be a branch of the celestial Ganges which is said to have been brought down upon this earth by king Bhagiratha.[9] Some persons, however, believe that since the great sage Agastya is said to reside at Rámeshwar in the southern direction, the Ganges (the milky way) runs through the sky to the south in order to bathe him. Sometimes the milky way is believed to be a white cloud.[10]

On the authority of the Mahákála Nirván Tantra, some people of the Thána District believe that a person who cannot get a view of the polar star will die within six months; while others substitute the *Arundhati* star for the polar star and determine the duration of life of a diseased person by the same process.[11]

The people of the Thána District believe that the rain-bow is caused by the accumulation of moisture in the air.[12] The rain-bow is said to consecrate the region over which it appears[13]. The appearance of the rain-bow in the morning is supposed to forbode the approach of rain.[14]

Some people of the Kolába District believe that the holy persons such as Káshyapa, Arundhati and other sages, who lived on this earth in ancient times are seen shining in the sky by the sacred lustre of their powers.[15] Hindu women worship the planets Budha and Guru (Mercury and Jupiter) in the month of Shravan.[16]

The *Sapta-rishis* are somewhere called *Khatale* and *Bájale* (cot)[17]. The rain-bow is held by some to be the symbol of Ráma and Lakshman, who visit the world in that form with the view of watching its proceedings. Others, however, believe that it represents God Indra who assumes that form to see how his orders are executed by his subordinates.[18] The rain-bow is said to foretell good if it appears either at the beginning or end of the rainy season, while its appearance at any other time is supposed to forbode evil.[19]

1 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Navare, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Kankavli, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
12 School Master, Rai, Thána.
13 School Master, Badlapur, Thána.
14 School Master, Mokhada, Thána.
15 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
16 School Master, Kasu, Kolába.
17 School Master, Vavasi, Kolába.
18 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
19 School Master, Vavanje, Kolába.

Hindus regard the earth as one of their important deities and worship it on various occasions. It is enjoined upon Bráhmans to worship it daily at the time of their *Sandhya* rite, as well as while performing the *Shrávani* ceremony.[1] The people of the Ratnágiri District pray to the earth as soon as they leave their bed in the morning.[2] The earth is required to be worshipped at the time of laying the foundation-stone of a house, as well as at the time of bringing into use a newly built house.[3] Since it is held unholy to sleep on the bare ground, those whose parents die, sleep on a woollen cloth on the ground till their parents anniversary is over.[4] Wanprastas, Sanyásis, and Bráhmans are required to sleep on the ground.[5] Some pious men sleep on the bare ground during the *Cháturmás* (the four months of the rainy season),at the expiry of which they present a bed to a Bráhman.[6] It is enjoined upon a prince to sleep on the bare ground on the eve of the coronation day.[7]

Widows and women are required to sleep on the ground during their monthly courses. Women whose husbands are away are also to do the same.[8] In the Ratnágiri District *Katkaris*, on the day on which they wish to be possessed by a particular deity or spirit, are required to sleep on the earth.[9] When people are on the point of death, they are made to lie on blades of darbha grass placed on the earth.[10] The performer of a sacrifice as well as one who has observed a vow are to sleep on the ground.[11] The following articles should not be allowed to touch the earth, viz; pearls, the *Sháligram* stone, an image of the god Vishnu, the *linga* of Shiva, a conchshell, the sacred thread of a Bráhman, flowers intended for worship, basil leaves, and Govardan.[12]

The following lines are repeated in the morning before setting foot to the ground[13]:—

O Goddess! who is clothed (surrounded) by the sea, whose breasts are mountains, and who is the wife of Vishnu, I bow down to thee; please forgive the touch of my feet. O Goddess Earth! who art born by the power of Vishnu, whose surface is of the colour of a conch shell and who art the store house of innumerable jewels, I bow down to thee.

Some women of the Thána District worship the earth daily during the *Cháturmás* (four months of the rainy season), at the end of which they give a Bráhman a piece of land or the money equivalent of it[14]. Persons who perform a particular rite, *e. g.*, the *Solásomavárvrata* (a vow observed on sixteen successive Mondays) are required to sleep on the bare ground.[15] At the sowing and harvest time, farmers appease the earth by offering it cocoanuts, fowls, rice mixed with curd, etc.[16] The blood of a king and the balls of rice given to the *manes* of the dead are not allowed to touch the ground. People convey to a distant place the water of the Ganges, without placing it on the ground.[17]

The earth is required to be worshipped before taking a portion of it for sacrificial purposes.[18] A vessel containing water over which incantations have been repeated is not allowed to touch the ground.[19] On the 15th day of the bright half of *Ashvin* every farmer prepares some sweetmeats in his house, and takes them to his farm. There he gathers five

1 School Master, Nevare, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Kasba, Sangameshwar, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri,
4 School Master, Pendhur, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Devarukh, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Málgund, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Vijayadurg, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Chiplun, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Kankava, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
12 School Master, Chiplun, Ratnágiri.
13 School Master, Khetwadi, A. V. S., Bombay.
14 School Master, Anjur, Thána.
15 School Master, Rai, Thána.
16 School Master, Shahápur, Thána,
17 School Master, Bhuvan, Thána.
18 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
19 School Master, Vavanje, Kolába,

stones, worships them, and offers the sweetmeats to the earth. Afterwards he takes a portion of the food and scatters it over the farm. His family then gather there and take a hearty meal. In the evening the person who carried the food to the farm, picks up some grains of barley and puts them into a basket. On return home the grains are thrown over the house.[1]

Various conflicting notions are entertained regarding thunder and lightning. The people of the Ratnágiri District believe that the clouds are animals that roar. When these animals emit water it bursts forth on account of the circular motion of the winds called Chanda and Munda. This bursting is supposed to produce thunder and lightning.[2] Somewhere thunder and lightning are said to be the signals given by the god Indra, to birds, beasts, etc., of the setting in of the rainy season.[3] Some people believe that the god Indra sends rain through his elephants who, being excited, make a noise like thunder.[4]

Others regard the thunder as the roaring of the elephant of the gods, while sucking sea-water. The thunder is also believed to be the roaring of the god Varuna, the king of the clouds.[5] The boys of the Ratnágiri District believe that thunder is a sign of the wedding ceremonies performed in the heavenly houses of the gods.[6] Some Mahomedans believe that an angel called Mekail has control over the rain. To cause a fall of rain Mekail strikes the clouds with a whip of lightning. The clouds then utter a cry, and this is the cause of thunder.[7] Some people of the Thána District believe that there are big stones in the sky which strike against each other owing to the force of the wind, and produce thunder. The dashing of these stones against each other also generates lightning.[8]

In the Kolába District it is believed that thunder is the military band of the king of clouds and lightning is his banner.[9] Lightning is said to be produced by the fighting of celestial elephants; while thunder is heard when they pour out water.[10] Some people think that thunder is the noise of the feet of the elephants (clouds) that give rain; lightning is also said to be generated from their foot fall.[11] The clouds are supposed to be the messengers of gods, lightning being the manifestation of Divine power. The gods are said to confine these messengers from the *nakshatra* of Ardra to the *nakshatra* of Hasti, in which latter *nakshatra* they again begin to roar.[12]

Thunder is supposed to take place when the god Indra draws his bow; while lightning is said to be produced when the same god strikes his adamant against a mountain.[13]

In the Ratnágiri District it is believed that earthquake occurs whenever the thousand headed Shesha shakes its head.[14] It is said that at one time a demon named Gayásur became very troublesome, and all the gods held him down by standing on his body. Thereupon the demon requested all the gods to remain on his body for ever. Occasionally this Gayásur shakes his body and this causes the earthquake.[15] Some people believe that the earth trembles of its own accord when sins accumulate upon it.[16] Others hold that the earthquake takes place in the hollow parts of the earth.[17] Some people, however, believe that since the earth floats upon water, it naturally quakes at times.[18]

1 School Master, Akol, Kolába.
2 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Kasba, Sangameshwar, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Chiplun, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Anjur, Thána.
9 School Master, Varsai, Kolába.
10 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
11 School Master, Varsai, Kolába.
12 School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.
13 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
14 School Master, Chiplun, Ratnágiri.
15 School Master, Palspot, Ratnágiri.
16 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
17 School Master, Murbád, Thâna.
18 School Master, Bhuvan, Thána.

The Hindus being element worshippers naturally hold in reverence certain rivers, ponds, etc. In the Ratnágiri District the spring at Rájápur, called the *Rájápurchi Ganga* is considered very sacred. It flows from the roots of a Banyan tree. There are fifteen *Kundas* or ponds, and the principal *Kunda* always remains filled with water. On occasions a big *játra* fair is held and people from distant places come to bathe and worship at the spring.[1] Some people believe that many of the lakes, springs, etc., situated in the Kolhápur State are sacred.[2] A spring or rivulet that flows to the east is considered specially sacred. It is called a *Surya-Vansi* spring, and it is considered meritorious to bathe in it.[3] In the village of Kunkauli in the Ratnágiri District if a person is bitten by a snake or other poisonous reptile, no medicine is administered to him, but holy water brought from the temple of the village goddess is given to him to drink, and it is said that the patient is thus cured.[4] The water fall at Maral near Devarkuha, where the river *Bán* takes its rise, is held sacred.[5] At Shivam in the Ratnágiri District the people use the *tirtha* of a deity as medicine for diseases due to poison. They say that it is the sole remedy they apply in such cases.[6] There are ponds at Manora in the Goa State, and Vetore in the Sávantwádi State, the water of which is used as medicine for the cure of persons suffering from the poison of snakes, mice, spiders, and scorpions.[7] When a well is dug, the people call a Bráhman priest to consecrate it. The Bráhman takes cow's urine, milk, curds, ghi, sandle paste, flowers, basil leaves, and rice, and mixes them with water, and after repeating sacred *mantras* over the water, throws the mixture into the well. After this ceremony, the people are at liberty to drink water from the well.[8]

Before a well is dug, an expert is consulted to ascertain the place where a spring flows. A well is then dug, after offering a sacrifice to the spirits and deities that happen to dwell at that spot. A dinner is given to Bráhmans after the well is built.[9] A golden cow is often thrown into a newly built well as an offering to the water deities.[10] There is a well at Mandangad, the water of which serves as medicine to cure the poison of snakes and other reptiles.[11]

It is believed that there is a class of wicked water nymphs called *Asara* who generally dwell in wells, ponds, or rivers, far from the habitation of men. Whenever these nymphs come across a lonely man or woman entering a well, pond, etc., they carry that person under water. The village of Mith-Báv in the Ratnágiri district is a well-known resort of these Asarás, and many instances are given by the villagers of persons being drowned and carried off in the river by these wicked nymphs. A tank in the village of Hindalem in the same district has a similar reputation.[12] The people of the Konkan believe that water nymphs are sometimes seen in the form of women near wells, rivers, and ponds.[13] Some say that the water nymphs and water spirits confer objects desired by worshippers if they are propitiated by prayers.[14]

There are seven *kundas*, ponds, at Nirmal in the Thána District, forming a large lake. This

1 School Master, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Phonde, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Wanhavli, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Bandivade, Budruk, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Mith-Báv, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
12 School Master, Mith-Báv, Ratnágiri.
13 School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
14 School Master, Devarukh, Ratnágiri.

lake is said to have been formed from the blood of the demon Vimalásur. At Sháhápur there is a holy spring of hot water under a *Pipal* tree. It is called *Ganga.*[1] There are *kundas*, pools, of hot water in the *Vaitarna* river in the Thána District, in which people bathe on the 13th day of the dark half of *Chaitra.*[2] There are also springs of hot water on the bank of the Surya river at Vajreshvari and at Koknere, in the Thána District.[3] A handful of corn, if thrown into the hot water *kundas* at Tungar, is said to be boiled at once.[4] It is held holy to bathe in the *kundas*, of hot water that are situated in the rivers Tánsa and Bánganga in the Thána District.[5] The water of a well which is drawn without touching the earth or without being placed upon the ground is given as medicine for indigestion. Similarly the water of seven tanks, or at least of one pond, in which lotuses grow is said to check the virulence of measles, small-pox, etc.[6] A bath in a certain tank in the Mahim *taluka* is said to cure persons suffering from the itch, and water purified by repeating incantations over it is also said to be a good remedy for the same disease.[7]

The water of a tank or a well is supposed to be wholesome to a person of indifferent health, if given to him to drink without placing it upon the ground.[8] Some people believe that the water of the Ganges is so holy and powerful that if bows are thrown into it they are instantly reduced to powder.[9] The repair of lakes, caravansaries, temples, etc., is held more meritorious than their actual erection.[10] It is enjoined upon a man to perform a certain rite if he wishes to relinquish his right of ownership over a well or tank, and after this rite is performed, it can be utilized for public purposes. But no ceremony is required to be performed if a well is dug for the benefit of the public.[11]

The people of the Thána District believe that water nymphs reside in every reservoir of water.[12] Some people, however, believe that the water nymphs dwell in those lakes in which lotuses grow. These nymphs are said to do harm to children and young women, especially when they set out for a walk accompanied by their brother Gavala. They are unusually dangerous.[13] The people worship the images of the following seven water nymphs or *apsaras*, viz., Machhi, Kurmi, Karkati, Darduri, Jatupi, Somapa and Makari.[14]

The following places are said to be inhabited by water spirits:—the channel of Kalamba, the tanks of Sopara and Utaratal and the lake called Tambra-tirtha at Bassein [15]. Water nymphs are supposed to drown a person who tries to save another fallen into water.[16] A species of small men named *Uda*, otherwise called water-spirits, are said to dwell in water and subsist on fishes.[17] The spirits called Khais and Mhashya are supposed to reside in water.[18]

The river Sávitri in the Kolába District takes its rise near Mahábaleshwar and is considered very sacred. The following traditionary account is given of its origin. The god Brahma had two wives, Sávitri and Gáyatri. A dispute having arisen between them, they both jumped over a precipice. Sávitri assumed the form of a river and fell into the sea near Bánkot. Gáyatri, on the other hand, concealed herself in the river Sávitri and manifested herself as a spring near Harihareshwar in the Janjira State.[19] A man is

[1] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[2] School Master, Murbád, Thána.
[3] School Master, Málád, Thána.
[4] School Master, Anjur, Thána.
[5] School Master, Wáda, Thána.
[6] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[7] School Master, Anjur, Thána.
[8] School Master, Saloli, Thána.
[9] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[10] School Master, Kinhavali, Thána.
[11] School Master, Rái, Thána.
[12] School Master, Khativali, Thána.
[13] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[14] School Master, Murbád, Thána.
[15] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[16] School Master, Bhuvan, Thána.
[17] School Masters, Wáda, Thána.
[18] School Master, Sháhápur, Thána.
[19] School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.

said to be released from re-birth if he takes a bath in the *kund* (pond) named Katkale-tirtha near Násik.[1] Bows are said to be reduced to powder if thrown into a certain *kund* at Uddhar-Rámeshwar in the Sudhagad taluka.[2] *Kupotsarga* is defined to be the digging of a well for the benefit of the public and abandoning one's right of ownership over it.[3]

A pond near Khopoli in the Kolába district is held very sacred. The following story is related in connection with it. The villagers say that the water nymphs in the pond used to provide pots for marriage festivities if a written application were made to them a day previous to the wedding. The pots were, however, required to be returned within a limited time. But one man having failed to comply with this condition, they have ceased to lend pots. Another interesting story is associated with the same pond. It is as follows. A man had fallen into the pond and was taken to the abode of the nymphs. He was, however, returned by them after a few days on the understanding that he would be recalled if he spoke of what he had seen there. One day he communicated to the people the good things that he enjoyed there, and to the surprise of all he was found dead immediately after.[4] Water nymphs are said to reside in a pond at Varsai in the Kolába district. Consequently persons that are held unclean, *e.g.*, women in their monthly course, etc., are not allowed to touch it. The nymphs of the same lake were once said to lend pots on festive occasions.[5] It is said that the water nymphs used to provide ornaments for marriage and other ceremonies, if returned within a prescribed period. But some people having failed to return them, they ceased to lend them.[6]

A spirit called Girha is supposed to reside in water. It is said to make mischief with man in a variety of ways by enticing him into deep water.[7] The Jakrin is said to be a deity residing in water.[8] Persons drowned in water are believed to become water-spirits, and to trouble innocent passers-by.[9]

A mountain near the village Pule, in the district of Ratnágiri is held sacred on account of the residence of the god Ganpati at that place. For this reason people walk round the mountain and worship it. Tradition says that Ganpati was at first at Gule in the Ratnágiri district, but on account of the sanctity of the place being violated by some wicked persons the god transferred his residence to Pule. At Gule there is still a very beautiful temple of Ganpati, though it is now in a dilapidated condition.[10] The cave of the sage Much-kund near Machal on the Sahyádri mountain is considered sacred. In the Konkan it is not held sinful to ascend a mountain or a hill, though to sit upon its summit is considered sinful.[11] The hill of Mirya near Ratnágiri is considered sacred. This hill is believed to be a particle (*miri*) of the mythological mountain Dronagiri.[12]

A hill near Dhárávi in the Thána District is consecrated by the temple of a goddess upon the top. This goddess is said to preserve ships at sea, and people are occasionally possessed by her. It is said that a Roman Catholic priest met instantaneous death on having insulted her.[13]

The hill of Mahálakshmi in the Dahánu táluka is held sacred. The villagers consider it dangerous to ascend this hill.[14] On the hill of the same name is a temple of the goddess Jivadhani, who is said to preserve children from small-pox. The following

1 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
2 School Master, Wavasi, Kolába.
3 School Master, Varsai, Kolába.
4 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
5 School Master, Wavasi, Kolába.
6 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
7 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
8 School Master, Akol, Kolába.
9 School Master, Vavasi, Kolába.
10 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Bándivade, Budruk, Ratnágiri.
12 School Master, Málgund, Ratnágiri.
13 School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
14 School Master, Dahánu, Thána.

story is told in connection with the goddess. A person in need of money used to place before her image as large a heap of flowers as he wanted gold, stating that he would return the gold when he had done with it. He used then to go home and return on an appointed day for the gold, which was sure to be found where he had placed the heap of flowers. Once a man failed to return the gold, and thenceforth the goddess withheld her bounty. There is no door to the temple of this goddess. It is only through a hole in a big stone that one can have a view of her image. Sweet scent is said to be continually emitted from this hole. The goddess is said to have fastened the door of her temple for the following reason. One day the goddess was walking at the foot of the hill at night. A cowherd who happened to be there was bewitched by her matchless beauty and fell a prey to evil desire. He pursued her to the top of the hill, when the goddess, divining his motive, fastened the door of her temple with a prodigious stone. On the same hill is a cattle shed in which fresh cow-dung is said to be always found. This place being inaccessible to cows and other quadrupeds, the people believe that the goddess keeps a cow of her own.[1]

The hill of Tungar is consecrated by the temple of a certain goddess upon it. There is also a very famous hill near Arnála, called the hill of Buddha. This hill was once the seat of a king belonging to the weaver caste. Recently a pond was discovered upon it, in which was found a stone-box containing a begging-pot and a diamond. A great fair is held annually on the hill of Motmávali near Bandra in the Thána district. The devotees of the deity are Hindus, Parsis, and Christians. It is said this goddess was once worshipped by Hindus only. A Bráhman is the *pujári* of the *Pir* on the hill of Bába Malang near Kalyán. It is said that the *Pir* has declared that no Moslem *pujári* should worship him. The Hindus and Moslems worship him alike.[2]

Bráhmans do not cross the top of a mountain without stopping for a short time before ascending the summit.[3]

At a short distance from Chaul in the Kolába District is a hill dedicated to the god Dattatraya, in whose honour a great fair is held annually. The following story is told in connection with this hill. In ancient times a Bráhman used to practise austerities on this hill near a *Tulsi* plant (the place on which the present temple stands). He used to spend the whole day there, but returned home at nightfall. On his way home fearful scenes were often presented to him, and in his dreams he was asked not to go there any more. But the Bráhman was obdurate. He persisted in his resolution to practise austerities for a number of years, and at last succeeded in obtaining a personal interview with the god Dattatraya, who commanded him to bow down to his feet (*páduka*). From that time pious men live on this hill and offer their prayers to the god Dattatraya. Nearly four hundred steps have been constructed for the ascent of this hill, and additional steps are being built every year. Here also are some springs of pure water. It is worth while to note that the *pujári* of this god is a Shudra by caste.[4] On the north-east side of the hill dedicated to the god Dattatraya stands the temple of the goddess Hingláj. To the north of this temple are four caves, while to the west is a deep den resembling a well, through which a lane appears to have been dug. This is said to be the road excavated by the Pándavas to enable them to go to Kási.[5] At a distance of

[1] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[2] School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
[3] School Master, Umbargaum, Thána.
[4] School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
[5] School Master, Chaul, Kolába.

two miles from Akóla in the Kolába District is a hill called Mallikárjun. This is said to be a small stone fallen from the mythological mountain Dronagiri. This hill is said to contain many medical herbs.[1] The hill at Kankeshwar near Alibág is held sacred, and tradition says that in ancient times it had golden dust upon it.[2] A cave at Ambivali near Karjat in the Kolába district consists of seven rooms, one of which is spacious enough to accommodate five hundred persons. In the same *taluka* there is another cave at Kondhavane.[3]

The gods Indra and Varuṇa are supposed to send rain; but it is believed that the god Shiva in chief has the power of causing the fall of rain, and for this reason whenever there is a scarcity of rain people pour water over the *linga* of Shiva until the whole *linga* is submerged.[4] In order that there should be a fall of rain, some people besmear the *linga* of the god Shiva with cooked rice and curds.[5] In the Ratnágiri District, whenever there is a scarcity of rain, people go to the place known as Parashurám Kshetra, and there pray to the god Parashurám to send rain.[6] Sacrifices are also offered to Indra, the god of rain, in order that there should be plenty of rain. Some believe that there are certain *mantris* or enchanters who by the power of their *mantras* are able to prevent the fall of rain.[7]

In the Ratnágiri District the following ceremony is performed by the lower castes such as Kunbis, etc., to avert drought. All the male villagers assemble together at an appointed place, and there they select one of them as their *Gowala-deva*. All of them then go about in the village from house to house. The owner of every house sprinkles water over the assembly, and curds and butter-milk over the body of the Gowala-deva. They are also given some *shidha* consisting of rice, pulse, vegetables, etc. After visiting most of the houses in the village, the assembly headed by the Govala-deva go to the bank of a river. Here they cook the food, offer it first to the Govala-deva and then partake of the remainder as a *prasád* from the Govala-deva.[8] Some people make an image of the sage *Shringarishi* for the purpose of causing the fall of rain.[9] Others make an image of Dhondal-deva in order that there should be plenty of rain.[10] Sometimes people repeat *mantras* addressed to Parjanya (rain) so that rain should fall.[11] The goddess Navachandika is worshipped in order that there should be rain. The *Kunbis* perform a peculiar rite for checking the fall of rain. They ask a person born in the months of *Jyestha, Ashádh, Shrávan* or *Bhádrapad* to fetch some rain-water in an *alu* leaf, and this is fastened to the eaves of thatched houses by means of a string. Note that, if this rite is to be performed in the month of *Jyestha*, a person born in that month only is required and no other; and so forth.[12] In order to check an excessive fall of rain the villagers sometimes ask a boy to take off his clothes and then to catch rain-water in the leaves of the *alu* plant. The leaves containing the water are then tied to the eaves of the house.[13] The people say that during the rule of the Peshwás there was a class of *mantris* who had the power of causing a failure of rain.[14] To check the fall of rain, some people ask naked boys to throw burning

1 School Master, Akol, Kolába.
2 School Master, Sasavane, Kolába.
3 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
4 School Master, Mith Bav, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Málvan, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Kankavli, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Phonde, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Chiplun, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Nevare, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Ratnágiri.
12 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
13 School Master, Bándevade, Budruk, Ratnágiri.
14 School Master, Málvan, Ratnágiri.

coals into the rain water.[1] *Irale* (a protection against rain, made of the leaves of trees) is kept in the rain upside down, the goddess Holika is worshipped, the boughs of the *Avali* tree are conveyed to a place where four roads meet and stones are heaped over it, and eaves of thatched houses are beaten by boys who do not wear clothes, all these being done by the villagers with a view to preventing an excessive fall of rain.[2]

The people of the Thána District believe that distinct deities preside over distinct seasons, *e.g.*, Mars presides over the spring (Vasant), Venus over summer (Grishma) the moon over autumn (Varsha) Mercury over *sharat*, Saturn over winter (Hemant and Shishir).[3] When the people are in need of rain they say to the god of rain "Let us have plenty of rain to-morrow and we will give thee, Oh! God of rain! rice mixed with curd." The same offer is made to the god of rain even when they do not want it. In order that there should be no scarcity of rain, some people perform the rites of *Laghu-rudra* and *Mahá-rudra*.[4] The following measure if adopted is said to cause rain. The villagers go from house to house with boughs of the *Limb* tree on their heads, and water is then poured upon them by the inmates[5]. The fall of rain is supposed to cease if a person born in the month of *Fálgun* extinguishes burning coals in rainwater when his garments have been removed.[6]

Some stones are supposed to have influence over rain fall. There is a big stone at Varasai in the Kolába District on which are drawn certain images. The people believe that it rains hard if this stone is held straight, and then swung to and fro[7]. Some people perform the following rite known as the *Dhondil-jagya*. They ask a person of the Kaikádi or Vadar caste to remain naked and break the string round his waist. A small image of black earth is made and placed upon his head. The boy then conveys the image from house to house in the village. A woman in each house sprinkles water over the image while the boy dances saying "*Dhondil gajya, Páus gajya.*" It is believed that it rains in the direction in which the water sprinkled falls. A person who accompanies the boy gathers corn at every house. A dinner is then prepared, and the people of the caste to which the boy belongs, partake of it heartily. It is also said that making water in a standing posture causes the fall of rain.[8] The god Rámeshwar at Chaul in the Kolába district is said to have control over rain. In the temple of this god there is a *parjanya-kund* (pond) which is opened after performing a sacred rite, if there be a scarcity of rain. There are also other *kundas* in the temple, viz., *Váyu-kund* and *Agni-kund*, but no occasion has yet arisen to open them.[9] Some people believe that the god Agni regulates the seasons.[10]

Eaves of thatched houses are cleansed with a brush made from the leaves of cocoanut trees in order that a fall of rain should be prevented.[11]

The ceremonies of Haritálika, Rishi-Panchami, Vata-Sávitri, Vaná-Shasthi, Mangalá-Gauri, Shital-Saptami are to be performed by women alone.[12] Similarly, the ceremonies of Mahálakshmi, Vasubáras, Shivá-mutha, and a rite on the Makar Sankrant day are performed by women exclusively.[13]

1 School Master, Dábhol, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
3 School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.
4 School Master, Murbad, Thána.
5 School Master, Dahánu, Thána.
6 School Master, Padaghe, Thána.
7 School Master, Nágothana, Kolába.
8 School Master, Akol, Kolába.
9 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
10 School Master, Apte, Kolába.
11 School Master, Khetwadi, A.V.S., Bombay.
12 School Master, Málvan, Ratnágiri.
13 School Master, Málgund, Ratnágiri.

The rite of *Rishi-Panchami* is performed on the 5th day of the bright-half of *Bhádrapad* to make amends for sins committed without knowledge. On this day women go to a river, a well, or some other sacred place, cleanse their teeth with the leaves of the *Aghâda* plant, and take baths with something on the head. They then take some stones from that place and worship them as *Rishis*. On the conclusion of the worship, they partake of fruits. On the *Vrata-Sávitri* day women worship a banyan tree or its boughs. The ceremony falls on the 15th day of the bright half of *Jyesta*.[1] On the *Haritâlika* day *i.e.*, the 3rd day of the bright half of *Bhádrapád*, women make images of earth of Párvati and her two friends and worship them and fast the whole day. The observance of this rite contributes to their good fortune. Even girls of tender years observe this fast. The worship of Mangalá-Gauri is a ceremony performed by married girls for five successive years on every Tuesday of the month of *Shrávan*. Similarly the goddess Mahálakshmi is worshipped on the 8th day of the bright half of *Ashvin*. On the *Makar Sankránt* day women worship a *sugad* * and present it to a Bráhman.[2] The *Shiva-mutha* consists of a handful of corn offered to the god Shiva by married girls on every Monday in the month of *Shrávan*.[3]

The worship of Shadananda and the Holika Devi and the ceremonies of *Shrávani*, *Shráddha* and *Antyesti* are performed by men alone.[4]

In some families of non-Bráhmans on a particular day, especially on the full-moon day of *Ashvin*, the host and the hostess put off their clothes and perform certain family rites [5].

The women of the Thána District fast the whole day on the 12th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*. At night they worship a cow, give in charity a calf, and then take their meal. It is to be noted that this ceremony called the *Vasu-dwádasi* is performed by women who have children. On the *Haritálika* day some women live on the leaves of a *Rui* tree.[6]

On the *Somavati-Amávásya* day women worship a *Pipal* tree and offer it a hundred and eight things of one kind.[7] Women desirous of having a son perform a certain rite at midnight, without clothing.[8] If one wishes to have a son, one has to go through a ceremony called the *Hanumán* in a naked state.[9]

The god Kálbhairav is worshipped by a naked person on the *Narka-Chathurdasi* day (14th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*). Those learning the dark lore, e. g., *muth márane*, are also required to remain naked while studying it. They learn this lore on an eclipse day on the bank of a river.[10] The rite called *Somaya* is performed by the host when his clothes are off his body. On a certain Monday in the month of *Shrávan* a lamp of wheat flour is prepared and burned by adding ghi. This lamp is regarded as a deity, and is worshipped solemnly. During the performance of this ceremony as well as the preparation of the requisite food, the host and the hostess are required to remain naked.[11]

---

1 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

* Two earthen pots tied face to face, one of which containing some corn and red and yellow powders.

2 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.

3 School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.

4 School Master, Málvan, Ratnágiri.

5 School Master, Makhanele, Ratnágiri.

6 School Master, Anjur, Thána.

7 School Master, Badlapur, Kalyan.

8 School Master, Bhuvan, Thána.

9 School Master, Bhuvan, Thána.

10 School Master, Tale, School No. I, Kolába.

11 School Master, Polàdpur, Kolába.

The Swayambhu (unartificial) *linga* of the god Shiva is supposed to have influence over the fall of rain.[1]

The people of the Thána District believe that the following ceremony causes a fall of rain. Stones are taken out of a pool and worshipped. They are then carried to every house in the village, and water is poured upon them by the inmates.[2] There is a temple of the god of clouds at Viranáth in the Thána District.[3]

The appearance of a comet is regarded by the Hindus as symptomatic of a coming evil, *e.g.*, a big war, a great famine, or a terrible contagious disease spreading itself throughout the length and breadth of a country.[4] Some persons think that comets and shooting stars bode evil to the king.[5]

Whenever a great person or a very holy man is about to be born, it is believed that he alights on the earth in the shape of a shooting star. Sometimes a big star falls on the earth, and thereby a noise like that of thunder is produced. When this happens, people believe that a great Rája or a holy saint whose merit has been exhausted is going to be born on earth.[6] The following verse from the *Mrichhakatiha Nátak* supports the view in accordance with which orthodox people in the Konkan avoid looking at shooting stars:—

इंद्रधनुष्य आणि गोप्रसूति । नक्षत्रांची अधोगति सत्पुरुषांची प्राणविपत्ति ॥ पाहूं नये साचार ॥ *i.e.*,

The following four things, *viz.*, the rainbow, the fall of shooting stars, the delivery of a cow, and the death-struggle of saints or holy men should not be looked at.[7] It is generally believed by Hindus that a child will immediately be born in the house towards which shooting stars are directed.[8]

1 School Master, Devarukh, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Badlapur, Thána.
3 School Masters, Agashi and Arnála, Thána.
4 School Master, Mith Bav, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Nivare, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Mith Bav, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Thána.
8 School Master, Kolába.

CHAPTER II.

THE HEROIC GODLINGS.

In the Konkan the deities of the Hindus are divided into the following five classes, *viz* :—

(1) The *Grámadevatás* or Village deities,

(2) The *Sthánadevatás* or Local deities,

(3) The *Kuladevatás* or Family deities,

(4) The *Ishtadevatás* or Chosen deities, and

(5) The *Wástudevatás* or *Grihadevatás*, that is, the class of deity which presides over the house and is established at the time of the housewarming or *Wástu* ceremony.

The principal *Gráma-devatás* are Hanumán or Máruti, Kálika, Amba, Wághoba, Chedoba, Mhasoba, Bahiroba or Bhairav, Ganesh, Vira, Mhálsa or Maha Lakshmi, Chámunda, Vetál, Khandoba Malhári Jogái, Bhawáni, and Wágeshwari and Shiva. In most villages the chief village god is Máruti or Hanumán, whose temple is situated at the entrance of the village. Máruti is considered to be an *avatár* or incarnation of Shiva, and is held in great reverence by all classes. A festival or *jatra* is held in honour of Hanumán on the bright half of the month of *Chaitra*. On this occasion the temple is decorated with ever-greens, and flowers, the stone image of the god is newly painted or covered with red lead and oil, and garlands of the *Rui* (Gigantic snake wort) flowers are placed round the neck of the image, cocoanuts, plantains, betel-nuts and leaves are offered to the god, camphor is lighted and waved round the image, incense is burnt, cooked food and sweets are offered, and money presents are made. Every worshipper brings with him some oil, red-lead or *Cendur*, a cocoanut, a *vidá-supári* i.e., two betel leaves, one betel-nut and a copper coin, and a garland of *Rui* flowers. These are given to the temple ministrant, who offers a part of the oil and red lead to the deity, places the garland round the deity's neck, and, breaking the cocoanut into pieces, gives a piece or two to the devotee as the *prasád* or favoured gift of the deity. Saturday is the sacred day of the monkey god Máruti. Every Saturday fresh oil and red lead are offered to the god by the devotees. The *Pujáris* in most of the temples of Máruti are Guravs, Ghádis, Maráthas or Gosávis.

Every Saturday in the month of *Shrávan* (August), called the *Sampat Shaniwár* or the wealth-giving Saturday a special *puja* or worship is performed in the temples of Máruti in Bombay as well as in the Konkan. On this day people fast the whole day and dine in the evening, after offering the god Hanumán or Máruti a preparation of rice and pulse called *khichadi* and cakes made of *udid* flour called *vade*.[1]

There is no village in the Konkan which has not the honour of having a temple of the god Máruti. Máruti is supposed to guard the village against evils of all kinds. Care is therefore taken to build the temple of Máruti at the outskirts of the village.[2] There is a tradition that at the time of leaving the Dandaka forest (the present Maháráshtra), Ráma asked Máruti to reside therein. It is for this reason, the people say, that every village in the Konkan and on the Ghâts has a temple of Máruti.[3] The god Máruti is worshipped in the village of Wásind on Tuesdays and Saturdays.[4] In former days it was customary to establish an image of the god Máruti in a newly built castle or fort.[5] Hanumán, the son of Anjani and the wind or Márut, is known for his loyalty to his master

---

[1] School Master, Khetwadi, Bombay.

[2] School Master, Devgád, Ratnágiri.

[3] School Master, Kamathipura, Bombay.

[4] School Master, Washind, Thána.

[5] School Master, Umela, Thána.

and for his bravery. In days gone by he utilized his strength for the protection of Saints, Rishis, Bráhmans and cows, and for this merit he was elevated to the rank of a Hindu god. Every Hindu village or locality is supposed to possess at least one temple of the god Máruti, and in Maháráshtra Máruti is the guardian of every village. He is a *Brahmachari*, or bachelor and is one of the seven heroes who are believed to be *chiranjívis* or immortals.* Máruti is supposed to be the originator of the *Mantra-Shástra*, by the study and repetition of which one obtains strength and superhuman power. Women desirous of getting children go to the temple of Máruti, and there burn before his image lamps made of wheat flour and filled with ghi. The image of Hanumán is represented in temples in two ways, that is (1) Víra Hanumán or Warrior Hanumán (2) Dása-Hanumán or servant Hanumán. The former is found in a temple consecrated to the worship of the god Hanumán alone, whereas the latter is found in a temple dedicated to the worship of the god Ráma.[1] Since Máruti is the god of strength, gymnasts tie an image of Máruti to their wrists, and they also consecrate an image of Máruti in their gymnasiums. The number eleven is said to be dear and sacred to him because he is believed to be an incarnation of the eleven Rudras. The birth day of the god Máruti which falls on the 15th of the bright half of *Chaitra*, called the *Hanumán Jayanti* day, is celebrated in the Kolhápur District with great reverence. Those who wish to have a son draw the figure of Máruti on a wall in red-lead, and worship it daily with sandal paste, flowers and garlands of *Rui*. Others burn lamps made of wheat flour before the image of the god. Persons who are under the evil influence of the planets, and especially of the planets Saturn, worship the god Hanumán on Saturdays in order to propitiate the planets. On this day they make wreaths of the leaves and flowers of the *Rui* plant and adorn his neck with them. They also offer him *udid* (Phaseolus radiatus) and salt. The story told of Máruti is that Anjani his mother pleased the god Shiva with her penance, and when the god asked her to claim a boon, she requested that Shiva himself should be born as her son. Shiva therefore took birth in her womb and manifested himself as Hanumán or Máruti[2].

The Local deities are generally found in special localities or sacred places called *Kshetras* or *Punya sthánas*. Thus the god Ráma at Násik, Vithoba at Pandharpur, Krishna at Dwárka, Mahálakshmi at Kolwan, Wágreshwari at Nirmal (Thána), Mharloba in the Ratnágiri, Shitala devi at Kelwa Máhim, and Khandoba or Khanderái at Jejuri.

Khanderái is said to be an incarnation of the god Shiva. Khanderái killed the demon Mani-Malla who was devastating the earth, and he is therefore called Mallári or Malhári. Kunbis and lower class Hindus in the Konkan as well as in the Deccan occasionally make a vow to the god Khandoba that if their desire is fulfilled they will offer their first born male or female child to the service of the god. The male child thus dedicated to Khandoba is called Wághya and the female is called Murali. The Wághya and Murali do not engage in any business, but maintain themselves by begging in the streets in the name of the god Khanderái. Though they are not actually married, the Wághyás and Muralis live as husband and wife, and their progeny are also called Wághyas and Muralis. They repeat the sacred cry *jai khanderáyácha Elkot*, and give to people *bel-bhandár* of Khanderái consisting of the sacred *Bel* leaves and turmeric powder. The god Khanderái is the family deity of some Deshasth Bráhmans, who perform a family rite

* The Hindus believe that there are seven heroes who can never die, *i. e.*, 1 Ashwattháma, 2 Bali, 3 Vyása, 4 Hanumán, 5 Bibhíshana, 6 Kripácharya and 7 Parashurám. The Sanskrit text is:—

अश्वत्थामा बलि र्व्यासो हनुमंतो बिभीषणः। कृपाचार्यः परशुरामस्सप्तैते चिरञ्जीविनः ॥

1 School Masters, Agáshi and Arnála, Thána.

2 School Master, Samangad, Kolhápur.

called *Tali bharane* तळी भरणें on every *purnima* or full moon day. The rite is as follows :—

A *tali* or plate is filled with cocoanuts, fruits, betel nuts, saffron, turmeric or *bel-bhándár*, etc. Then a pot is filled with water, and on its mouth a cocoanut is placed. This cocoanut, with the pot, is then worshipped with flowers, sandal paste, etc., a lighted lamp filled with ghi is put in the same place, and the *tali* is waved thrice round the pot, which is supposed to contain the god Khandoba. Five persons then lift up the cocoanut with the *tali* and place it three times on the pot, repeating each time the words *Elkot* or *Khande ráyácha Elkot*. The cocoanut is then broken into pieces, mixed with sugar or *jágri*, and is distributed among friends and relations as *prasád*. On this occasion, as well as on the occasions of all *Kuladharmas*, that is, the days fixed for performing the special worship of the family goddess or family god of each family, the ceremony called the *Gondhal* dance is performed. On the same occasion another ceremony called *Bodan* is performed by the Deshasths and by the Chitpávans. It is as follows:— An image of the family deity is placed in a pot or plate called *támhan*, and it is then bathed in the *panchámrit*, that is, the five holy things, *viz*: milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar. Sandal-paste is offered to it as well as flowers, lighted lamps and some sweets and incense. Five women whose husbands are alive then prepare five lamps of wheat flour called *Kuranandi* and wave them thrice round the face of the goddess or god, as the case may be. All the lamps are then placed in the plate or *támhan* in which the deity is kept, and the *panchámrita* and other materials of worship and food and sweet cakes are mixed together. Occasionally one of the five women becomes possessed with the spirit of the *kula-devi* or family deity, and confers blessings on the members of the family for their devotion. It is believed that those families which fail to perform periodically the *Bodan*, *Tali* and *Gondhal* ceremonies in honour of their tutelary deity are sure to suffer, from some misfortune or calamity during the year.[1] The local deities chiefly worshipped at Chaul, Kolába District, are Hingláj, Jakhmáta, Bhagawati, Champáwati, Mahikáwati, and Golamba-devi. At the sowing and reaping times, people of the lower castes offer fowls and goats to these deities, and Bráhmans offer cocoanuts.[2] The local deity of the village Wávashi near Pen in the Kolába District is said to possess the power of averting evil, and is accordingly held in great respect by the people of many villages in the District. Every third year a great fair is held, and a buffalo is sacrificed to the goddess on the full moon day of the month of *Chaitra*. The *Pujári* of this goddess is a Gurav.[3] Another celebrated *Sthána-deva* in the Kolába District is Bahiri-Somajai of Khopoli. It is believed that a person suffering from snake-bite is cured without any medicine if he simply resides for one night in the temple of this goddess. Sacrifices of goats, fowls and cocoanuts are made to this goddess at the time of sowing and reaping. The *Pujáris* of this deity are known as Shingade Guravs.[4] The worship of the local deity Bápdev is much in favour among the villages of Apta and the surrounding places. At the times of sowing and reaping, offerings of fowls, goats and cocoanuts are made to Bápdev through the *Pujári*.[5] The worship of the local deities Kolambái, Bhawáni, and Giroba is prevalent in the Chauk villages.[6] To the *Gráma-devi* of the village of Tale every third year a buffalo is sacrificed, and at an interval of two years goats are offered.[7] The deities Shiva and Kálkái are worshipped with great reverence at Bakavali in the Ratnágiri District.[8]

1 School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.
2 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
3 School Master, Wávshi, Kolába.
4 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
5 School Master, Apta, Kolába.
6 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
7 School Master, Tale, Kolába.
8 School Master, Bakavali, Ratnágiri.

In many villages of the Ratnágiri District the goddess Pandhar is considered to be the *Gaon-devi* or the chief goddess of the village. The *Pujári* is generally a Gurav or Maráthá Kunbi. On every full moon day cocoanuts are offered, and on the occasions of sowing and reaping, goats and fowls are sacrificed to this deity.[1] At Devgad there is a temple of the goddess Gajábái on the sea shore. The *Pujári* of this goddess is a man of the Ghádi caste. On the first day of the bright half of the month of *Márgashirsh* (December) special offerings of goats, fowls and cocoanuts are made by the villagers.[2] The deities Ravalnath, Máuli, Vetál, Rámeshwar and Hanumán are usually worshipped in most villages in Ratnágiri. The villagers in the Ratnágiri District have great faith in their local deities, and before undertaking any important business they obtain the consent or take the omen of the deity. This ceremony is known as *kaul ghálne* and it is performed as follows :—Two betel nuts or flowers are taken and one of them is placed on the right side of the deity and the other on the left side. The worshipper then bows before the deity and requests her to let the nut on the right side fall first if the deity is pleased to consent, if not, to let the nut on the left side fall first. Naturally one of the two nuts falls first, and they interpret this as either consent or dissent as the case may be. The villagers have so much faith in this *kaul* that they make use of this method of divination to ascertain whether sick or diseased persons will recover or die. Special sacrifices are offered to these local deities whenever an epidemic like cholera occurs.[3] In the Ratnágiri District, at many places, there are *Swayambhu* or natural *lingas* of the god Shiva, and over these places temples are built. The *Pujáris* of these temples are generally Jangams or Lingayat Guravs. No animal sacrifices are made at these shrines.[4] At a short distance from the village of Makhamle there is a temple of the god Shiva called Amnáyeshwar. The following legend is narrated in connection with this temple. The place where the present temple stands once abounded with *Amani* trees and formed a pasture for cattle. The cow of a certain man of the village daily used to go to graze at this place. The cow used to give milk twice, but one day she gave milk only once, and thereafter she continued to give milk only once a day. The owner therefore asked the *Gavali* or cowherd to ascertain the cause of this sudden change. One day the cowherd noticed that the cow allowed her milk to drop upon a stone. At this the cowherd was so enraged that he struck the stone with his scythe so hard that it was cloven in two and blood gushed forth. He hurriedly repaired to the village and related this wonderful phenomenon to the people. The villagers came to the spot, and decided to build a temple to the god Shiva over the stone. One part of the stone is in this temple and the other part was taken to the village of Kalamburi, where another temple was built over it.[5] In the Sangameshwar village the Bráhmans also worship the images of the local goddesses Chandukái, Jholái and Sunkái. In the Konkan the deities Náráyan, Rawalnáth, Manli, Datta, Vetál and Shiva are worshipped everywhere.[6] The following legend is told about the deity Vetál, the leader of the ghosts. In the Sáwantwádi State there is a temple of Vetál in the village of Ajgaon.[7] As part of his worship it is considered necessary to offer to this deity a pair of shoes every month. The people believe that after a few days the shoes become worn out. The inference drawn from this by the people is that at night the god Vetál goes out walking in the new shoes.[8] In the village of Khed

1 School Master, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Parule, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.
5 School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Makhamle, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Sangameshwar, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Kámáthipura, Bombay.

CHAPTER II.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

The term "Bower Manuscript" is not strictly correct. As will be seen from the sequel, the object in question is not really a single manuscript, but, in point of size, rather a combination of two manuscripts, a larger and a smaller. The larger manuscript itself, moreover, in point of subject matter, is a complex of six smaller manuscripts, the distinction of which from one another is indicated also by their separate pagination. The Bower Manuscript, therefore, in reality is a collection of seven distinct manuscripts, or it may be called a collective manuscript of seven parts. The latter is the terminology adopted in the present edition; that is, Parts I-III, IV, V and VII, constitute the larger manuscript, while the smaller manuscript consists of Part VI.

The external form of the collective Bower Manuscript is that of the Indian *pôthî*.[43] A *pôthî* consists of a number of leaves, of a practically uniform oblong shape, generally enclosed between two wooden boards, and the whole held in position, or "bound," by a string which passes through a hole drilled through the whole pile. Unfortunately no photograph was ever taken of the Bower Manuscript in the condition in which it was found, or in which it was made over by the finder to Lieutenant Bower. But an idea of its appearance may be formed from Fig. 6, which shows a paper *pôthî*, tied up with a string between its wooden boards, exactly as it was found by Professor Grünwedel's expedition in a cave temple of the *Mingoï* of Qizil.[44] In Fig. 7, the same *pôthî* is shown untied and unfolded.

The leaves of the Bower Manuscript are cut from the bark, or periderm, of the birch tree; those of a modern Indian *pôthî* are, as a rule, of paper.[45] Before the introduction of paper into India, which event probably coincided with the advent of the Muhammadans, the writing material for the purpose of literature was palm-leaf or birch-bark.[46] Palm-leaf must have been the original material of an Indian *pôthî*; for it was the shape of the palm-leaf which determined the narrow oblong shape of the leaves of the *pôthî*. The bark of the birch tree may be obtained in very large strips, about a yard long and eight inches broad. There is no apparent reason why these strips should have been cut into narrow oblong pieces in order to be used as the writing material of books. On the other hand, from the long narrow segments of the leaf of a palm tree none but strips, at most about a yard long and three inches broad, could be cut. These, if used as writing material, necessarily determined the narrow oblong shape of the leaves of the *pôthî*. The birch tree (*Betula utilis*), the "Himalayan Birch," is indigenous in the extreme North of India (*e.g.*, in Kashmir), while the palm tree (Talipat, *Corypha umbraculifera*) is peculiar to the South of India. Hence the fashion of the Indian *pôthî* must have originated in the South of

---

43 From the Sanskrit *pustakâ*, or rather *pustikâ*, book, applied at the present day to any book, written or lithographed or printed, Indian or European.

44 See Sketch Map to Chapter I.

45 Occasionally they are still made of palm-leaf, in Bihar, Orissa, and Southern India.

46 On the local distribution, and other particulars, of these two materials, see my Epigraphical Note, in the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIX (1900), Part I, pp. 93 ff.

India, while the original "book" of the North of India must have been written on large strips of birch-bark. As a fact the oldest Indian "book" on birch-bark, the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript, which probably dates from near the beginning of our era, is written on such large strips. The Southern Indian fashion of the *pôthî* is, in many ways, more convenient for literary use; and as evidenced by the Bower Manuscript and by the other birch-bark manuscripts which have been discovered in Eastern Turkestan (see Chapter IV), it must, at a very early period, have made its way into Northern India, whence finally it was carried, by the spread of Buddhism, to Eastern Turkestan, nearly all the indigenous paper manuscripts of which exhibit the narrow oblong shape of the Indian *pôthî*. At a much later period, probably after the advent of Islam and its western culture, the fashion arose, within the birch-bark area of Northern India to use birch-bark in imitation of paper, and to give to birch-bark books the shape of the paper books of the West. The Indian *pôthî* shape of the birch-bark Bower Manuscript, therefore, is corroborative evidence of the great antiquity of that manuscript,—a point which will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

The birch-bark leaves of the Bower Manuscript, as already intimated, are of two different sizes. The leaves of Parts I-III, IV, V and VII are considerably larger, both in length and breadth, than those of Part VI. The former measure about 11½ by 2½ inches ; the latter, about 9 by 2 inches. Besides the size of the leaves, there is another point which differentiates the two portions of the collective manuscript from each other. The birch bark of the larger portion is of a quality much inferior to that of the smaller portion (Part VI). The former is hard and brittle, and apt to break if roughly handled, while the latter is soft and tough, and can readily be bent. The difference may be due to the age of the tree from which the bark was taken, as well as to the thoroughness of the process (probably boiling in milk or water) by which the bark was prepared for the reception of writing. Moreover, some of the leaves used in the larger portion were in a defective condition at the time when they were inscribed, while the leaves of Part VI were, and are still, in perfect order. For example, in Part I a large portion in the upper right corner of the third folio (see Plate III), affecting no less than six lines, had broken away, before the leaf was inscribed; for nothing of the text is wanting. Similarly, in Part II, large holes had broken into folios 25 and 26 (Plates XXVII and XXVIII), before they were written on. On the other hand, the defects in folios 9 and 12 of the same Part (Plates XIV and XVII) only occurred after those leaves had been inscribed ; for some portion of the text is lost. But there is also another cause to which the defective condition of the leaf is occasionally due, *viz.*, exfoliation. Birch-bark, as writing material, is of varying thickness, consisting of several layers of periderm of extreme tenuity, numbering from two to twelve, or even more :[47] one layer by itself would be too tenuous to be inscribed. When the bark is properly prepared, the process renders the natural adhesion of the layers more durable; but when it is imperfectly prepared, or when it is

[47] Thus, of the five folios of Part I, the first consists of two layers, the four others of four layers each (*Journal*, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LX, 1891, p. 136). Of the five folios of Part IV, the second has at least twelve, and the other, four layers each (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, 1891, pp. 129, 130). Of the four folios of Part VI, the first has three layers, the third, six, and the two others, four each. Of course with good birch-bark it would not have been necessary to have a large number of layers to render the bark inscribable: it was the inferior quality of most of the bark which prevented a separation of the layers in unlacerated portions of sufficient dimensions to admit of being used as writing material (see *Journal*, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LX, 1891, Part I, p. 137).

taken from a too old tree, or from an unsuitable part of the tree, the surface layers are apt to flake off, when the bark becomes thoroughly dry. In that condition, a leaf is unsuitable for writing. This may be illustrated by the blank reverse of the fourth folio in Part IV (Plate XLI), which distinctly shows the surface in process of exfoliation; and it was, no doubt, for that reason that the scribe abstained from writing on it. For the same reason, apparently, the obverse of the fourth folio of Part V (Plate XLVI) was left blank.[48] On the other hand, occasionally exfoliation took place after the leaf had been inscribed. Thus on the left of the reverse side of the thirty-third folio (Plate XXXIV)[49] of Part II, about one-fourth of the surface layer has flaked off, carrying with it a large portion of the text; and the same injury has befallen a smaller portion of the reverse of the twenty-ninth folio (Plate XXXI). On the obverse side of the sixth folio of Part V we have another example of the same phenomenon; and in the case of folio 1 of Part VII (Plate LIII) the whole of the inscribed top layer of the obverse side has flaked off. In the third place, much of the bark, used in the larger portion, is full of faults in its texture. It appears to have been taken from an unsuitable part of the tree, producing a rough and knotty surface, unserviceable for writing. This may be seen by reference, *e.g.*, to the reverses of the first folio of Part II (Plate VI) and the second folio of Part IV (Plate XXXIX), about one-half of which has been left blank. It is also illustrated by the fact that sometimes when the scribe attempted to write across a fault, his letters would form only very badly, as, *e.g.*, in Part I, folio $5b^{9}$ (Plate V), where the syllable *lâ* (of *êlâ*) is almost illegible; or they would not form at all, and the writer was obliged to abandon a half finished letter, and trace it anew on the other side of the fault, thus leaving a more or less extended gap in his line. Thus in Part I, folio $3a^{7}$ (Plate III) we have *vimi[śa]śrô*, folio $3b^{6}$, *jî[va]vitukâmaḥ*, folio $5b^{2}$ (Plate V), *vya[va]vâyâchcha*, where the abandoned half-finished letters are indicated by being placed within brackets (*Journal*, As. Soc. Beng., 1891, Vol. LX, Part I, p. 137). Other examples are in Part II, fols. 7, 8, 22, 27, 29, etc. (Plates XII, XIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXXI), in Part III, folio 3 (Plate XXXVI), and in Part V, folios 2 and 6 (Plate XLIV and XLVIII), which show large uninscribed places. None of these defects is seen in the bark of Part VI, which is of the proper texture, and has been properly prepared.

The fact of the larger portion of the Bower Manuscript being written on birch-bark of such an inferior quality, of course, suggests the enquiry as to what may have been the cause of it. So much seems obvious that, as Kashmir and Udyâna are the lands of the birch aud birch-bark, the scribes (on their number, see Chapter III) of the larger portion of the Bower Manuscript would not have had recourse to an inferior quality of bark, if at the time of writing it, they had not been, for some reason, in a position which made it impracticable for them to procure a supply of good bark. The most obvious explanation that suggests itself, of course, is that when they wrote their manuscript, they were already settled in Kuchar, where fresh birch-bark prepared for writing was not readily procurable, for which reason they were reduced to the necessity of using up what inferior portion remained to

[48] The blankness is not due to the spots: that need not have interfered, as may be seen from the obverse of folio 2 of Part III (Plate XXXVI).—The leaves and plates of Part V are wrongly placed; for "Leaf 6, Plate XLVIII" read "Leaf 1, Plate XLIII", and shift the others accordingly.

[49] The number 33 which is seen on the peeled off surface on Plate XXXIV is not original: it was inscribed by myself for guidance.

them of the store of birch-bark which they may have originally brought with them from their home in north-western India. But by the time that Part VI came to be written, a fresh supply of good and well-prepared bark had been procured.

One of the indications of the collective character of the Bower Manuscript, as has been stated, is the mode of pagination which it exhibits. For the leaves of each Part are numbered separately, so far as can be judged from the numbering where it is preserved. In Indian *pôthîs* the practice is to number, not the pages, but the leaves: and the numbers are placed on the left-hand margin, either on the obverse or the reverse side of the leaf. In northern Indian manuscripts it is always the reverse side which is thus numbered, while in southern manuscripts, it is the obverse.[50] In Parts IV and V, the margins are so imperfectly preserved that it must remain uncertain whether they ever bore any numbers. The practice of numbering the folios, however, is so general in Indian manuscripts that, on the whole, the probability is in favour of its having once existed in those Parts at the time when the margins were intact. In Parts I—III and VII the margins of most leaves are fairly well preserved, and they show the usual pagination on the reverse side of the leaf, thus pointing to a northern locality as their place of origin. Part VI, the margins of which are well preserved, shows pagination throughout; and, what is noticeable, the numbers are on the obverse side of the leaves. That fact points to a southern place of origin, and this indication is confirmed by others which will be fully discussed in Chapter III.

The total of the existing leaves of the Bower Manuscript is fifty-one. But unfortunately the more important portion of it, Parts I—III, which treats of medicine, is incomplete. Part I ends quite abruptly with the fifth folio. How many more may have completed the text, it is impossible to conjecture from the context. The existing five leaves are numbered consecutively from 1 to 5. The obverse of the first leaf, as usual in Indian *pôthîs*, is left blank. In the left-hand margin of the reverse of the third leaf, there appear, below the ordinary pagination 3, two other signs of doubtful value. If they are to be read as separate numeral figures, they might be 51; or if they are to be read as a single figure, it might be an imperfectly (*i.e.*, discontinuously) written 40 or 70. But in either case their purport is a puzzle.[51] Part II also is a fragment; for it ends, apparently abruptly, with the 33rd folio somewhere in the fourteenth chapter. Moreover, the two final chapters, the fifteenth and sixteenth, which are announced in the introduction (verses 8 and 9), and which might have comprised five leaves, are entirely missing. In addition, the entire folios 20, 21 and 30, and the major portion of folios 16 and 17 are missing. Also, as previously stated (p. xix), smaller portions are missing, by fracture in folios 9 and 12, and by exfoliation in the reverses of folios 29 and 33. The total number of the existing leaves, inclusive of the two fragmentary folios 16 and 17, is thirty. In the case of most of these existing leaves, *viz.*, in folios 2—10, 12, 13, 15, 22—26, 31 and 32 (total 19), the ordinary pagination is fully preserved. It is only partially preserved in the five folios 16, 18, 19, 28, 29; and it is entirely lost, by fracture or exfoliation of the margin, in the six folios 1, 11, 14, 17, 27, 33. On folio 13 (Plate XVIII) there is an indistinct mark between the figures for 10 and 3, apparently the cancellation of another wrongly inscribed figure. The pagination is placed

50 See the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 261, quoted in Chapter III, p. xxxi.

51 The figures, or figure, cannot well refer to the number of the corresponding verse in the text, as doubtfully suggested in note 57 on p. 5 of my edition.

as a rule, in the middle of the margin, but in folios 25, 31, 32 it appears in the top of the margin, facing the third or fourth line of the text; and it must have occupied the same position on folios 1, 11, 27, where the top of the margin is mutilated.[52]

Part III, again, is a mere fragment. Its commencement is marked, as usual, by the sacred symbol of *ôṁ* on the obverse of the first leaf; but it breaks off abruptly on the obverse of the fourth leaf. But the noteworthy circumstance is that it breaks off, not at the bottom, but in the middle of that side of the leaf. This circumstance certainly suggests that the original scribe left off writing at that point, and never completed his work. Subsequently, the manuscript came into the possession of the writer of Part IV, who commenced the writing of that Part on what was then the blank reverse of the fourth folio of Part III. Ultimately the whole manuscript, that is, the unfinished Part III and the subsequently added Part IV, came into the possession of a third person, *viz.*, the writer of Parts V and VII, who proceeded to write a remark of his own on the space left blank by the original writer on the lower portion of the obverse side of the fourth folio of Part III (Plate XXXVIII). This curious case will be the subject of further consideration with additional details in Chapter III (p. xxxv), where it will be shown that the writer of Part III must have written also Parts I and II. In connection with this latter circumstance the query suggests itself whether Parts I and II, no less than Part III, might not have been incomplete at the time when Part III came into the possession of the writer of Parts V-VII; that is to say, that already at that time Parts I and II extended no further than they do at present. It might be surmised that the scribe who made the copies of Parts I-III died before he had finished his task, and that his unfinished copies passed on, in turn, to the writers, or owners, of Part IV and Parts V and VII. There is nothing in the Parts concerned to decide one way or the other about this hypothesis, but in any case the hypothesis has no concern whatever with the losses of fols. 21, 22 and 30 of Part II, or the fractures (*e. g.*, of fols. 15 and 17) and exfoliations which have been referred to. For injuries of an exactly similar kind are observable in every one of the Parts of the Bower Manuscript, with the exception of Part VI which is written on birch-bark of a superior and durable quality. All these injuries occurred at a date subsequent to the hypothetical transmission of Part I and II to its later owners. The second of the four folios of Part III is the only one which bears pagination. In the others the margin is defective.

Of Parts IV and V, which are two tracts on divination, the former is practically complete,[53] while the latter seems to be considerably defective (see Chapter VIII). Neither of them shows any pagination. As they are very small manuscripts, of five (strictly four and a half) and six folios respectively, it is possible that they never had any; but as the margins are more or less defective, the numbers may be lost; and this alternative seems more probable. The obverse of the first leaf of Part V is blank, just as in the case of Part I. Its reverse is inscribed only with the introduction to the treatise, which does not cover the whole of its surface. It bears only five lines, and there is a blank space left, sufficient for, at least, one additional line: all the other leaves have six or seven lines to the page.

Part VI, which is a treatise on a charm against snake bite, is complete. Being written on a superior quality of birch-bark, it is the best preserved portion of the Bower Manuscript. The left-hand margins of all its four folios are in good condition, and bear the pagination,

52 The numbers marked on the reverses of folios 17, 21 and 33 are not original, but were inscribed by myself for guidance.

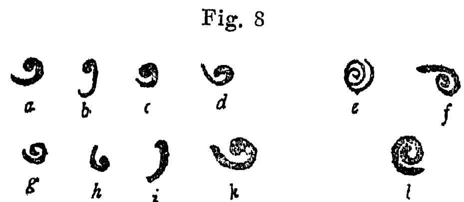
53 On Part IV see my article in the *Journal*, A. S. B., 1892, p. 129.

1 to 4, on the obverse sides. The manuscript commences with the usual symbol for *ôṁ* on the obverse of the first leaf, and ends with the usual Buddhist terminal salutations and the double stroke (Chapter IV, p. xxxvii) on the top of the reverse of the fourth folio.

Part VII, which contains a portion of the same charm against snake bite (see Chapter III, pp. xxix and xxxv and Chapter VIII) is defective. It consists of two, much damaged, leaves, the first of which, on its reverse side, bears the pagination 1. The obverse has lost its inscribed surface layer of bark (p. xix), and with it the commencement of the charm. The pagination of the second leaf is lost with the broken-off margin.

Indian manuscripts, or records, as a rule, commence with some benedictory word such as *siddham*, success, or *svasti*, hail, or with the sacred particle *ôṁ*. The last mentioned is almost universally used at the present day. It may be either written in full, or indicated by a symbol. The latter takes the form of a spiral which may turn either to the right or the left (Fig. 8), and which is probably a conventional representation of the sacred *śaṁkha* or conch shell. The dextrorse form may be seen on the first leaf of Part I (Fig. 8*a*), Part II (Fig. 8 *b* and *c*), and Part III (Fig. 8 *d*), while the sinistrorse form appears on the first leaf of Part IV (Fig. 8 *e*), and Part VI (Fig. 8 *f*).

Fig. 8



Modes of writing *ôm*.

In Parts V and VII it is lost through the damage suffered by their first folios. In all the Parts, except the second, the symbol occupies the usual position facing the first line of the text; but in Part II it appears in the more unusual position, on the left-hand margin, opposite the third line of writing, exactly as it is seen in the two copper-plate grants of Ananta Varman, dateable probably in the sixth century A.D. (fig. 8 *g*, *h*), shown in Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 220 and 226, Plates xxxB and xxxiA. Among the dated northern Indian epigraphical records of the Gupta period, the earliest known examples of the dextrorse form of the symbol are those of the year 448-9 A.D. in a stone inscription of Kumâra Gupta I (Fig. 8 *i*, see *ibid.*, p. 45, Plate viA), and of the year 493-4 A.D. in a copper-plate grant of Jayanâtha (Fig. 8 *k*, see *ibid.*, p. 120, Plate xvi). The earliest known example of the sinistrorse form occurs in a copper-plate grant of Mahâsadêvarâja, of an unknown though early date (Fig. 8*l*, *ibid.*, p. 198, Plate xxvii), and apparently, though mutilated, also in the Bodhgayâ inscriptions, of 588 A.D. (*ibid.*, Plate xliA and B). Of course, these dates are not sufficiently numerous to settle the exact beginning and end of the period of the use of the two forms; but on the whole the sinistrorse form seems to be somewhat later in origin. Curiously enough, the symbol for *ôṁ*, in its dextrorse form, is found also on the obverse side of the 32nd leaf of Part II, on the left margin, opposite the second line of writing. How it comes to be there is, at present, not apparent.

As already observed, the typical Indian *pôthî* is provided with a hole for the passage of the binding string. At the present day, the hole is placed exactly in the middle of the leaves; and it has been so during many centuries past. In the Bower Manuscript the hole is placed in the left side, about the middle of the left half of the leaf; about 3¼ inches from the left margin of the larger, and 2¼ inches, in the case of the smaller folios. There are reasons to believe that the latter practice was that which prevailed in ancient India. In the old Indian copper-plate grants, the copper leaves are strung together on a copper-

ring which passes through a hole in the left side of the leaves.[54] The oldest known copper-plates of this kind are those of the Koṇḍamudi grant of Jayavarman (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 316) and the Pallava grants of King Śivaskanda Varman (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 4-6,397; Vol. VI, p. 84), which, on palæographic and linguistic grounds, must be referred to the second and third centuries A.D. respectively.[55] They have their ring-hole near the middle of the left half-side They are all South Indian grants; and seeing that, as already pointed out, the oblong form of the earliest birch-bark *pôthîs* of Northern India, as seen in the Bower Manuscript, is an imitation of the palm-leaf *pôthî* of Southern India, it may be concluded that the placement of the string-hole in southern manuscript *pôthîs* was the same as in the southern copper-plate grants, and that the practice of placing the string-hole in the middle of the left half of the manuscript was adopted by the northern scribes from their southern brethren, whom, in fact, they imitated in the whole mode of fashioning the *pôthî*. All the earliest birch-bark manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries show their string-hole on the left side. But as birch-bark (as well as palm-leaf) is a more or less fragile material, the practice soon arose for the greater safety of the leaves, to make two holes, in the right and left halves, at corresponding distances from the right and left margins. The earliest known examples of this practice are presented in the Horiuzi Manuscript (see *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, Part III, Plate I) and the two Nepalese manuscripts of the Cambridge Collection, Nos. 1702 and 1409 (see Bendall's Catalogue, Plate I, Figs. 1 and 2), all of which probably belong to the sixth century. Still later, the practice arose of replacing the two holes by one hole in the middle of the leaves. The existence of this practice is recorded by Alberuni in the eleventh century, who says (Professor Sachau's Translation of Alberuni's India, Vol. I, p. 176) that "the Indians bind a book of palm-leaves together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each." The hole was not at first in the exact middle, but—probably a modified survival of the ancient practice—slightly more to the left, as seen, *e.g.*, in the Nepalese manuscript No. XXI (Palæographic Society), which is dated in 1015 A.D. Still later, and in the present day, the hole appears in the exact middle of the leaves. The peculiar position of the string-hole, in the middle of the left side of the Bower Manuscript, therefore, is an evidence making for the extreme antiquity of the manuscript.[56]

54 This is the general practice; but there are exceptions in various directions. Thus exceptionally the hole is found in the bottom margin. A very old example, from the third century A.D., is the Pallava grant of Queen Chârudêvî (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 144). Two other examples of the 7th century are the Chiplun grant of Pulikêsin II (*ib.*, Vol. III, p. 52), and the Nausârî grant of Śryâśraya (*ib.*, Vol. VIII, p. 232). Occasionally there are two holes at the bottom, *e.g.*, in the 5th century the Ganesgad grant of Dhruvasêna I (*ib.*, Vol. III, p. 320) and the Mâliyâ grant of Dharasêna II (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 38, p. 168, Plate xxiv); in the 7th century the Saṁkhêḍa grants of Dadda III, (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 20 and Vol V., p. 40), and the Nogawa grant of Dhruvasêna II (*ib.*, Vol. VIII, p. 192). Another early practice, which however appears to be limited to a particular Central Indian province, is to place the hole in the top margin of the plates, as in the Khôh grants of Hastin and other princes (Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* Nos. 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, plates xiii, xv, xvii, xx). Lastly the hole is occasionally found on the right side. The earliest example of this appears to be the Paiṭhân grant of the Râshṭakûtrakûṭa king Gôvinda III, of 794 A.D. (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III, p. (106). But the overwhelmingly favourite practice throughout ancient India, and at all times, is to place the hole on the left side.

55 These grants are written in Prâkrit, and the spelling in Jayavarman's grant (single for double consonants), as Professor Hultzsch has pointed out (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 316) is exactly like that in the records of the Andhra kings Gautamîputra and Vaśishṭîputra, whose dates are c. 117-137 A.D. The spelling in Śivaskanda's grants has double consonants, but the writing otherwise resembles that of Jayavarman's grant. Accordingly they can be dated, at most, about a century later.

56 Revised from the statement in my *Report on the British Collection of Central Asian Antiquities* in Extra Number 1 to the *Journal*, As. Soc. Beng., Vol. LXX, Part I, for 1901, pp. 7, 8.

Unfortunately it has never been recorded in what condition the Bower Manuscript was when it was received by Colonel Waterhouse in Calcutta in September 1890. When it came into my hands in February 1891, the leaves of the *pôthî* were enclosed between its two wooden boards, and a string run through them. In order to examine the leaves, I cut the string, and, on doing so, discovered that they were not arranged in their proper order, but that the leaves of the several parts were mixed up (see *Proceedings*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891., p. 55). How they came into this state of disorder is not known. It does not seem probable that they were so originally when the manuscript was discovered by its Kuchari finders. The people who enshrined it in its receptacle in the stûpa may be assumed to have been able to read it; and they would not have enshrined it in a disorderly condition. But from the time of its discovery, it passed through the hands of, at least, four different persons, all of whom may be assumed with certainty to have cut or unloosed the string to satisfy their curiosity, and none of whom knew, or could read the characters. In the case of Babu Sarat Chandra Das this is certain; for he stated himself to Colonel Waterhouse who had first given him the manuscript to examine, that he had failed to decipher it (see *Proceedings*, As. Soc. Beng., 1890, pp. 222-3). Moreover two of the leaves were photographed (see *ibid.*, Plate III) by Colonel Waterhouse, before ever the manuscript came into my hands. It may, therefore, be concluded with good reason that the disorderly condition of the manuscript arose only in the course of its passage through the several hands; and it seems not at all improbable that the serious damage done to the folios 16 and 17 of Part II may be due to incautious handling by the original Turki finders in Kuchar. After each examination the leaves seem to have been bound together again by a string, whether the same original string or any other may be doubtful. That they were in this bound condition when they reached the hands of Colonel Weterhouse seems to be expressly stated in the original report, published in the November *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1890, p. 223).

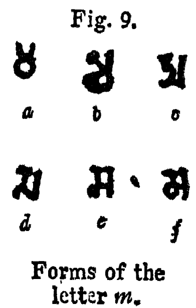
CHAPTER III.

THE SCRIPT, THE SCRIBES, AND THEIR USAGES IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

A glance at the Tables which illustrate this chapter shows at once that all the seven Parts of the Bower Manuscript are written in an essentially identical script. Considering the fact, which will be proved in the sequel, of a diversity of scribes, the identity of their script is strikingly shown by the occurrence of the same slight variations in the forms of such consonants as *k*, *r* and *s* (Table I), and such vowels as *i*, *u*, and *ū* (Table II, Nos. 5, 7-10). This script is that which prevailed in Northern India from the fourth to the sixth centuries A.D. (both inclusive). It is now generally known as the Gupta script, because its prevalence coincided with the rule of the (Early) Gupta Emperors in whose epigraphic records it is employed. Most of these records, inscribed during the period of the Gupta Empire, are collected in the third volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*[57] The facsimile Plates, accompanying that volume may be consulted for the purpose of comparing the script used in the Gupta records with that seen in the several Parts of the Bower Manuscript.

During the period of approximately three centuries of its prevalence the Gupta script shows two distinct types, a southern and a northern, their areas being separated by a line running in a north-easterly direction, roughly between N. Lat. 24° and 22.° At Mandasor (Lat. 24°3′), Eran (Lat. 24° 5′), and Udayagiri (Lat. 23°32′), there exist inscriptons, side by side, in both types of the script. From the dates of these inscriptions[58] it will be seen that, in every case, the records of the southern are earlier than those of the northern type,—a circumstance which points to the gradual advance southwards of the fashion of writing in the northern style. For practical purposes the most useful test for distinguishing the two types is the form of the letter *m* (Fig. 9). Here (*a*) shows the original form of the letter, in the so-called Aśoka script. Gradually the curve at the base was flattened, and the point of crossing shifted more or less, to the right. In this form (*b*) the character was preserved in the southern type of the script. In the north-west of India the tendency of straightening the curves was more pronounced. At first it affected only the right side of the letter. This side was made quite straight; and in consequence thereof it was entirely severed from the crossing point. Thus arose the earlier northern Gupta form (*c*). Soon also the left side was straightened, producing the alternative form (*d*). In these two forms the character for *m* prevailed throughout the Gupta period (Table I), gradually spreading eastward over the whole of Northern India. From the second of the northern Gupta forms

Fig. 9.



Forms of the letter *m*.

[57] Volume III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors,* edited by Dr. J. F. Fleet, C. I. E., in 1888. A few additional inscriptions, discovered after that date are published in the *Epigraphia Indica.* These two publications are quoted in the sequel as F. GI., and E. I. respectively.

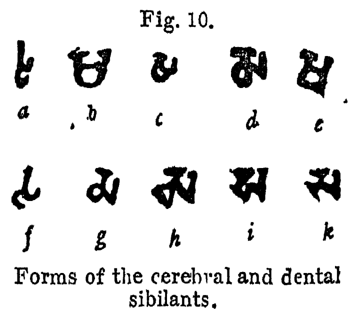
[58] Mandasor, northern type, F. GI., Nos. 33, 34, 35, dated c. 530-533 A.D , and southern type, F.GI., No. 18, dated 473, A.D. Eran, northern, F.GI., Nos. 19, 20, 36 dated 468, 484, 508 A.D., and southern, F.GI., No. 2, dated 370 A.D. Udayagiri, northern, F.GI., No. 61, dated 425 A.D., and southern, F.GI., No. 3, dated 401 A.D.

of *m*, developed, at a later time, the Nâgarî form (*e*), and its ringleted variety (*f*), by the production of the right lateral below the base line.

The origin of the northern form of the Gupta *m* must be placed in the earlier half of the fourth century A.D. The starting point of the Gupta empire (Pâṭaliputra) was in the East. On the coins and in the records of Samudra Gupta the older form of *m*, with its curved sides (Fig. 9, *a b*) is still exclusively prevalent. But with his son Chandragupta II, who added the West to the empire, a total change takes place. All his coins and records show only the forms of *m* with straight sides (Fig. 9, *c d*). He commenced to reign about 375 A.D.; and he completed his conquest of the West about 395 A.D. His earliest known dated inscription of 407 A.D. (F.GI., No. 7, p. 36) shows the straight-sided *m*. Its locality Gaḍhwâ, Lat. 80° 38′, is just within the eastern area. Another of his inscriptions, within the western area, at Mathurâ, Lat. 77° 43′, which also shows the straight-sided *m* (F.GI., No. 4, p. 25, Plate iii A) is mutilated and hence undated; but it may be some twenty years older. Anyhow, the fact that the straight-sided *m* shows no signs of a gradual origination or introduction, but with Chandragupta's western conquests, all at once, entirely supersedes the older curved-sided form of *m* in the records throughout the northern portion of the Gupta empire, proves that, at the time of that conquest, it must have been the established and prevailing fashion of writing *m* in the north-west of India. The beginning and growth of that fashion in the North-west itself, therefore, may with good reason be placed in the earlier half of the fourth century, though, of course, in calligraphic records of a particularly ornate kind, such as the Bijayagaḍh inscriptions of about 372 A.D. (F.GI., Nos. 58, 59, pp. 251-2, Plate xxxvi B. C.), the old form of *m* with its angular or curved sides, might tend to survive for some longer time. The only form of *m*, prevailing throughout the whole of the Bower Manuscript, in its calligraphically as well as cursively written portions, is the earlier of the two north-western forms, with its right side straight, but the left side twisted (Fig. 9, *c;* and Table I). So far, therefore, the graphic indications of the manuscript point to some time within the fourth century A.D. At any rate, they need not carry its date back of that century.

The northern type of the Gupta script, again, is divisible into two distinctly marked varieties, an eastern and a western. With regard to this division the most useful test letter is the character for the cerebral sibilant *ṣ*, as compared with the character for the dental sibilant *s*. The original forms, in the Aśoka alphabet, of these two characters are shown in Fig. 10, *a* and *f* respectively. The form of the former was soon modified, as in (*b*), by closing up the lower semicircle. In the East, gradually that semicircle was made to bulge out on the left, as in (*c*), and finally reduced to a small ringlet, as in (*d*), while in the West it was simply more or less angularized, as in (*e*). On the other hand, in the case of the dental *s* (*f*), its basal curve was angularized in the East, and at the same time its tail closed up to form a ringlet, as in (*g*), while in the West the whole character was angularized, a triangle taking the place of the ringlet, as in (*h*). The final result of these modifications was, in the East, to cause the forms of the cerebral and dental sibilants, (*d*) and (*g*), to resemble each other so closely as to make them practically indistinguishable, while in the West the forms of the two sibilants remained quite distinct. It may be added that the western form of the dental sibilant occurs in

Fig. 10.



Forms of the cerebral and dental sibilants.

Table I Alphabet

	Part I		Part II		Part III		Part IV		Part V		Part VI		Part V
1 A													
2													
Ā													
I													
Ī													
U													
Ū													
Ri													
E													
Ai													
O													
Au													
1 K													
2													
Kh													
G													
Gh													
Ṅ													
Ch													
Chh													
J													
Jh													
Ñ													
Ṭ													
Ṭh													
Ḍ													
Ḍh													

Table I Alphabet

	Part I		Part II		Part III		Part IV		Part V		Part VI		Part VI	
Ṇ														
T														
Th														
D														
Dh														
N														
P														
Ph														
B														
Bh														
M														
1 Y														
2														
1 R														
2														
L														
V														
1 Ś														
2														
Ṣ														
1 S														
2														
H														
Ḥ														
Ḥ̤														
H̱														
Ṁ														

Table II Vowels

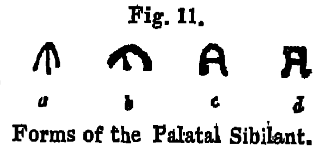
	Part I		Part II		Part III		Part IV		Part V		Part VI		Part VII	
1. Ā														
2 Ā														
3 Ā														
4 Ā														
5 I														
6 Ī														
7 U														
8 U														
9 Ū														
10 Ū														
11 Ṛi														
12 Ṛi														
13 E														
14 E														
15 E														
16 Ai														
17 Ai														
18 Ai														
19 O														
20 O														
21 O														
22 O														
23 Au														
24 Au														
25 Au														
26 M														
27 T														
28 K														

several slightly differing variations, shown in (*h*), (*i*) and (*k*), none of which, however, affects its distinctive character of angularity.

The boundary of the western and eastern areas runs roughly along E. Long. 81°. At Kausambhî (Long. 81° 27′) we have inscriptions in both varieties of the northern Gupta type side by side: the western variety in the Pâlî land-grant (E.I., Vol. II, p. 364, l. 4, *yathaiṣa*), the eastern in the pillar inscription of Samudragupta, now in Allahabad (F. GI. No. 1, p. 1, Plate i), and in the Kôsam image inscription (F. GI. No. 65, p. 266, Plate xxxix C). Similarly, we find the western variety in the image inscription of Dêôriyâ (Long. 81° 51′, F. GI. No. 68, p. 271, Plate xl B), and close by, the eastern variety in the image inscription of Mankuwâr (Long. 81° 52′, F.GI. No. 11, p. 45, Plate xii A), and in the inscriptions at Gaḍhwâ (Long. 81° 18′; F.GI. Nos. 7, 9, 64, 66, pp. 36, 40, 264, 267, Plates iv B,D, and xxxix B,D).[59] As the Nepal valley lies within the eastern area, all the Nepalese inscriptions at, or near, Kâtmândû (Long. 85° 71′) exhibit the eastern cerebral *ṣ* (Fig. 10, *d*), but exceptionally they preserve the distinction of the two sibilants by using the western angular dental *s* (Fig. 10, *h*).[60] Throughout the whole of the Bower Manuscript, the two sibilants appear in the western variety of the northern Gupta type, as may be seen by referring to Table I. This fact limits the country of origin of the manuscript to some part of north-western India; and as will be shown in the sequel, the probability is that Parts I-III were written in the extreme north, and Parts V-VII, in the extreme south of that portion of India, or rather (p. xxxv) by scribes coming from those localities.

The western variety of the northern type of the Gupta script itself possessed two sub-varieties. The distinctive feature of these sub-varieties is their different way of writing the palatal sibilant *ś*, either with a curvilinear or a straight-lined top. The successive stages of development of the form of this sibilant are shown in Fig. 11. Originally, in the Aśôka script, it had the form (*a*). Gradually the medial perpendicular line assumed a slanting position as in (*b*), till finally, in the Indo-scythic period, in the Kushana script of the second century A.D., it became more or less horizontal, as in (*c*). Somewhat later, apparently in the early Gupta period, in the fourth century A.D., the alternative form (*d*) arose, which flattened the rounded top into a straight line. These two forms of the palatal, *ś* the round-topped and the flat-topped, however, were not restricted to a particular area, or a particular period of time. They existed contemporaneously during the Gupta period, and in the same common area. An instructive example is the group of Mandasôr inscription of Yaśôdharman (F. GI. Nos. 33, 34, 35, pp. 142, 149, 150, Plates xxi B,C, xxii), which were written by the same scribe, named Gôvinda (*ib.*, p. 146), about 533 A.D. He uses the flat-topped form of *ś* throughout his three records.[61] On the other hand, the writer of the somewhat earlier Mandasôr inscription, of the time of Kumâragupta and of the year 473-4 A.D., uses the round-topped

Fig. 11.



Forms of the Palatal Sibilant.

[59] Exceptionally the eastern variety is found in two inscriptions as far west as Mihraulî (Long. 77° 14 F. GI. No. 32, p. 139, Plate xxxi A), and Udayagiri (Long. 77° 50′, F. GI. No. 6, p. 34, Plate iv A).

[60] See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 163 ff. The two sibilants may be seen in juxtaposition in l. 13 (*kâryyêshu sadvi*) of No. 3, p. 167.

[61] Unfortunately, owing to the nature of the soft sandstone, on which they are incised, the angles of the letters are much eroded, thus obscuring somewhat their true forms, but the flat top is still well marked in several cases; *e.g.*, in *śabda*, l. 6, and *śrî.*, l. 7, of the complete pillar inscription (F. GI., p. 146-7) and in *śûla* and *śatra*, l. 1 of the duplicate inscription (*ib.*, p. 159). In the better preserved inscription, on the harder slate tablet, the flat top of *ś* is quite distinct; *e.g.*, in *śrî* l. 4 (*ib.*, p. 153.)

ś throughout (F. GI. No. 18, p. 79, Plate xi). Good examples of the use of the flat-topped ś are the cave inscription of Udayagiri (Lat. 23° 32′, Long. 77° 50′), dated in 425-6 A.D. (F. GI. No. 61, p. 258, Plate xxxviii), and the stone image inscription at Mathurâ (Lat. 27° 30′, Long. 77° 43′; F. GI. No. 63, p. 262, Plate xxxix A), dated in 454-5 A.D. On the other hand, good examples of the use of the round-topped ś are the copper-plate land-grants of the Parivrâjaka Mahârâjas, at Khôh, Majhgawâm, and Bhumarâ (about Lat. 24° 25′ and Long. 80° 45′; F.GI. Nos. 21-25, pp. 93-112, Plates xiii, xiv, xv B), which are dated between 475 and 529 A.D. These examples show that the two forms of the palatal ś were in use over the same western area, and during the same period of time.

But there is one point to be observed with regard to the use of the two forms of the palatal ś, whch is of great importance in connection with the Bower Manuscript. The two ways of writing that ś are never confounded, nor do they ever occur promiscuously in the same epigraphic record. It is clear, therefore, that they mark two different styles of writing, each peculiar to a particular writer. They thus offer a test for determining the number of writers who were engaged in the production of the several Parts of the Bower Manuscript. As may be seen by reference to Table I, the round-topped ś is used exclusively in Parts I-III, while the flat-topped ś is, equally exclusively, used in Parts IV-VII. In Parts I-III, the flat-topped ś never occurs, nor does the round-topped ś ever occur in Parts IV-VII. It is inconceivable that the same person should have used habitually and exclusively one mode of writing ś in one set of manuscripts, and another in another set of manuscripts. It follows, therefore, that Parts I-III were written by a person different from the three persons who wrote Parts IV-VII; for as will be shown in the sequel (pp. xxix and xxxiii), on similar grounds, the two writers of Parts IV and VI must have been different persons from the writer of Parts V and VII.

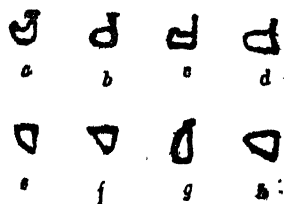
In this connection, as bearing on the question of the number of scribes, the following fact, which will be fully discussed in Chapter IV, must be noted. The modern form of the letter *y*, which originated in the northern area of the Gupta script, and which is found in Parts I-III, is entirely absent from Parts IV-VII. The latter make use exclusively of the old three-pronged form of *y* (Fig. 19), which persistently continued to prevail in the southern area. Also, another small point which distinguishes the scribes of Parts V-VII from the scribe of Parts I-III is worth noticing. It is the fashion of writing the character for the dental *th*. As may be seen in Table I, in Parts I-III that character has an upright position, while in Parts V-VII its position is more or less slanting. Though a small point in itself, it is worth noticing, because it marks the germ of a fashion of writing with a slant, which developed subsequently in the Eastern Turkestan settlement of Kuchar, and which is shown in Fig. 15, l. 2, (p. xxxii), and in Fig. 17, l. 3, c and *d* (p. xxxiv).

The peculiarities of writing above set out shown that there must have been no less than four persons engaged in the writing of the Bower Manuscript. In Parts I-III, the similarity of writing is, in all points so conspicuous that it is impossible to ascribe their production to more than one person. As to Parts V, VI and VII, it has been shown from their mode of writing the palatal ś, that they cannot have been written by the identical person who wrote Parts I-III. Moreover, it is practically certain that they must have been written by two different writers. That Parts V and VII are due to the same writer follows, as in the case of Parts I-III, from the conspicuous similarity of the writing. The case of Part VI may seem uncertain. There is superficial dissimilarity in its style of writing from that in Parts V and VII, but on the other hand, it must be remembered

that Part VI is written calligraphically, while Parts V and VII are written in an extremely cursive and careless fashion. Also, there is a not inconsiderable similarity of writing in the three Parts, which extends even to the use of the same signs of interpunctuation (see p. xxxix), parts V-VII having in this respect a common system differing from that in Parts I-III. Moreover, there is the fact that the same name Yaśamitra (*i.e.*, Yaśômitra) occurs both in the calligraphically written Part VI (fol. 4*a*, l. 6, ed. pp. 225, 230) and the cursively written Part VII (fol. 2*a*, l. 3, ed. pp. 237-9). This name must be that of the votary, who either wrote the manuscript himself, or got it written for himself by a scribe. For, as the Japanese scholar, Dr. K. Watanabe, explains (*Journal*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, p. 263), it "was a custom in ancient China and Japan" that "a votary must recite his name" in the copy of a devotional work which he either wrote himself, or caused to be written for himself. On the other hand, there is the very significant circumstance that Part VI is paginated on the obverse side of its folios, while Part VII bore its folio numbers on the reverse sides (see Chapter II, p. xx). As in the case of the two modes of writing the palatal *ś*, it is hardly conceivable that the same person should have been in the habit of using two entirely different modes of paginating. It should, also, be observed that (see Chapter VIII) Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of the same tract, and (see Chapter II) greatly differ in their quality of birch-bark and state of preservation. The explanation which best accords with all these facts seems to be that a monk, called Yaśômitra, wrote, or got written, for his own use, a copy of the protective charm, a portion of which now survives as Part VII. At a subsequent date, when that copy had become damaged, he got the damaged portion replaced by a new copy, namely the existing Part VI, on a fresh supply of superior bark, which a new arrival from India may have brought with him. Regarding the personality of Yaśômitra, it may be surmised that he must have been a Buddhist monk of great repute for saintliness and learning. For the fact that the manuscripts were found in the relic chamber of the stûpa shows that they must have been the property of the person in whose honour the stûpa was erected; and to be accorded such an honour that person must have been a monk of acknowledged eminence. But whatever the exact number of writers may have been, the fact that Parts V-VII have so many peculiarities in common shows that the writer of Part VI must have been a native of the same country, or locality, in India as the writer of Parts V and VII. On the writer of Part IV, see below, p. xxxiii.

This introduces another important subject, *viz.*, the native country of the writers of the several Parts of the Bower Manuscript. On this point the manuscript presents some very interesting evidence. In the first place, looking at Table I, a difference will be observed in the forms of the initial vowel *ê*. In Parts V-VII, the right side of the triangle projects, or juts out, beyond the apex. This projection is wanting in Parts I-III. On consulting the Tables III, IV and VII in Bühler's Indian Palæography (in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Research*), it will be found that the projection is peculiar to epigraphic records of the southern area of the Gupta script. The forms which obtained in the northern and southern areas respectively are shown in Fig. 12. The boundary line, as already stated, runs roughly in a south-easterly direction between N. Lat. 24° and 22°. The form of the jutting *ê* is shown in (*a*) from an inscription at Mâliyâ (about Lat. 21° 31′, F. GI. No. 38, p. 164, Plate xxiv

Fig. 12.

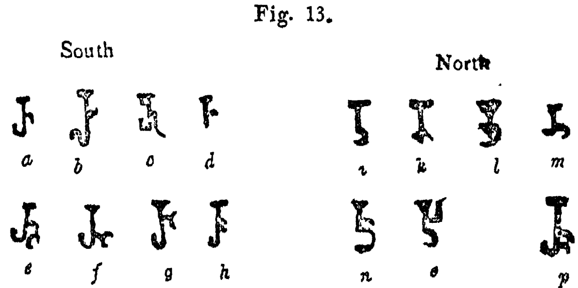


Forms of the initial *ê* in the northern and southern areas.

l. 26), well below the boundary line, in the southern area. The same southern form, from an inscription at Eran (Lat. 24° 5', F. GI. No. 20, p. 91, Plate xii B, l. 1), is shown in (*b*). Eran is just on the boundary line of the two areas; and from another inscription (F. GI. No. 36, p. 158, Plate xxiv A, l. 2) at the same place comes the northern form without the projection, shown in (*e*). The same northern form, in two slight variations, is shown in (*f*) and (*g*), coming from the same place Khôh (Lat. 24° 13', F. GI. No. 27, p. 121, Plate xvii, l. 9, and No. 28, p. 125, Plate xviii, l. 12). From further south come the Pallava and Kadamba forms, shown in (*c*) and (*d*); and from further north comes the Kushana form, shown in (*h*).

In the second place, there is the characteristic difference in the form of the vowels *u* and *û*, in the *akshara*, or syllables, *ru* and *rû*, which are shown in the 7th and 9th traverses of Table II. In Parts I-III the short vowel *u* is attached to the foot of the consonant *r*, but in Parts V-VII to its middle. The long vowel *û* is indicated in Parts I-III, by adding a stroke above, but in Part VI, by adding a semicircle, to its own particular symbol for *ru* respectively. For Parts V and VII, unfortunately, no examples are available; but their agreement, in this respect, with Part VI may be presumed. On referring again to the Tables III and VII in Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, it will be seen that the forms used in Parts V-VII are peculiar to the southern, but those in Parts I-III to the northern area. Both forms, the southern and northern, are shown in Fig. 13. Well within the southern area occurs the southern form (*a*) from the same above-mentioned inscription at Mâliyâ (about Lat. 21° 31', F. GI. No. 38, p. 165, Plate xxiv, l. 3); also the similar southern form (*b*), from an inscription at Junâgaḍh (Lat. 20° 31'; F. GI. No. 14, p. 61, Plate viii, l. 29), as well as (c) from an inscription at Râjim (Lat. 20° 58', F. GI. No. 81, p. 295. Plate xiv, l. 12). The strictly southern character of these three inscriptions is proved by the fact that they all exhibit the distinctly southern form of *m* (Fig. 9 *b*). The Mâliyâ inscription (Plate xxiv, ll. 12, 16) shows the southern forms (*e*) and (*f*) of *rû*. On the other hand, we have, well within the northern area, the northern form (*i*) of *ru* in inscriptions at Kahaum (Lat. 26° 16', F. GI. No. 15, p. 67, Plate ix A, ll. 8, 12), and at Indôr (Lat. 28° 12', F. GI. No. 16, p. 71, Plate ix B, l. 6), and the similar forms (*k*) at Nâgârjunî (Lat. 25° 0'), (*l*) at Mandasôr (Lat. 24° 3'), and (*m*) at Mathurâ (Lat. 27° 30'; F. GI. Nos. 50, 33, 63, pp. 227, 147, 263, Plates xxxi, l. 1, xxi B, l. 8, xxxixA, l. 3). The northern form (*n*) of *rû* appears in an inscription at Udayagiri (Lat. 23° 32' F. GI. No. 61, p. 259, Plate xxxviii, l. 7) and with a slight difference (*o*) at Bôdhgaya (Lat. 24° 41', F. GI., No. 71, p. 277, Plate xli, l. 13). Both these inscriptions are on the border line; but on that line also the southern forms of *ru* and *rû* are found side by side with the northern. Thus at Khôh (Lat. 24° 23') both forms of *ru* occur: the southern (*d*) (F. GI. No. 22, p. 103, Plate xiii, ll. 5, 11, and No. 25, p. 114, Plate xvB, ll. 7, 13), and the northern (*i*) (F. GI. No. 27, Plate xviii, ll. 6, 10; No. 28, Plate xviii, l. 6; No. 29, Plate xix A, l. 13, and No. 31, Plate xx, l. 6); and what is particularly to be noted, the southern form occurs here in conjunction with the northern form of *m* (Fig. 9 *c*). Similarly both forms of *rû* are seen at Mandasôr (Lat. 24° 3'), the

Fig. 13.



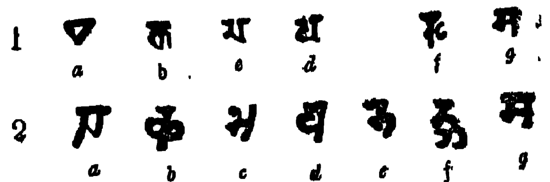
Forms of *ru* and *rû* in the northern and southern areas.

southern (*g*) (F. GI. No. 18, p. 82, Plate xi. ll. 10, 15) and the northern (*n*) (F. GI. No. 35, p. 153, Plate xxxii, l. 11). Moreover, there is a peculiar form *rû* (*h*) and (*p*) which substitute two parallel strokes for the southern semi-circle, and this form appears to be common to both areas; for it is seen in the south at Junâgaḍh (Lat. 21° 31'; F. GI. No. 14, p. 59, Plate viii, l. 10), as well as in the north at Bilsaḍ (Lat. 27° 33'; F. GI. No. 10, p. 44, Plate v, l. 11).

In the third place, there is the striking difference in the use of the two forms of the letter *y*, the old and the modern. In Parts I-III, as already observed, and as will be explained in detail in Chapter IV, the modern form of *y* is used optionally with its older three-pronged form; while in Parts V-VII that three-pronged form is used exclusively. The modern form of *y* originated in the north, and its use never spread to the south.[62]

The obvious conclusion suggested by the foregoing evidence is that the persons who wrote Parts V-VII were natives of some place lying within the southern area. In the case of Part VI, at all events, this conclusion is confirmed by the other significant fact that the folios of Parts VI are numbered on their obverse sides (see Chapter II, p. xx). For, as Bühler has pointed out in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII, p. 261, the practice of numbering the folios on their obverse side is a peculiarity of Southern India. We have a good example of this practice, of a very early date, in the copper-plates of the Pallava king Śivaskanda Varman, and the Kôṇḍamudi Plates of Jaya Varman, a contemporary of the Andhra kings Gautamîputra and Vâśiṣṭhiputra, who reigned about 113-137 A.D. These copper-plates may be seen in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I., pp. 4-6, Plates I-V., Vol. V, p. 86, and Vol. VI, p. 315. At the same time, the place whence the writers of Parts V-VII came must have been somewhere near the border line of the two areas. This is indicated by the circumstance that the southern forms of *ê*, *ru* and *rû* are employed in conjunction with the northern form of *m*, exactly as in the inscriptions, above mentioned, at Eran and Khôh, both of which places lie on the border line. While the writers of Parts V-VII appear to have come from some place near the southern limit of the northern area, the person who wrote Parts I-III must have come from somewhere near its northern limit, that is to say, from Kashmir or Udyâna. This is indicated by the occurrence in Part II (fol. 27*a*, l. 11) of the peculiar Śâradâ form of the letter *k* (Table I, No. 2 in Traverse 2). The Śâradâ script is peculiar to Kashmir, where it originated directly from the Gupta script in the course of the seventh century, and where it is still current, almost unchanged, to the present day. The Śâradâ forms of those letters which enter into the present enquiry are shown in the lower line of Fig. 14.[63] The upper line shows the corresponding letters in the script of the Horiuzi Manuscript, which was written in the first half of the sixth century (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Vol. I, Part III, p. 64). Its script, therefore, was the immediate predecessor of the Śâradâ script. The

Fig. 14.



Letters of the Horiuzi and Śâradâ scripts.

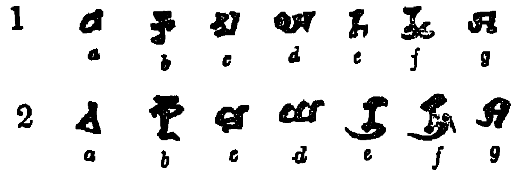
[62] There is a further point of difference between Parts I-III and Parts V-VII. It concerns the shape of the initial vowel *i*. This point, however, is not decisive of locality, and will be discussed in the sequel, p. XXXVI.

[63] These letters are extracted from a birch-bark manuscript in Śâradâ characters which was presented to me by Dr. Stein in December 1898.

appearance of the Śâradâ form of *k* (Fig. 14, l. 2 *b*) in Part II is quite exceptional. It occurs only once. Its use would seem to have grown gradually more frequent, till it finally became distinctive of the Śâradâ script. On the other hand, that script selected for itself (Fig. 14, l. 2*g*), from the two co-existent forms of the palatal *ś*, the flat-topped variety, which is used in Parts V-VII.

The forms which the Gupta script developed on its transference to Central Asia are shown in Fig. 15. That figure shows the same series of letters (as in Fig. 14) in the forms which they assumed in manuscripts written in the Buddhist settlement at Kuchar. They are extracted from Parts II and IX of the Weber Manuscripts, which are shown in Plate I, Fig. 2, and Plate III, Figs. 3-5, in my *Report on the Weber Manuscripts* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part I (1893), pp. 1-39. It will be seen from Fig. 15 that there are two distinct varieties of the Kuchari script, the second variety (lower line) showing an appreciable slant which is absent from the first variety.[64] The latter variety, it will be noticed, resembles much more closely the upright *ductus* of the Gupta script as it was current in northern India, and as it prevails in the Bower Manuscript. The latter Manuscript, as has been explained in Chapter II, is written mainly (*i.e.*, all except Part VI) on inferior and damaged birch-bark, which cirumstance suggests its having been written by Indian emigrants on remnants of the store of birch-bark which they had brought with them from India.[65] On the other hand, the Weber Manuscripts are written on paper, which was the ordinary writing material of Eastern Turkestan. The two varieties of the Kuchari script, shown in these manuscripts, were current contemporaneously; for they were all dug out from the Qutluq Urdâ stûpa in the vicinity of Kuchar (see Chapter I). How the divergence of the two varieties arose is not known. What the difference of the writing material, however, suggests is that the manuscripts on birch-bark, such as the Bower Manuscript, were written at an earlier date than the manuscripts on paper. The former probably were written by immediate immigrants from India, who still possessed some store of birch-bark, their native writing material, while the latter were written by their descendants, or by native Kuchari converts who naturally made use of the paper of their own country. In this connection a curious point may be noticed. The upright variety (upper line in Fig. 15) conserves the Southern Indian fashion of writing the syllables *ru* and *rû* (*e* and *f*), the jutting *ê* (*a*), and (though not quite distinctly) the flat-topped *ś* (*g*), all of which fashions are peculiar to Parts V-VII of the Bower Manuscript. On the other hand, the slanting variety (lower line of Fig. 15) conserves the northern fashion of writing *ru* and *rû* (*e* and *f*), and the round-topped *ś* (*g*) of Parts I-III, with which, however, it combines the southern

Fig. 15.



The upright and slanting scripts of Kuchar.

[64] The two varieties are shown also in Fig. 17, where the difference of the upright (*c*) and slanting (*d*) forms of *n* and *th* (in ll. 1, 2, 3, respectively) is very clearly marked.

[65] This conclusion is suggested also by the circumstance mentioned earlier (p. xxix) that the letter *th* is written in Parts V-VII with an approach to the slant which distinguishes one of the two varieties of the fully developed Kuchari script.

jutting *e* (*a*). This combination, in the slanting variety, of different Indian fashions of writing seems to suggest that that variety originated among the native Kuchari converts to Buddhism, while the upright variety persisted among the Indian Buddhist immigrants and their descendants. For it should be noticed that both the Śâradâ script, which originated from the Gupta script, and the Horiuzi script, which occupies a position intermediate between the Gupta and Śâradâ, agree with the upright variety of the Kuchari script in conserving the southern Gupta fashion of writing *ê*, *ru* and *rû*, and *ś*.[66] The considerable modification in the forms of some letters, such as *m* and *y* (Fig. 15, *c* and *d*), presupposes a not inconsiderable interval of time to have passed since the introduction of the Gupta script into Eastern Turkestan and the production of the Bower Manuscript. As the date of the latter is probably to be referred to the second half of the fourth century (see Chapter V), the date of the Weber Manuscripts may be placed within the sixth century, or possibly a little earlier.

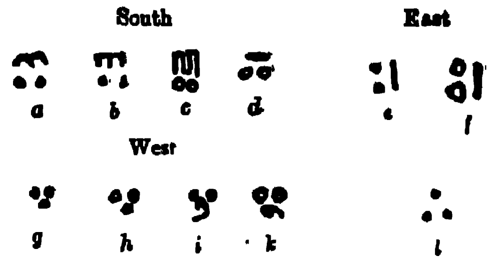
It has been stated (*ante*, p. xxix) that Part IV must have been written by a person different from the two writers of Parts V-VII, as well as from the writer of Parts I-III. From the latter the writer of Part IV differs (see Plate I) by the use of the flat-topped *ś*, as against the use of the round-topped *ś* in Parts I-III. From the former he differs by the use of the plain *ê*, as well as the northern *ru* and *rû*, as against the jutting *ê* and the southern *ru* and *rû* of Parts V-VII. Further from both, the writer of Parts I-III as well as the writers of Parts V-VII, the scribe of Part IV differs in the following striking points. In the first place, he writes the initial vowel *ṛi* in a way quite peculiar to himself. In Parts I-III it is written quite differently, as may be seen from Table I. In Parts V-VII that vowel does not happen to occur at all. It is altogether a character of very rare occurrence. From the epigraphic records of India, as may be seen by a reference to the Tables in Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, it appears to be altogether absent. In the Horiuzi Manuscript (first half of the sixth century) it resembles rather the character for the vowel *a*. In the Śâradâ script, also, it has a very simple form, though quite different from that in Part IV. The full data for an effective comparison, therefore, are not available. All that can be said is that the form of the initial vowel *ṛi*, which is seen in Part IV, stands quite by itself.

In the second place, in Part IV the initial vowel *i* is written quite differently from Parts I-III on the one side, and from Parts V-VII on the other. The character for the vowel *i* is made up of three dots arranged triangularly (see Table I). With the exception of Part IV, all the Parts agree in placing the dot, which forms the apex, below the two dots which form the base of the triangle; with this difference, however, that in Parts V-VII the apicular dot is made plain, while in Parts I-III it is furnished with a tail. But in part IV the arrangement of the dots is exactly reversed; the apicular dot has the superior position. The evidential value of this difference, however, is not quite assured.

66 The line of graphic descent, on the present evidence, appears to be as follows: The southern Gupta travels in the fourth century northwards, through Kashmir and Udyâna, to Kuchar in Eastern Turkestan In Kashmir it develops gradually, through the Horiuzi script (6th cent.), into the Sâradâ (7th cent.). In Kuchar it develops, contemporaneously with the Horiuzi stage, into the slanting variety of the Kuchari script (6th cent.).

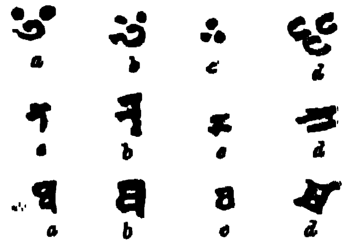
In the Gupta script, as seen in the epigraphic records of India the initial *i* is made in a great variety of forms. These are shown in Fig. 16. The four forms (*a-d*) are peculiar to the southern area of that script. The two forms (*e* and *f*) and the four forms (*g-k*) prevail mainly in the eastern and western portions respectively of the northern area. Finally the form (*l*) has no definite habitat: it is found in the inscriptions at Nirmand in the north-west (Lat. 31° 25′, Long. 77° 38′), in Pahladpur in the north-east (Lat. 25° 26′, Long. 3° 31′), and at Junâgadh in the south-west (Lat. 21° 31′, Long. 70° 36′). Moreover in the Nirmand inscription it occurs side by side with the proper western form (*i*); and in the Pahladpur record it alternates with the form (*g*). Considering that the record at Nirmand comprises only sixteen lines, and that at Pahladpur even only a single line, the suspicion obtrudes itself that the reversal of the position of the apicular dot in the form (*l*) may be a mere error of writing. Whether or not its occurrence in Parts IV of the Bower Manuscript is due to a scribal error, it is not possible to say with certainty, seeing that the initial (*i*) occurs only once in that Part; but the possibility of its being due to a mere error cannot be disregarded, and it is this possibility which detracts from its evidential value. For the purpose of further comparison there are added in Fig. 17 the forms of initial *i* in the Horiuzi (*a*) and Śâradâ (*b*) scripts, as well as in the Kuchari script of the upright (*c*) and slanting (*d*) varieties. In order to bring out more clearly the marked distinction between the two varieties (*c*) and (*d*) of the Kuchari script, the forms of *n* and *th* are added in the second and third lines.

Fig. 16.



Forms of the initial vowel *i*.

Fig. 17.



Letters of the Horiuzi, Śâradâ, and Kuchari scripts.

In the third place, the general appearance of the writing in Part IV conveys the suggestion that it was done with a brush rather than a stylus or reed-pen. Thus the curious flourish, or jerk, at the bottom of the right limb of the letters *g* and *t*, and of both limbs of *ś* (see Table I), suggests the brush. The apparently similar curves, to be seen in the letters *g*, *t*, *n*, *ś* in Parts V-VII, are obviously due to a different cause, *viz.*, to the tendency towards continuity in cursive writing.[67] The stylus, or reed-pen was the usual instrument of the Indian scribe, and with it undoubtedly Parts I-III and V-VII are written. The brush was peculiar to the Chinese scribe, and hence would naturally be the instrument used in the Chinese province of Eastern Turkestan. And though an Indian immigrant into Kuchar might conceivably abandon his accustomed instrument and take to that of his adopted country, it is—on the assumption that Part IV was really written with a brush—practically certain that it must have been written by a native of Eastern Turkestan, or perhaps by a Chinese Buddhist monk, resident in the monastery of the Ming-oï of Qum Turâ.

[67] An instructive example of an exactly similarly written cursive *ś* may be seen in the Tôramâṇa stone inscription at Kura, in the word *mahiśa* in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 240, l. 12.

Irrespective of the details which distinguish the three styles of writing in Parts I-III, Parts V-VII, and Part IV respectively, it is impossible not to be impressed by the pronounced difference in the general appearance of the writing in those three portions of the Bower Manuscript. This circumstance leads to a further observation. On the blank space of the obverse of the leaf on which Part III ends, there is inscribed a remark, the exact purport of which is, at present, not intelligible. But it is obviously written by the same hand that wrote Parts V and VII. For, in addition to the general appearance of sameness, there occur in the remark those forms, previously explained of the letters *ś* and *th*, which are peculiar to the writer of Parts V and VII. On the reverse of that same leaf there is inscribed the commencement of Part IV. On the obverse of the third leaf of Part IV (see Plate XL), there is seen, written between the fourth and fifth lines, the brief remark *na saṁśaya*. This interlinear remark, too, is clearly in the handwriting of the scribe of Parts V and VII; for it comprises the peculiar *ś* and *y* of those Parts; for example, as will be seen by reference to Table I, the left-hand stroke of *y* of the remark curls to the left as in Parts V and VII, while in Part IV it curls to the right. The conclusion that may be drawn from the existence of the two remarks in the positions in which they occur is that after Parts I-III had been written, they passed into the hands of the writer of Part IV who began his writing on the blank page of the last leaf of Part III. Afterwards Parts I-IV passed into the hands of the writer of Parts V and VII, who added his explanatory remark to the final page of Part III, and his brief complementary remark on the third leaf of Part IV. Probably it was also he who put all the Parts together, and enclosed them as a collective manuscript between a pair of wooden boards. It may be suggested that the remark appended to the end of Part III, if we only understood it, might refer to the monastic order or rank of the writer of Parts I-III. The interlinear remark in Part IV only adds a phrase which had been inadvertently omitted by the original writer.

The results of the foregoing enquiry may be summed up as follows. The writers of Parts I-III and Parts V-VII were natives of India who had migrated to Kuchar. They, no doubt, were Buddhist monks, and these, as is well known, were often in the habit of travelling, or migrating, for missionary or other purposes, into Foreign Parts. To judge from their style of writing, the scribe of Parts I-III originally came from the northern, and the two scribes of Parts V-VII from the southern part of the northern area of the Indian Gupta script. But the fact that they use birch-bark as their writing material shows that the country, from which more immediately they migrated to Kuchar, must have been Kashmir or Udyâna; and the qualitv of the birch-bark which they use suggests that they wrote their respective parts of the Bower Manuscripts after their settlement in Kuchar, when their store of birch-bark had run short. Parts V and VII probably were written about the same time as Parts I-III. The latter apparently were never completed. They passed, in their incomplete state, into the hands of the writer of Part IV, who would seem to have been a native of Eastern Turkestan, or perhaps of China. From him Parts I-IV passed into the hands of the writer of Parts V and VII, who added the two remarks above referred to. Part VI was written at a subsequent date by a fourth scribe on a fresh supply

of well prepared birch-bark leaves, since received from India, for the purpose of repairing the damage suffered, in the mean time, by part VII. In fact, that fresh supply may have been brought from India by the fourth scribe himself who may have been a later immigrant. All four writers must have been residing in a monastery near Kuchar. But the ultimate owner of the whole series of manuscripts, whose name appears to have been Yaśomitra, must have held a prominent position in that monastery. For his collective manuscript was contained in the relic chamber of the memorial stûpa at the *Ming-oi* of Qum Turâ, which would appear to have been built in his honour.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCRIPT, THE SCRIBES, AND THEIR USAGES IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT—*Contd.*

It remains to notice a few miscellaneous points connected with the script and the usages of the writers of the several Parts of the Bower Manuscript.

(i) The Numeral Signs ; see Table IV.

These are the old signs of the original Indian system of notation, anterior to the discovery of the "value of place" and the invention of the cypher. That system made use of twenty signs, *viz.*, nine for the units, nine for the tens, one for hundred, and one for thousand. Thirteen from among these twenty signs occur in the Bower Manuscript; *viz.*, the nine unit figures, and the figures for 10, 20, 30 and 50. The figure for 50 is doubtful: it might be the figure for 70 (see Chapter II, p. xx). Most of the thirteen figures occur in the numbering of the leaves of the several Parts, a few also in the text of Parts II, IV, and V. The series of three numbers which occur in the divination treatises of Parts IV and V have to be understood, not as possessing any "value of place," but simply as being three successive unit figures. For example, the series 444, in Part IV, p. 192, which repeats three times the unit figure for 4, is to be read, not as four hundred, forty, four, but simply as four, four, four. It indicates that the die is thrown three times, (see p. X CI) so that each time its face shows the number four.

(ii) Miscellaneous Marks; see Table V.

A variety of marks occur to indicate various purposes, such as interpunction, correction, or a *lacuna*.

(1) Interpunction (see Traverses 1 and 2 of Table V for Parts I-III, Traverses 1-3 for part IV, and Traverses 1-4 for Parts V-VII). The writers of the Bower Manuscript observe no consistent system of interpunction. As to Parts I-III, which are written, practically entirely, in verse, the writer, as a rule, makes no use of any sign to indicate the ends of half or whole verses. Occasionally he marks the end by a rather wider interval, as, *e.g.*, the end of verses 121 (Part II, p. 32, fol. 5*b*, l. 5), 223 (*ib.*, p. 38, fol. 8*b*, l. 4), 353 (*ib.*, p. 44, fol. 11*b*, l. 7), etc. This mark, however, is very unsafe, as the writer often disperses his writing, mostly by reason of the defects of the birch-bark (as in Part II fol. 12*b*, l. 2; Part III, fol. 2*b*, l. 3), or on account of the spread of a conjunct consonant (as in Part III, fol. 2*b*, l. 3); but sometimes apparently from mere caprice (as in *shaḍiṁ* on l. 6 of Part II, fol. 12*b*). If he does use a sign, it is either the well-known double stroke, or a comma laid lengthwise, or a ringlet, simple or complex.

(*a*) *The Double stroke.*—The modern Indian usage is to mark the end of the half-verse by a single vertical stroke, and the end of the full verse by a couple of vertical strokes. As regards the single stroke, in Parts I-III, the end of the half-verse is never marked, unless it coincides with the end of a formula, or of a section; and in that case, it is marked—if it is marked at all—with any of the marks of a full-verse. The single stroke, accordingly, is never found. The double stroke always, except as above noted, marks the end of a full verse. In Part I, it occurs not infrequently; in fact, in the forty-three verses of the initial treatise on garlic, it is used regularly, the only exceptions being verses 29 and 35. In the subsequent portion it occurs very rarely: only in verses 51, 59, 60, 67, 70, 73, 79-88, 97, 98, 100, 116, 128. In Parts II and III, also, it occurs very rarely. Thus, in Part II, in verses

1, 2, 3, 20, 149, 336; after which it grows rather more frequent, on account, apparently, of the shortness of the formulæ; thus in verses 427, 444, 446, 459, 462, etc. In Part III, it occurs only in verses 52 and 61. But as will be noticed presently, it is used occasionally also in conjunction with the ringlet.

(b) *The Comma.*—Another sign which is occasionally used to mark the end of a full verse is a comma, laid lengthwise. It exactly resembles the figure for the numeral one, and is, no doubt, identical with it. In Part I it is found at the end of verses 49 and 71; and in Part II at the end of verses 5, 45, 108, 130, 178, 372, 488, 619, 642, etc. In Part III it does not occur. In addition to marking the end of a full verse, it is also used occasionally in other ways. Thus, in Part I, fol. $3b^{4\cdot5}$ (p. 5), it marks the prose notice *bhavati ch-âtra*, preceding the fiftieth verse, and in Part II, fol. $29a^3$ (p. 70) it marks the prose notice *tatra ślôkaḥ*. Again in Part II, fol. $4b^6$ (p. 32), it separates the two parts of a colophon.[68] Sometimes, again, it marks merely a superfluous blank space; see below under *Lacuna*, p. xlii.

(c) *The Ringlet.*—The third sign which exceptionally marks the end of a full verse, is a ringlet with a central dot, or a ringlet containing a still smaller ringlet the circumference of which is studded inside with (usually) three dots. The former probably represents the sacred *chakra* (*dharma-chakra*), or Wheel of the Law, the latter, the sacred *padma* or White Lotus; and in the sequel these two signs will be referred to as the wheel and the lotus. The latter is found only in Part II, while the wheel is common to all three Parts. An example of the lotus, used as the mark of the end of a full verse, occurs in Part II. fol. $2a^{10}$ (p. 28), and of the wheel, in fol. $19b^7$ (p. 57), where they mark the end of verses 38 and 639 respectively. As a rule, however, the lotus and wheel are used as the special marks to indicate the end of a passage which is longer than a verse, such as a whole formula, or a whole chapter, or the whole of a subject. Accordingly they constitute the special marks of the colophon, which is marked off, afore as well as after, by them from the surrounding text. Thus we have two lotuses to mark the colophon of the first formula in Part II, fol. $1a^{8\cdot9}$ (p. 26), and of the first chapter in Part II, fol. $4b^{6\cdot7}$ (p. 32).[68] Similarly we have two wheels to mark the colophon of the *sidhma* formula, in Part II, fol. $18a^3$ (p. 54), and of a formula for boluses, in Part III, fol. $3b^{5\cdot6}$ (p. 184). Sometimes the two signs are combined; thus the sequence wheel, lotus is found with the colophon *tryûshaṇaṁ*, in Part II, fol. $6a^1$ (p. 34), and the reversed sequence lotus, wheel, with the colophon *âśvina-rasâyanaṁ*, *ib.*, fol. $24a^1$ (p. 61). Also other variations occur, such as placing one of the two signs between a couple of double strokes, as in the *śârdûla-chûrṇa* colophon in Part II, fol. $3b^4$ (p. 30), or placing a double stroke after both signs, as in the *môdaka* formula in Part III, fol. $3b^{5-6}$ (p. 184). Exceptional cases, however, are found in which the colophon is marked only by one sign, or by no sign at all. An example of the latter case is the *pañcha-gavya* colophon in Part II, fol. $5b^{11}$ (p. 34). Examples of the former case are the colophons after verse 613, in Part II, fol. $19a^2$ (p. 56), and after verse 782, *ib.*, fol. $24a^3$ (p. 61), which are marked only by a lotus after them.[69]

The signs of the wheel and the lotus, however, are also employed to indicate the end of a formula, or of a subject matter, whenever a colophon is dispensed with. Examples are, in Part I, the wheel in fol. $3b^7$, $5b^{10}$, where with verse 120 the subject of hair dyes closes.

68 This colophon combines those of a formula as well as of the chapter; and the two portions are separated by the comma mark.

69 The colophon after verse 804, in part II, fol. $24b^{10}$ (page 63) is no real exception, because it is misplaced, and should stand in the preceding line. The misplacement is marked by the two crow's feet; see below on *Correction*, p. xli.

Table III Conjunct r

	Part I	Part II	Part III	Part IV	Part V	Part VI	Part VII
1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
3	[illegible]	[illegible]					
4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]				

Table IV Numerals

1	[illegible]		[illegible]				[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	
2	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]			
3	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]			
4	[illegible]		[illegible]				[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]			
5	[illegible]		[illegible]											
6			[illegible]	[illegible]										
7			[illegible]											
8			[illegible]											
9			[illegible]	[illegible]										
10			[illegible]	[illegible]										
20			[illegible]											
30			[illegible]	[illegible]										
50			[illegible]											

Table V Marks

1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
2	[illegible]		[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
3							[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	
4	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]				[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]
5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			[illegible]							

In Part II we have the lotus, reinforced by the comma as well as the double stroke, after verse 10, in fol. $1a^6$, to mark off the end of the introduction to the treatise. Similarly after verse 24 on fol. $1b^5$, we have the lotus by itself to mark the end of a series of short formulæ (verses 18-24), and after verse 39*a*, on fol. $2b^1$, to mark the end of a single short (unnamed) formula (verses 38-39*a*). And after verse 737, on fol. $22b^5$, we have the wheel to mark the end of the long *pippalî-vardhamâna* formula (vv. 716-737). In Part III a disk is frequently used in this way, to mark the end of a formula; especially in fol. 3*b*, where it occurs not less than seven times, in ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9.

Of particular interest is the circumstance that the lotus and wheel appear to be used, in Part II, also to indicate glosses, which the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* himself seems to have added to the extracts from old authoritative works of which his own work is mainly composed. Thus on fol. $27a^3$ (page 67) there is, after verse 879, the obvious gloss *prâchînikâ pâṭhâ* enclosed between two wheels (see note 418, on page 162). On fol. $33b^{5-6}$, verse 1109 is enclosed between two wheels, and its purport suggests its being a gloss (see note 490 on page 180*a*). In the similar case of verse 929, on fol. $28b^3$ (p. 69), which the author had at first omitted to mark as a gloss, he (or rather a subsequent copyist) has afterwards, on revision, inserted the lotus mark between lines 2 and 3. The same practice is observed in Part III, which may be a work by the same author. Here, on fol. $1b^7$, the lotus marks what appears to be a gloss; so also on fol. $3b^1$. It will be observed that both passages, thus marked, are in prose.

In Parts V-VII, the usage with regard to marks of interpunction is much the same as in Parts I-III. But in addition we meet with three signs which exactly resemble our modern comma, semicolon, and full stop. The comma occurs, *e.g.*, in Part V, fols. $2b^3$, $3b^4$, $5a^2$, twice even in a reversed position on fols. $3a^1$ and $5a^3$ (see Table V, Traverse 3), in Part VI, fol. $2b^4$, and in Part VII, fol. $1a^3$. But it is probable that the comma is really identical with the more usual lengthwise-comma (the numeral one), of which it is an exaggerated cursive form. The semicolon, practically identical with the well-known sign of the *visarga*, occurs, *e.g.*, in Part V, fols. $6a^4$ and $6b^3$, and in Part VII, fol $4a^6$. The full-stop, or single dot, is found, *e. g.*, in Part V, fols. $2a^5$, $3a^5$, $6b^5$, in Part VI, fols. $1b^5$, $3a^1$, and in Part VII, fols. $2a^4$ and $2b^4$. As to the ordinary signs, the double stroke does not happen to occur in Parts V and VII, in which the comma, either erect or prone, regularly takes its place. In Part VI the double stroke is found in a slightly modified form, embellished with a hook to the left at the top of the first stroke, as in fol. $4a^5$, or with a hook to the left and right respectively at the top of the two strokes, as in fol. 4*b*. The lengthwise-comma, or the numeral one, as already observed, is used regularly in Part V, *e.g.*, in fols. $1a^{3.5}$. $2a^2$, etc. So also in Part VI, *e.g.*, in fols, $1b^4$, $3a^6$, and in Part VII, *e.g.*, in fol. $1a^5$. Neither the wheel nor the lotus is found in any of Parts V-VII. In their place Part V uses the spiral which is the conventional representation of the sacred *śaṅkha*, or conch shell, as in fol. $5b^2$. Once in fol. $3a^3$, this spiral is accompanied by the lengthwise-comma. It will be observed that the same spiral appears also in the remark which is appended to Part III (Plate xxxviii, obv.), and which, as has been previously (pp. xxi and xxxv) stated, was written by the scribes of Parts V-VII.

In Part IV the usage with regard to interpunction is as follows. The double stroke is not uncommon. In its plain form it occurs, *e.g.*, in fols. $2a^1$, $3a^2$; but it is often accompanied with the lengthwise-comma, or numeral one, as in fols. $2a^3$, $3a^2$, $4a^1$, and occasionally this comma is drawn across the double stroke, as in fols. $3a^4$, $3a^5$. Moreover in the case of

fol. $3a^5$, the double stroke is hooked, just as in Part VI, fol. $4a^5$. Once, fol. $2a^4$, the crossing comma is found also with a single stroke, imitating the form of a regular cross. In equally frequent use, however, is the lengthwise-comma, or numeral one; it occurs, *e.g.*, in fols. $3a^2$, $3b^1$, $4a^2$, $5a^3$, $5b^3$, etc. The spiral, in a rather imperfect form, and enclosed between a pair of double strokes occurs in fol. $1b^5$, to mark off the introduction to the treatise. The same spiral, in much better form, is used also for the benedictive *ôṁ* at the beginning of the treatise, in fol. $1b^1$ (see Chapter II, p. xxii).

(2) CORRECTION;—see Table V, Traverse 4 for Parts I-IV. For the purpose of correcting an error in the text, when a letter, or a word, had to be cancelled or altered or inserted, or when a misplacement had to be indicated, certain signs are used in the Bower Manuscript. In Parts I-III one of these signs consists of two, or more, minute strokes attached to the top of a letter or a word. Thus in Part I, fol. $3b^3$, the word which originally was written *prôktô* is altered to *prôktaḥ*, and this alteration is indicated by attaching two minute strokes to the cancelled vowel *ô*. Similarly on fol. $2a^7$, the syllable *ha* of the word, which was originally written *havaṁ*, is marked to indicate that it is to be read *ya* (*yavaṁ*). Again on fol. $4b^4$, the vowel *â* of *samustâm* has been cancelled by the attachment of minute strokes. In Part II there occur the following examples. On fol. 7*b*, the final *ê* of line 10, which is written in faint ink, is cancelled because it is superfluous, being repeated at the beginning of line 11; so also on fol. 14*a* the superfluous final *nâ* of *madhunâ*. On fol. $16a^4$ one of the duplicated *cha* of *chandana* is cancelled; so also, on fol. $19a^6$ the vowel *ê* of *dṛiḍhe*, and on fol. $19b^2$, the syllable *na*. On fol. $28b^4$, the misshapen final *d* of *kkâdêd* has been cancelled, and replaced by a well-made *d*. In all the above-mentioned cases the double stroke indicates cancelment. The following are examples of its indicating an insertion. In Part I, fol. $4b^9$, the original writing had only *mê ṇu*, which is false for *mê śriṇu*. The omitted syllable *śri* is inserted, in very faint ink, between ll. 9 and 10, and the place of insertion, between *mê* and *ṇu*, is indicated by two minute strokes placed above those two syllables. Similarly in Part II, fol. $12a^4$, a double stroke indicates the omission of the syllable *va*, which is inserted, just below, between ll. 4 and 5. But there exist also numerous cases, in which these corrective double strokes are applied for no apparent reason. They all occur in Part II. Thus we find them attached to *yô* of *yôgô* on fol. $6b^7$, to the *visarga* of *syuḥ* on fol. $10a^4$, to *llâ* of *bhallâtaka* on fol. $10b^6$, to *râ* of *râsnâṁ* on fol. $11a^2$, to *hu* of *bahuśô* on fol. $12b^7$, to *cha* of *chatur* on fol. $15b^4$, and to *śma* of *aśmarî* on fol. $31a^5$. On fol. $5b^5$ even the whole word *pâṭhâṁ* is thus marked. In all these cases, the existing text is correct (see note 45 on p. 33, and note 87 on p. 93). They are so numerous that they cannot be attributed to inadvertence on the part of the scribe. He must have had some reason for attaching the mark; but what it can have been is not intelligible, unless it be that he wished thus to indicate the correction of something (an error, or a *lacuna*, or the like) in the original from which he was copying.

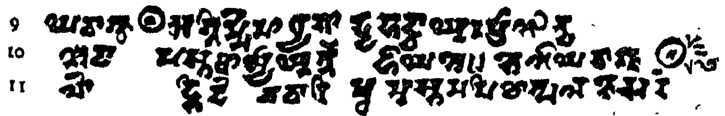
Another sign, found in Part II, is a cross. On fol. $15a^{11}$ it indicates the omission of a passage which is supplied in the bottom margin. Its use on fol. $2a^3$, where it appears to be duplicated, is not intelligible.

A third sign, found also in Part II, is the so-called *kâka-pada*, or crow's foot. It resembles the mathematical sign of the "root." It may be seen on fol. $12b^{10}$, where it indicates the omission of a portion of the mark of the colophon, *viz.*, lotus *plus* double stroke. The omission is supplied in the margin below. Unfortunately the margin is damaged, but the traces that remain can be completed from the same mark[70] on fol. 22*a*.[1]

[70] The traces are not those of a damaged syllable, as suggested on p. 46, n. 99. The verse 393, beginning with *madhuka* is complete. Precisely the same mark (lotus and double stroke) is supplied interlinearly on fol. $28b^3$.

We have the same crow's foot on the margin of fol. 13*b*, where it refers to the cancelled numeral four. On fol. 24*b*, it occurs in duplicate, at the end of line 10, apparently to indicate the misplacement of the preceding colophon, which should stand on line 9. It will be observed that there are twenty-four formulæ for the preparation of various kinds of gruel (vv. 785-802). To these is appended a charm for insuring long life (*âyus*) in vv. 803-4, and after it comes the colophon *Bhêlê yavâgû.* This colophon indicates that the verses preceding it are composed by Bhela (or Bheḍa). As a fact, the charm (vv. 803-4) is found in the existing unique Tanjore Manuscript of the *Bheḍa Saṁhitâ* (see note 376, p. 154), in the seventh chapter of its *Sûtra Sthâna* which deals with *indriyôpakramaṇîya*, that is, with general rules for the preservation of bodily and mental health. But the formulæ for the gruels (vv. 785-802) cannot be traced in it owing to its mutilated condition. Seeing, however, that formulæ, practically identical, are found in the *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, in the second chapter of its *Sûtra Sthâna*, it may rightly be assumed that the missing formulæ would be found in the second chapter of the *Sûtra Sthâna* of the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, if the text of the latter were intact.[71] It is further to be observed that the charm has no particular connection with the gruels. It and they are mentioned in two different and quite unconnected chapters of the *Saṁhitâ*, and the charm may be used with any kind of treatment in order to render the latter effective for long life, while the gruels of Bheḍa are specifically referred to in the colophon. One naturally expects, therefore, to find the colophon, not after the charm, but immediately after the gruels, that is, after verse 802. If it is replaced in its proper place, in l. 9 of fol. 24*b*, it will be seen that it comes to stand between two wheels (see Fig. 18).

Fig. 18.



A corrective marginal note.

And in fact, the existing misplacement of the colophon appears to be indicated by the scribe, or his reviser. He placed two crows' feet, together with the numerals $\frac{2}{7}$ (one above the other) on the margin against the wheel mark of the colophon. The figure 2 would refer to the second chapter of the *Sûtra Sthâna* which contains the formulæ for the gruels, while the figure 7 would indicate the seventh chapter of that *Sthâna* as the source of the charm; and the reviser's object in thus identifying the two different sources of the gruels and charm would be to indicate that the colophon which speaks of the gruels (*yavâgû*) of Bheḍa really belongs to the verses 785-802 which contain the formulæ for those gruels.

Exceptionally the correction of a letter is made in the text itself. Thus, in Part I, fol. $2a^3$ the second letter *r* of *durjjara* is written across the letter *y* of the original reading *durjjaya*; see note 10 on p. 12.

In Parts V-VII only one of the above-mentioned signs, *viz.*, the cross, is found. It occurs twice in Part V, fol. $5a^2$, where it marks the omission of the syllable *na*, supplied below, between lines 2 and 3; and *ibid.*, fol. $6b^3$, where it marks the insertion of the syllable *tê*, written on the margin, below the cross. Otherwise corrections are not marked by any sign. For example, in Part VI, fol. $3a^4$, the omission of the syllable *na* of *upananda*, which is supplied below, between lines 4 and 5, is not marked by any sign; neither is the interlinear supply of *s*, *ibid.*, fol. 5*a*. Similarly the supply of the syllable *kta*, on the margin of fol. 3*a*, in Part VI, is not marked. The meaning of this syllable is quite unintelligible; for the suggestion made, in note 18, p. 224, is not tenable. Possibly it may really be the badly drawn and hence cancelled, numeral three; though this explanation, too, is not satisfactory. Occasionally blundered readings are defaced; as in Part VI., fols. $2b^1$ and $3b^6$, and in Part VII, fol. $1a^3$.

71 See also *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 869-70; and *ib.* 1910, p. 830.

In Part IV, fol. 3*a*, the interlinear insertion of the phrase *na saṁśaya*, which was made by the scribe of Parts V-VII, appears to be marked by a double stroke in a slanting position in line 4. But the interlinear insertions of the syllables *pi* on fol. $4a^3$ and *bha* on fol. $5a^3$ are not marked by any sign. On fol. $5b^2$, the correction of *tri* to *tṛi* is made in the text itself. The favourite method, however, of correcting blundered letters is to deface them, as on fols. $3a^3$, $3a^5$, $5b^4$, where false numerals are defaced. See, also fols. $4a^2$ and $5a^5$.

3. LACUNA;—see Table V, Traverse 5, for Parts I and II. The existence of a *lacuna* is indicated in the Bower Manuscript by means of dots. The number of these dots is equal to the number of the missing syllables, when the latter is very small. Thus in Part I, fol. $2b^4$, there are three dots to indicate the absence of three syllables, which the scribe was unable to read in his original, but which can now be identified as *pañcha cha* from the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, the source of the *Nâvanîtaka* (see *Journal*, Royal Asiatic Society for 1909, p. 858); also below, Chapter VI, p. lvii. Similarly, *ibid.*, fol. $7b^1$, there are two dots to indicate the absence of the two syllables *para* (see note 61, p. 36). Also *ibid.*, fol. $4b^9$, there are two dots indicative of the loss of two syllables, the identity of which, however, for the present, is unknown (see note 38, p. 32). The case is slightly different with Part I, fol. $3b^7$. Here we have a blank space, partly filled with four dots and enclosed between those double strokes which are the usual mark of the end of a full verse (see *ante*, p. xxxvii). Here the dots indicate the loss of an indefinite portion of the text in the original manuscript, from which the scribe prepared the existing copy of the treatise.

Dots, however, serve to indicate not only a *lacuna* in its proper sense, *i.e.*, a gap in the text, but also such gaps, or blank spaces, in the inscribed surface of the leaf as are due, not to the loss of any portion of the text, but to defects of the birch-bark, or to other causes. (See Chapter II pp. xviii, xix,). Thus we have three dots at the end of the first line of fol. 7*b* in Part II, to show that nothing of the text is missing, but that the surface of the birch-bark was not good enough to be written on. The single dot on the third line of the same page serves the same purpose; so also the two single dots on the tenth line of fol. 5*b*, though here their presence is not due to badness of the surface of the bark, but probably to a real *lacuna*, which the scribe could only partially fill up with the word *chitraka*, for which reason he put dots into the superfluous blank spaces on either side of that word.

Besides dots, also the lengthwise-comma, or numeral one, is frequently used to mark a superfluous blank space. Thus in Part I, fol. $1b^{11}$, Part II, fols. $4a^{11}$, $7a^{11}$, $7b^{10}$, $8b^5$, $11b^9$, $25b^{12}$, $29b^{11}$, $31a^{10}$, $31b^1$, $^{9-11}$, etc. In Part II, at the beginning of the fourth line of fol. 15*b*, the comma indicates a blank space due to the conjunct letter above it.

Finally a more or less lengthy serpentine line is used for the same purpose of indicating a superfluous blank space. It occurs, *e.g.*, in Part II, fols. $6a^{1-11}$, $8b^1$, $14a^1$.

(iii) ABBREVIATION.

The practice of abbreviating a word is found only in Part II, and only in application to the two words *ślôka* and *pâda*, when they are connected with numbers expressed by figures. The word *ślôka* serves as the name of any kind of verse, not of the technically called *ślôka* only; and *pâda* is the name of a quarter verse. The two names often occur in the colophon of formulæ, to indicate the number of verses, or parts of verses, of which they consist. When so used, they are usually abbreviated to *ślô* and *pâ* respectively. Thus we have *ślô 2* on fol. $3a^8$ (p. 29), and *ślô* 11 *pâ* 1 on fol, $5â^4$ (p. 32), etc. Twice, however, *ślôka* is written in full, *viz.*, *ślôkâ* 14 on fol, $18b^5$ (p. 55), and *ślôka* 5 on fol. $19b^2$ (p. 57). As part of the text, of course, it is always written in full; thus in verse 498, on fol. $15b^8$, we have *ardha-ślôka-samâpanâḥ*, and in the prose note introducing verse 947, on fol. $29a^3$, we find *tatra ślôkâḥ*.

(iv) SCRIBAL ERRORS.

Lapses in writing occur not infrequently in the Bower manuscript. In Parts V and VII, which are written with evident carelessness, they are particularly numerous. In a

comparatively small number of cases they have been corrected by some revising hand, and some of these corrected errors have been already referred to in the Section on Correction (p. xl), and others will be referred to below in the Section on Revision (p. xliv). The subjoined list refers only to uncorrected errors, and comprises only selected examples. For many others the footnotes to the transcribed texts may be consulted.

The most frequent error consists in a miswritten letter or syllable. Thus in Part I fol. $1b^8$ (p. 1) *guṇa* is written for *gaṇa*; fol. $3a^9$ (p. 4) *Suśrutaigramanâḥ* probably for *Suśrutaikamanâḥ* (*i.e.* *Suśruta êkamanâḥ*); fol. $3b^8$ (p. 5) *prathamanêshu* for *pradhamanêshu* etc. In Part II, fol. $2b^4$ (p. 28), *phalâni* for *palâni*; fol. $6b^8$ (p. 35), *arpaṇê* for *armaṇê* (possibly only a badly written *m*); fol. $24b^9$ (p. 63), *mâdhyagâd* for *mâvyagâd*; fol. $29b^4$ (p. 71) *tôyê* for *tôyaṁ*, etc. In Part IV, fol. $2a^2$ (p. 193), *nishpala* for *nishphala*; fol. $3a^7$ (p. 194) *sahayês* for *sahayais*, etc. In Part V, fol. $3a^1$ (p. 205) *saśchâ* for *paśchâ*; fol. $3a^6$ (p. 205) *upastitaṁ* for *upasthitaṁ*: fol. $4a^5$ (p. 206), *puvva* for *pûrvva*, etc. In Part VI, fol. $2a^5$ (p. 223), *śulaṁ* for *śûlaṁ*, etc. In Part VII, fol. $2a^6$ (p. 237), *kṛitayâṁ* for *kṛitâyâṁ*, etc.

Or, a letter or syllable is misplaced. Thus in Part I, fol. $4b^5$ (p. 7), *śavakara* for *śavaraka*, fol. $5a^1$ (p. 8), *pilpaṁ* for *pipluṁ*. In Part II fol. $10a^4$ (p. 41), *krôñchânadâni* for *krôñchâdanâni*. In Part V, fol. $5b^5$ (p. 207) *îśvaraṁ śaraṇa* for *îśvara-śaraṇaṁ*. In Part II, fol. $24b^{10}$ a whole colophon is misplaced (see *ante*, p. xli).

Or, a letter or syllable is omitted. Thus in Part I, fol. $2b^6$ (p. 3). *prayujan* for *prayuñjan*; fol. $3a^1$ (p. 4), *munir* for *munibhir*. In Part II, fol. $1a^5$ (p. 26) *chatum* for *chaturdaśam*; fol. $10a^4$ (p. 41) *gundânâṁ* for *gundrâṇâm*; fol. $19a^7$ (p. 57), *jîvani* for *jîvanîyâni*. In Part IV, fol. $2a^1$ (p. 192), *tataṁ* for *satataṁ*. In Part V, fol. $2b^2$ (p. 204), *vichêhi* for *vichintêhi*; fol. $4a^5$, *samusthita* for *samupasthita*. In Part VI, fol. $3b^8$ (p. 224), *ugâdhipêna kâlêna* for *uragâdhipa-kâlêna*; fol. $4a^C$, (p. 225), *ktayê* for *muktayê*, etc. Occasionally even a half-verse, or a whole verse, or a whole clause, is missed out; see note 244, p. 126, note 459, p. 171, and note 2, p. 226.

Or, a superfluous letter or syllable is inserted. Thus, in Part I, fol. $1b^6$ (p. 1), °*ôtkshit*° for °*ôkshit*°. In Part II, fol. $4b^7$ (p. 32), *nâ nâmnâ* for *nâmnâ*; fol. $24b^9$ (p. 63), *mâ* at the beginning of the line. In Part IV, fol. $1b^5$ (p. 192), *balamamantaraṁ* for *balamantaraṁ*. In Part V, fol. $1a^3$ (p. 203), *tataḥstêshâṁ* for *tatastêshâṁ*; and exactly the same superfluous *visarga* in Part VI, fol. $1a^2$ (p. 222), *daharaḥ staruṇaḥ* for *daharastaruṇaḥ*. A superfluous *anusvâra* is rather common: *e.g.*, in Part I, fol. $1b^6$ (p. 1), *jvalaṁnti* for *jvalanti*; Part III, fol. $3a^4$ (p. 183), *śriṇvaṁnti*; Part IV, fol. $3a^6$ (p. 194), *sarvaṁthâ*; Part V, fol. $1a^4$ (p. 203), *mâṁnusha*; Part VI, fol. $1a^4$ (p. 222), *dârûṁni*; fol. $2a^4$ (p. 223), *arôchakaṁ, m* for *arôchakam*; in this case there is a superfluous comma in addition to the superfluous *anusvâra*. Once there occur also two superfluous verses, see note 114, p. 98.

Occasionally there occur entirely wrong words, such as *pushṭe* for *pakti* in Part I, fol. $3a^2$ (p. 4); *sa-patrân* for *sa-pushpân*, in Part II, fol. $22b^6$ (p. 59); *dvitîya* for *tritîya*, in Part IV, fol. $5a^{1-3}$ (p. 195): and 243 for 343, in Part V, fol. $3a^3$ (p. 205). But the responsibility for these errors possibly lies rather with the original writers of the treatises than with the scribes who copied them in the Bower Manuscript. Still such grossly blundered readings, as *kâśyêshasnô* in Part I, fol. $3a^7$ (p. 4), and *chashkashu* in Part V, fol. $2a^4$ (p. 204), are probably to be laid to the charge of the scribes, who may not have been able, or careful enough, to read correctly their original. They are certainly responsible for such curiosities as those referred to in note 32, p. 3, and note 77, p. 7.

In this connection a brief reference may be made to certain defects due to the inferior quality of the birch-bark on which the scribes wrote rather than to the scribes themselves. To this category belong half-formed letters, such as may be seen, *e.g.*, in Part II, fols. $7a^7$, $18b^4$, $22a^7$, and in Part V, fol. $2b^4$ (see note 21, p. 193); and want of evenness, or continuity, in the lines of writing, as, *e.g.*, in Part II, fol. 11*a*, lines 5 ff.

(v) REVISION.

When the Bower Manuscript was exhibited for the first time in Calcutta in November 1890, it was stated (Proceedings, As. Soc. Beng., p. 223, Journal, As. Soc. Beng., 1891, Vol. LX, p. 137) that "the writing was entirely in black ink." So it no doubt appears at first sight; but on closer examination letters and syllables are met with occasionally, which are written in a very light, or faint, ink. The significance of these light-inked letters, namely, that they indicate corrections, is disclosed by such cases as the following. In Part I, fol. 4*b*[9], the original writing in black ink was *mê ṇu*, which is false for *mê śṛiṇu*. Here the omitted syllable *śṛi* is inserted below, in the interlinear space, in almost invisible light ink, and the proper place of insertion between *mê* and *ṇu* is marked by two minute strokes, also in light ink, above those two syllables. Again, *ibid.*, fol. 3*b*[3], the original black-ink writing was *prôktô sa*, and this is, as it should be, corrected into *prôktaḥ sa*, by inserting a *visarga* and cancelling the top-strokes of the vowel ô by two minute strokes, all in light ink. Similarly, *ibid.*, fol. 3*b*[7], an originally omitted *visarga* is inserted in *ajaraḥ* But not infrequently corrections are found made also in black ink. Thus, in Part I, fol. 4*b*[4], we have the original reading *sa-mustâm*, which is adjectively made to qualify the preceding noun *triphalâm*, corrected into *sa-mustam*, which, just as the following *sa-śarkkaraṁ* (derived from *sa* and *śarkkarâ*), now qualifies the succeeding noun *âśchyôtanam*. Here both, the original as well as the correction, are in black ink. Again, *ibid.*, fol. 5*a*[2], (p. 7), the original blundered reading *muvvâ* is corrected to *mûvvâ*, both in black ink, though another error is left uncorrected; for the fully correct reading should be *mûrvvâ*. *Ibidem*, fol. 4*b*[9], there is another instructive example. The original reading *pralêpaiḥ* is corrected to *pralêpaḥ*, both again in black ink. As a matter of fact, the noun *pralêpa* refers to both, the preceding instrumental plural *ardha-rûpaiḥ* and the succeeding nominative singular *saṁprayôjyaḥ*, and may grammatically be made to agree with either. This correction, as well as the correction of *sa-mustam* in black, and of *prôktaḥ* in light ink, shows that the revisers, whoever they were, were familiar with the technicalities of the Sanskrit language. Equally instructive is an example *ibid.*, fol. 5*b*[6]. Here we have the word *lavaṇôpêtair* entirely in black ink with the exception of the syllable *ṇô* which is in light ink. It would seem that the original writer in black had left a gap for that syllable, which for some reason he had omitted to write, and that a subsequent reader of the treatise supplied the missing syllable *ṇô* in light ink. The fact that the original writer should have failed to recognize the compound word *lavaṇ-ôpêtair*, and to supply such an obvious complement of the word *lavaṇa*, compounded with *upêta*, seems to suggest that he must have been a rather illiterate person,—a conclusion which the occurrence of the numerous other errors (see Section iv, p. xlii) in the original writing tends to confirm. A further instructive example occurs in Part II, on fol. 7*b*. Here the last word of the tenth line appears to have been originally *dâpayê* in black ink. To this the reviser added in light ink the terminal *t* (*dâpayêt*),[72] and after it, the vowel *ê*, as if to commence a fresh verse. Then noticing his mistake—for as a matter of fact the vowel *ê* which commences the new verse does stand at the beginning of the eleventh line—he cancelled the superfluous *ê* by two minute double-strokes.

The foregoing remarks are concerned, in the main, with Parts I-III of the Bower Manuscript. The general conclusion suggested by the observed facts is that those Parts were originally written in the usual black Indian ink by a somewhat illiterate writer, and that some of his numerous errors were afterwards corrected by a more intelligent user of the manuscript at different times, sometimes in black ink, at other times, when for some reason good black ink was not at hand, in diluted ink.

[72] Both forms *dâpayê* and *dâpayêt*, are correct; only the former is Prâkrit, while the latter is Sanskrit,—another indication that the reviser was a person familiar with Sanskrit.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE SOURCES AND THE DATE OF THE NAVANÎTAKA.[87]

The name and identity of the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* are not known. The final colophon which perhaps would have supplied that information is, together with the last chapter of the work, unfortunately missing in the manuscript. But from the sources which the author utilized in making his compilation, it is possible to estimate approximately the time wh n his work was written. So much is certain that the date of writing the work cannot be the same as that of writing the manuscript in which it has come down to us. The latter is not an autograph. This is proved by a number of clear indications. For example, on page 28, in verse 45, we find, in one of the medical formulæ, three dots marking the omission of three syllables (*ante*, Chapter IV, p. xlii). At the time of editing the text the emendation *trîṇi cha*[*vya-palâni*] was suggested by me, but in the meantime the true reading *pañcha cha*[*vya-palâni*] has been discovered by Dr. P. Cordier[88] in an ancient medical compendium, called *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, from which the *Nâvanîtaka* has quoted the formula in question. Obviously the substitution of the dots shows that the writer of the Bower Manuscript had a defective original from which he copied. Again, on page 58, in verse 723 of the *pippalî-vardhamâna* formula there is the curiously blundered phrase *yâvad-daśa-varshâs*, instead of *yâvad-avakarshas*. Such a blunder is unthinkable in an original writer: it could proceed only from one who copied from a defective original. Again, on page 67, to verse 879 we find appended the gloss *prâchînikâ pâṭhâ*, for the purpose of explaining an unusual name of the drug commonly known as *pâṭhâ*. Such a gloss is not likely to have proceeded from the author himself. As usual, it must have stood originally on the margin of the manuscript, or perhaps between the lines. By a subsequent copyist it was transferred, in the body of the manuscript, to the position where we now find it in the Bower Manuscript. The writer of the latter may, or may not, have been the first to make that transfer; but, in any case, the present position of the gloss shows that the existing Bower Manuscript was not copied from the author's autograph, but from some intermediate copy of that autograph. The conclusion which, indeed, is already suggested by the three dots and the blundered phrase, is that there must have been some interval, perhaps of not inconsiderable duration, between the writing of the autograph and the copying of the existing manuscript. The date of the latter, as explained in Chapter V, p. lii, must be referred to the third quarter of the fourth century, somewhere between 350 and 375 A.D. This supplies us with the lower limit for the date of the *Nâvanîtaka*, which, in view of the above-mentioned necessary interval between the autograph and the existing manuscript, may be placed provisionally in the beginning of the fourth century, or about 300 A.D.

The upper limit is determined for us by the circumstance that the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ* are two of the sources from which the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* quotes.

---

87 For a somewhat fuller treatment of the subject, see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1909, pp. 857 ff.

88 See his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 21. The three missing syllables are *pañcha cha*.

copious extracts. In the opening verse the author advises his readers that in his treatise he is going to bring together the best-known formulæ of the *maharshis*, or medical authorities of his time. Following the usual practice of Indian writers, he does not name those authorities, assuming, of course, that the reader would at once recognize the standard work from which some particular formula was quoted. Still in the case of not a few formulæ we find he does name their authors. From the distinction thus made, it may reasonably be concluded that the formulæ, thus singled out by naming their authors, were quoted from what may be called the floating medical tradition,—it being necessary to indicate the authority for their recommendation,—while those formulæ, in the case of which no author is named, were quoted from standard works of well-known authorities.

By far the largest number of formulæ, brought together in the *Nâvanîtaka*, belongs to the latter class. The most conspicuous among the earliest medical teachers is Punarvasu, the son of Atri, commonly known as Âtrêya. According to the Indian tradition he was a physician, teaching medicine in Taxila, in the north-west of India, about the time of Buddha, in the sixth century B.C. He is famous as the head of a great medical school of internal medicine. He is said to have had six disciples, who committed their master's teaching to writing, in *tantras*, larger treatises, or *kalpas*, smaller monographs. Some centuries later, attempts were made to epitomize these early *tantras* and *kalpas*, and gather their substance into *saṁhitâs* or compendia. Only two of these *saṁhitâs* have come down to our day. These are the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* and the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*. They are compendia based on the *tantras* and *kalpas* of Agnivêśa and Bhêḍa respectively. Of the writings of the other four pupils of Âtrêya, *viz.*, Harîta, Jâtûkarṇa, Ksharapâṇi, and Parâsara, nothing has survived, except occasional short quotations in the mediæval medical literature.[89] The compendium, known as *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, which professes to give Âtrêya's teaching, as reported by his pupil Agnivêśa, was compiled by a physician of Kashmir, called Charaka.[90] The author, or rather compiler, of the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, which professes to give, in the main, the teaching of Âtrêya as reported by his pupil Bhêḍa, is not known.

Both these *saṁhitâ*, or compendia, must have been well-known standard books in the time of the author of the *Nâvanîtaka*, for he makes copious extracts from them without naming them as his sources. From the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ* the following formulæ are taken[91]:—

(1) *Ayôrajîya-chûrṇa*, vv. 48-55, in *Bheḍa Saṁhitâ*, VI, 16, vv. 33-45*b* (fol. 138).
(2) *Rasâyanika-ghṛita*, vv. 165*b*-169*a*, in *Bh*, S., VI, 4 (fol. 100*b*).
(3) *Daśâṅga-ghṛita*, vv. 201-3, in *Bh*. S., VI, 5, vv. 17*b*-20*a* (fol. 105*a*).
(4) *Sahachara-ghṛita*, vv. 329-36, in *Bh*. S., VI, 24 (fol. 153*b*), mutilated.
(5) *Madhuyashṭikâ-taila*, vv. 337-43, in *Bh*. S., VI, 4 (fol. 103*a*), mutilated.
(6-8) Three *Âmâtisâra-yôga*, vv. 407-12, in *Bh*. S., VI, 10 (fol. 11 6*a*).
(9) *Kâsa-yôga*, vv. 474-9, in *Bh*. S., VI, 19, vv. 26*b*-32 (fols. 143-4).
(10) *Karṇaśûla-yôga*, vv. 534*b*-7*a*, in *Bh*. S., VI, 22 (fols. 147-8).

89 For an example of such a quotation from Jâtûkarṇa see Śrikaṇṭhadatta's commentary to *Siddha-yôga* (*c.* 1250 A.D.), pp. 21, 36, etc.

90 Actually only two-thirds of the compendium were written by Charaka, probably in the 1st cent. B.C., the other one-third was added by the Kashmir physician Dṛiḍhabala, in the 9th cent. A.D. See my Article in the *Jurnal*, *R.A.S.*, 1908, pp. 997 ff., and *ibid.*, 1909, p. 857.

91 These were first discovered by Dr. P. Cordier, see his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 21. The references in the text are to the folios of the unique Tanjore Manuscript of the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*.

(11) *Tailâdya-vasti*, vv. 642-4, in *Bh. S.*, VIII, 9 (fol. 201).

(12) *Bhêlî-yavâgû*, vv. 802-4, in *Bh. S.*, I, 7 (fol. 10).

To these may be added three formulæ which are no longer traceable in the single existing mutilated Tanjore Manuscript of the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, but which are attributed to Bhêḍa in the *Yôga-ratna-samuchchaya* of Chandrata. These are—

(13) *Balâ-ghṛita*, vv. 280-6.

(14) *Gaṇḍamâlâ-yôga*, vv. 390-401.

(15) *Lakshâdi-sarpiḥ*, vv. 1059*b*-60*a*.

From the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* the following formulæ are taken :—

(1) *Talîsaka-chûrṇa*, vv. 11-13, in *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, VI, 8, vv. 140-3.

(2) *Shâḍava-chûrṇa*, vv. 14-17, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 8, vv, 136-9.

(3) A half ślôka, v. 24*a*, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, v. 88*b*.

(4) *Vardhamânaka-chûrṇa*, vv. 25-6, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 8, vv. 101-3.

(5) *Mâtuluṅga-chûrṇa*, vv. 29-34, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 75-80.

(6) *Tiktaka-ghṛita*, vv. 133-6, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 7, vv. 137-40.

(7) *Mahâtiktaka-ghṛita*, vv. 137-43, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 7, vv. 141-147.

(8) *Shatpala-ghṛita*, vv. 150-1, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 143-4.

(9) *Tryûshaṇa-ghṛita*, v. 152, in *Ch. S.*, VI. 5. v. 62.

(10) *Vâsâ-ghṛita*, vv. 153-4, in *Ch. S*, VI, 5, vv. 122-3.

(11) *Châṅgêrî-ghṛita*, vv. 155-7, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 9, vv. 110-12.

(12) *Sâramûlîya-ghṛita*, vv. 169*b*-176, in *Ch. S*, VI, 2, vv. 23-31.

(13) *Chyavanaprâśa-ghṛita*, vv. 188-200, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 59-71.

(14) *Jvarahara-anuvâsana-taila*, vv. 383-5, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 245-6.

(15) *Anuvâsana-taila*, vv. 38*b*-9, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 9, vv. 131-4.

(16) An unnamed cough mixture, vv. 460-2, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 119-21.

(17) *Prastha-virêka*, vv. 484-90, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 5, vv. 150-16.

(18) *Madhvâsava-yôga*, vv. 491-3, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 6, vv. 39-42.

(19) An unnamed fever mixture, vv 494-5*a*, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 201-2*a*.

(20) Another unnamed fever mixture, vv. 496*b*-9*a*, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 3, vv. 196-8.

(21) *Pramêha-praśamana-yôga*, v. 603, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 6, v. 24.

(22) *Pichchhâ-vasti*, vv. 645-9, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 10, vv. 70-4.

(23) An unnamed tonic mixture, vv. 742-3, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 130-1.

(24) *Pippalî-prayôga*, vv. 745-8, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 132-5.

(25) *Dvitîya-Pippalî-prayôga*, vv. 749-52, in *Ch. S.*' VI, 1, vv. 136-40.

(26) An unnamed aphrodisiac formula, v. 819, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 2, v. 99.

(27 and 28) Two other unnamed aphrodisiac formulæ, vv. 844*b*-6*a*, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 2, vv. 44-5.

(29) *Śilâjatu-kalpa*, vv. 950-67*a*, in *Ch. S.*, VI, 1, vv. 148-64.

Besides the forty-four formulæ, comprised in the foregoing two lists, the *Nâvanîtaka* contains a considerable number of other formulæ, the authors of which are not indicated, and the source of which it is, at present, impossible to identify. It does not seem improbable, however, that they were extracted by the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* from the *tantras* or *kalpas* of the other four above-mentioned pupils of Âtrêya. None of their writings have survived to the present day; but there is evidence which renders it very probable that they still existed at the time when the *Nâvanîtaka* was compiled. In the latter occur six formulæ, which occur also in the *Âyurvêda Śâstra* of Suśruta, also known as *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*. They are the following :—

(1-3) Three *Âmâtisâra-yôga*, vv. 407-8, 409-10, and 411-12, corresponding to *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, VI, 40, vv. 35*b*-36*a*, v. 35*a*, and v. 46 (pp. 763-4).

(4-6), Three *Vâjîkaraṇa-yôga*, vv. 829-30*a*, 833*b*-4*a*, 834*b*-5*a*, corresponding to *Susruta Saṁhitâ*, IV, 26, vv. 27, 20, 21.

The important point with regard to these parallels is that the *Âmâtisâra* formulæ are quoted, not directly from the work of Susruta, but intermediately through the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*. For in the latter and in the *Nâvanîtaka* the text of these three diarrhœa formulæ is identical (see Nos. 6-8 in the list of quotations from the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*), while their common text differs from Suśruta's text in such a manner as to show that the latter is their common source.[92] The *Nâvanîtaka* quotes the three formulæ from the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ* and the latter derives them from Suśruta's work. Now the latter, as is well known, is a composite work of two, chronologically widely separate, authors. The earlier portion was written by Suśruta the Elder, who lived probably in the sixth century B.C.,[93] while the later portion, which calls itself *Uttara Tantra*, or the Later Treatise, was added by an anonymous writer, who may provisionally be called Suśruta the Younger. Mediæval Indian medical tradition identifies him with Nâgârjuna, the reputed contemporary of King Kanishka. This would make him also a contemporary of Charaka, so that both the *Saṁhitâ* of the latter and the *Uttara Tantra* of the former would have been compiled at much the same time. Each link in this chronological chain is still a matter of doubt and dispute; but fortunately that circumstance does not affect the point at issue in the present discussion. Whatever the true identity and date of Suśruta the Younger may be, there can be no doubt that his work belongs to the early *saṁhitâ* period of the Indian medical literature, that is, the period to which also the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* and the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ* belong. Suśruta the Younger not only added his *Uttarâ Tantra*, a *Śâlâkya-tantra* or treatise on Minor Surgery, as a complement to the earlier *tantra*, a *salya-tantra* or treatise on Major Surgery, of Suśruta the Elder, but he also revised the latter work. Thus the result of his labours, that is the *Âyurvêda Śâstra* of Suśruta, as we now have it, is essentially a *saṁhitâ* work, a compendium of older materials, similar to the *Charaka Saṁhitâ*; and therefore it is rightly known also as the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*.

The *Uttara-tantra* does not profess to be an original composition. In its introductory verses it expressly describes itself as a compilation, and enumerates the *tantras*, or treatises, on which it bases itself. These are, firstly, a treatise on *śâlâkya*, or minor surgery, by Nimi, the *Vidêha-pati* or ruler of Vidêha; secondly, treatises on *kumâra-bhṛdha*, or children's diseases, composed, according to the mediæval commentator Ḍallana (in the 12th cent. A.D.) by Jîvaka, Pârvataka, and Bandhuka; thirdly, the six treatises on *kâya-chikitsâ*, or internal medicine, composed by the six *paramarshi*, or supreme medical authorities, that is, obviously by the six well-known pupils of Âtrêya. It is equally obvious, that in the connection in which the six treatises are mentioned, they cannot refer to any *saṁhitâ*, but must refer to the original *tantras* of Agnivêśa, Bhêḍa and the rest. In fact, there is no evidence that any *saṁhitâ*, based on the *tantras* of the four other pupils, Ksharapâṇi, Jâṭûkarṇa, Harîta, and Parâśara, ever existed; for the so called *Hârîta Saṁhitâ* is now generally admitted to be a mediæval apocryphal compilation. It is evident, therefore, that in the time of the compiler of the *Uttara-tantra* the original treatises of those four "supreme authorities" were still extant, and were accessible to him.

[92] For detailed proof, see my paper in the J.R.A.S., 1909, pp. 884-5.

[93] See my *Osteology of the Ancient Indians*, pp. 5,9.

Of the six parallels in the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, above listed, the three *âmâtisâra* formulæ (Nos. 1-3) occur in the *Uttara-tantra*. Two conclusions follow from this circumstance. First, as the *Uttara-tantra* complements the so-called *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, or the *Âyurvêda Śâstra*, the latter work must have been in existence at the time of the compilation of the *Nâvanîtaka*. Secondly, as all the six treatises (*tantra* or *kalpa*) of the pupils of Âtrêya existed at the date of the compilation of the *Uttara-tantra*, it is not unreasonable to assume that they still existed somewhat later when the *Nâvanîtaka* was compiled; and that those formulæ which cannot be identified either in the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* or in the *Bhêḍa-Saṁhitâ*, and of which the *Nâvanîtaka* does not expressly name the author, may have been extracted from the works of the four pupils of Âtrêya, which were still current as great medical authorities (*paramarshi* or *maharshi*), and which might be quoted without any necessity of specification.

To return to the question of the upper limit for the date of the *Nâvanîtaka*, it is now seen that both, the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, must have been in existence at the time when the *Nâvanîtaka* was compiled. Moreover there must have been some interval of time between the compilation of the *Nâvanîtaka* and the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*. For the three *Âmâtisâra* formulæ, above referred to, are quoted by the *Nâvanîtaka*, not directly from the *Uttara-tantra*, but intermediately from the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*. The latter itself presupposes the existence of the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*; for it not only refers to Surśuta by name (as *Suśrôtâ*), but also teaches one of his distinctive doctrines (regarding the *gulma* disease).[94] Also, some not inconsiderable interval of time must be allowed for the two *Saṁhitâs* of Charaka and Suśruta acquiring that acknoweldged position of standard works which enabled the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* to quote formulæ from them without the necessity of naming them as his source.

The upper limit, accordingly, is determined by the dates of the three *Saṁhitâs*, of Charaka, Suśruta, and Bhêḍa. About the date of the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ* we know nothing whatsoever. That of the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ*, as before intimated, is entangled in a net of uncertainties. The date of the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* alone offers an apparent chance of settlement. It is bound up with the date of the celebrated King Kanishka, at whose court, as tradition tells us, Charaka lived as the royal physician. Unfortunately the date of Kanishka itself is still in dispute; but the most probable theory is that which places him in the middle of the first century B. C. as the founder of the well-known Saṁvat Era.[95] Taking this date for Kanishka as the upper limit, and allowing the necessary interval for the growth of the *Saṁhitâs* into standard authorities, the second century A.D. may be taken provisionally as the time of the compilation of the *Nâvanîtaka*.

There are two points in the *Nâvanîtaka*, which favour the assignment to it of such a very early date. One concerns its language, the other its sources. The former will be dealt with in Chapter VII. As regards its sources, all those which the *Nâvanîtaka* specifically

[94] For the evidence, see my paper in the *Journal, R. As. Soc.*, for 1909, pp. 883.

[95] Much less probable are the two rival theories which place Kanishka in the first century A.D., as the founder of the Saka Era in 78 A.D., and in the middle of the second century A.D. respectively.

names, have a very archaic appearance. Their list comprises the following names. One formulæ each is quoted from:—

(1) Kâṅkâyana, v. 935.
(2) Nimi, vv. 883-4.
(3) Suprabha, vv 633-7.
(4) Uśanas, vv. 846-7*a*.
(5) Vâḍvali, vv. 319–24.
(6) Vṛihaspati, prose, 784.

Two formulæ each are quoted from:—

(7) Agastya, vv. 588-9 and vv. 905-9.[96]
(8) Dhanvantari, vv. 232-40, and vv. 968-76.
(9) Jîvaka, v. 1081, and vv. 1097*b*-9*a*.

A whole series of formulæ are referred to—

(10) Kâśyapa, vv. 1011-1040.

None of these formulæ, with one exception, can be traced elsewhere. All the names, except those of Jîvaka and Kâśyapa, belong to semi-mythical or prehistoric personages. Suprabha does not appear to be known as a physician outside the *Nâvanîtaka*.[97] The only mention of Vâḍvali, at present known, occurs in the *Kalyâṇa-Kâraka*, a medical treatise written by an unknown author at the court of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana.[98] The mention by Pâṇini of a patronymic *Vâḍvali* (see note 168, on p. 109) points to a very early date. So does the name of Nimi, who is the epic ruler of Vidêha, and the reputed founder of the Indian ophthalmic science. Similarly Dhanvantari is the reputed semi-divine founder of surgical science. On the other hand, Jîvaka is a historical, or at least semi-historical, personage. For tradition assigns him to the court of king Ajâtaśatru, in the sixth century B.C., and makes him a contemporary and friend of Buddha. One of the two formulæ (v. 1081), which the *Nâvanîtaka* quotes from him, forms the single exception, above noticed, of occurrence elsewhere. It is quoted by Vangasêna (see note 481 on page 178) with two variants, and without naming its author. Kâśyapa (or Kaśyapa, see note 467 on p. 173), also, is probably a historical, or semi-historical, person, being likewise a contemporary of Buddha. Medical tradition knows of two men of that name, an elder (*vṛiddha*) and a younger. It is, no doubt, Kâśyapa the Elder, whom the *Nâvanîtaka* quotes. Both, he and Jîvaka, are reputed to have been skilful children's doctors; and, as a fact, the formulæ, quoted from them, do refer to children's diseases. Also, it may be added, the use of the phrases *ity-ôvâcha Jîvakaḥ* (v. 1081) and *iti bhâshati Jîvakaḥ* (v. 1099), *i.e.*, thus spake (speaks) Jîvaka, and the phrase *Kâśyapasya vachô yathâ* (vv. 1020, 1022, 1027), *i.e.*, according to the saying of Kâśyapa, which the *Nâvanîtaka* applies to their formulæ, apparently indicates them to be their *ipsissima verba*. Uśanas and Vṛihaspati (or Bṛihaspati) appear to be historical personages, being the founders, respectively, of the Auśanasa and Bârhaspatya Schools, which flourished in the fourth century B.C.[99]

[96] There is a formula of his quoted also in the *Laśuna Kalpa*, which is included in Part I of the Bower Manuscript.

[97] But *see Journal, Roy. As. Soc.*, 1893, p. 337.

[98] The *Kalyâṇa-kâraka* was discovered by Mr. Narasiṁhachar of the Mysore Archæological Survey. See his report for 1906-7 (§ 59, p. 15).

[99] For further particulars, see Professor Jacobi's article in the Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, on the *Frühgeschichte der indischen Philosophie*, vol. xxxv (1911), pp. 733-43.

In addition to the ten sources, named in the preceding list, the *Nâvanîtaka* draws on two other archaic sources, *viz.*:—

(11) Âtrêya himself, the head of the Taxila medical school, and

(12) The mythical Aśvin pair (see note 126 on page 100).

The formulæ, attributed to Âtrêya, are the following :—

(1) *Laguḍa-chûrṇa*, vv. 35-7.

(2) *Śârdûla-chûrṇa*, vv. 71-5*a*.

(3) *Amṛitaprâśa-ghṛita*, vv. 108-19*a*.

(4) *Mahâkalyâṇaka-ghṛita*, vv. 126*b*–32.

(5) *Balâ-taila*, vv. 261–76.

(6) A mutilated formula, prose 715.

The fact that these six formulæ are specifically assigned to Âtrêya's authorship shows that they did not exist in the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* in the condition in which that work was known to the author of the *Nâvanîtaka*. If they had occurred in it, one may reasonably say he would have quoted them from it without naming their author, precisely in the same way as he cited the other formulæ above listed (p. lv). For the same reason it may be inferred that he did not quote them from the *Bhêḍa Saṁhitâ*, nor from any of the (at that time still existing) *tantras* of the other four pupils of Âtrêya. The probability is that the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* quoted them from the floating medical tradition of his time, and the fact that in his time there still existed a living tradition of this kind, points to an early date for the compilation of the *Nâvanîtaka*.

There are in these six formulæ some peculiarities which point in the same direction. The first of the formulæ is not traceable elsewhere. The second (vv. 71-75*a*) is found in Mâdhava's *Siddha-yôga*, chapter VI (on *ajîrṇa*, or indigestion), vv. 27-32, but there is a characteristic difference. In substance the two versions are identical throughout: even in diction they run practically identical in the initial three half-verses (*Nâv.*, vv. 71-72*a*=S. Y., vv. 27-28*a*). In the fourth half-verse (*Nâv.*, v. 72*b*=*S. Y.*, v. 28*b*) an additional ingredient (*kushṭha*) is introduced, and thence forward to the end of the formula the diction is quite different. Also the reference to Âtrêya is omitted, and the formula is given the different, though synonymous, name *agnimukhachûrṇa*,[100] or plumbago-root powder. This modified recension is quoted by Chakrapâṇidatta in his *Chikitsâ Saṁgraha* (Chap. VI., No. 17), and by Vangasêna (Chap. V, vv. 56-60). In the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* neither the original, nor the modified formula is fonnd. In fact, that compendium includes no special chapter on *ajîrṇa* complaints, for which the formula is designed. It would almost seem that the author of the modified formula is Mâdhava himself, who, accordingly, omitted the reference to Âtrêya, and altered its name.[101] The third, fourth, and fifth formulæ occur, with the same names, in the *kshatakshîṇa*, *unmâda*, and *vâta-vyâdhi* chapters of the *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, (*sthâna* VI, chap. (16, vv. 32-40, chap. 14, vv. 53-4, chap. 28, vv. 144-52, pp. 624, 612, and 783). But here, though practically identical in substance, they appear in entirely different versions, nor are these versions attributed to Âtrêya. This circumstance is explained by the fact that those

[100] Under this name (*agni-ghṛita*) there occurs in Part III, vv. 25, 26, a plumbago-root formula for the preparation of a *ghṛita*. It too is ascribed to Âtrêya, but its composition is quite different.

[101] According to Dr. Cordier, the original formula, though with a few variants, occurs in the second chapter of an anonymous work, called *Bṛihad-vaidya-prasâraka*.

three chapters (14, 16, 28) belong to that complementary portion which was added to Charaka's Compendium several centuries after its author's death, at a time when probably the tradition of Âtrêya's teaching no longer survived. Of the sixth formula unfortunately only the closing words survive. But the phrase *ity-âha bhagavân Âtrêyaḥ*, "thus spake the blessed Âtrêya,' which they comprise, appears to indicate, as do the similar phrases used with referenc to Jîvaka and Kâśyapa, that the mutilated formula was quoted in the *ipsissima verba* of Âtrêya.

The formulæ attributed to the Aśvin pair are the following:—

(1) *Âśvinî Mâtuluṅga-guḍikâ*, vv. 75b-77a.
(2) Another *Âśvinî Mâtuluṅga-guḍikâ*, vv. 80-84.
(3) *Â vina-gulma-chûrṇa*, vv. 85-6.
(4) *Âśvina-haridrâ-churṇa*, vv. 96-101,
(5) *Âśvina-lasunâ-ghṛita*, vv. 216-22.
(6) *Âśvina-jvarahara-ghṛita*, vv. 223-5.
(7) *Âśvina-visha-ghrita*, vv. 241-4.
(8) *Âśvina-bindu-ghṛita*, vv. 251-5.
(9) *Amṛita-taila*, vv. 287-312.
(10) *Âśvina-raktapitta-yôga*, vv. 418-25.
(11) *Kshîra-yôga*, v. 575.
(12) *Ayôrajîya-yôga*, v. 579.
(13) *Aśvinôr Aśvagandhâ-vasti*, vv. 618-25a.
(14) *Pippalî-vardhamâna-rasâyana*, vv. 716-37a.
(15) *Âśvina-rasâyana*, vv. 773b-81a.
(16) *Âśvinîya-yôga-traya*, vv. 810-3.
(17) *Âśvina-harîtakî-kalpa*, vv. 917-49.

The names of thirteen of these formulæ (Nos. 1-8, 10, 13, 15-17), which occur in their colophons, assign them to the Aśvins. In the case of the remaining four (Nos. 9. 11, 12, 14) the assignment is made in a remark, which is embodied in the formula itself. A similar remark, confirming the assignment in the colophon, is embodied also in the text of the five formulæ Nos. 5, 8, 10, 15, 16.

With regard to the authorship of these remarks, that in the *Âśvina-rasâyana* formula (No. 15) is particularly instructive. The last half-verse (v. 781b) implies that by the medical tradition the formula was ascribed to the ancient physician Viśvâmitra, apparently the reputed father of Suśruta (see *Suśruta Saṁhitâ* VI, 18, v. 1, and 66, v. 1/; pp. 706, 914). That inscription is contradicted, however, by the initial verse (v. 773b) and by the name in the colophon, which attribute the formula to the Aśvins. This discrepancy seems best accounted for by the explanation that the initial verse which has no essential connection with the medical prescription, as well as the colophon, are due to the author of the *Nâvanîtaka*. He would seem to have had reason to believe that the formula was really devised by the Aśvins. Accordingly he so named it in the colophon, and prefixed the initial verse, in order to explain that it was really the Aśvins who communicated the formula to Viśvâmitra.

The same conclusion is suggested by the *Âśvina-raktapitta* formula (No. 10). Here the actual medical prescription begins with verse 419, and is preceded, in v. 418, by a lengthy explanation that that prescription was taught to Indra by the Aśvins, although the attribution to the latter is actually embodied in a brief remark in the final verse 425. In the compilation

of Vangasêna (chap. VIII, vv. 93-9, pp. 226-7), where the formula, with its final attribution, is also quoted, the lengthy introductory verse 418 is omitted. And that this omission is not due to any accidental cause is shown by the fact that the formula, in the colophon, is called *chandanâdya-ghṛita*. For as the medical prescription begins, in v. 419, with *chandana*, and as the rule is to name a formula by its initial drug (see note 29, on p. 82), it is apparent that the introductory verse 418 is not an essential part of the formula, and was not present in the source whence Vangasêna gathered the formula for his compilation; but that its addition is due to the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* himself, and (in view of the final verse) is really a piece of supererrogation.

The same may be the case with the attributive remarks in the other formulæ. Thus the two formulæ, Nos. 11 and 12 (vv. 575 and 579), which are quoted by Mâdhava and Vangasêna (see notes 281 and 284 on pp. 134, 135) are cited by them without the attributive remark of the *Nâvanîtaka*. Again the formula, No. 8, which consists of five verses, is found, in another version, identical in substance, but compressed into two verses, in Vangasêna's compilation (Chap. XXX, vv. 106-7). In the same, or a similar short version, according to Dr. Cordier (*Rêcentes Découvertes*, p. 21), the formula is ascribed to Krishṇâtrêya by Niśchalakara, in his *Ratnaprabhâ*, and by Chandraṭa in his *Yôgaratna-samuchchaya*. From this it is clear that the formula occurred in different versions, in different treatises, by different authors, but that the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* preferred the longer and more archaic version ascribed by tradition to the Aśvin pair.

The case of No. 14 is similar. This is a long formula of 22½ verses, describing a curiously complicated treatment with daily increasing and subsequently decreasing doses of aments of long pepper. The whole course of treatment (see note 329 on p. 144) occupies a period of 100 *plus* 99 *plus* 21, or 220 days. It also involves the consumption, within that period, of not less than 10,000 aments of long pepper. By the side of this complicated formula, the *Nâvanîtaka* has another, in verses 749-52, which is much more simple. It is modeled on the longer one, but it greatly reduces the length of the period, as well as the total of the consumed peppers. It also admits several options: while in every case the period is twenty days, the ratio of peppers may vary between 10, 6, 5, or 3, and consequently the total of peppers consumed is, 1,000 or 600, or 500, or 300. From the largest option, this shorter formula is, in verse 750, distinguished as the *pippalî-sahasra* or "the one thousand pepper formula." It seems reasonable to conclude that it was the unwieldiness of the original formula, both with respect to the length of the period and the enormous total of the consumed peppers, which led to the simplification. As a matter of fact, even the simplified formula survives, at the present day, only in its mildest form, which prescribes the consumption of 300 peppers in a period of twenty days at the rate of three peppers a day (see note 343 on p. 147). While the longer formula is, in verse 736, expressly ascribed to the Aśvins, the author of the shorter is not mentioned. We know him, however, from the fact that it occurs in the *Charaka-Saṁhitâ* (sect. VI, chap. 1, vv. 136-40, *ante*, No. 24, p. lix). As that *saṁhitâ* is based on the *tantra* of Agniveśa, and the latter embodies the teachings of Âtrêya, it follows that the simplified formula goes back to Âtrêya. It also follows that the longer formula, on which Âtrêya's simplification was modeled, and which certainly impresses one as more archaic, goes back to the mythic, or semi-mythic, time antecedent to Âtrêya. That explains its attribution

to the mythical Aśvin pair, as well as its gradual obsolescence. It is ignored already in Suśruta's Compendium, the *pippalî-vardhamâna* of which (sect. IV, chap. 5, clause 14, p. 406; see *ibid.*, v. 194 on p. 770) is practically identical with the shorter version of Âtrêya-Charaka. In fact the longer version does not appear to have survived in any medical work, except the *Nâvanîtaka*. The single indication of its former existence that I can recall, occurs in a formula in Vâgbhaṭa II's *Ashṭâṅga Hṛidaya* (sect. IV, chap. 12, vv. 39-41), which, in the case of abdominal complaints (*udara*), recommends, in addition to other remedies, either the *pippalî-vardhamâna*, or else the *pippalî-sahasra*. It is evident that the author of that formula knew both, the longer as well as the shorter, versions of the treatment with pepper, but who he was, and when he lived, we do not know. It was not Vâgbhaṭa II: he is a mere compiler, probably in the eighth or ninth century. Nor was it Vâgbhaṭa I, the author of the *Ashṭâṅga Saṁgraha*, in the early seventh century. That work, though it is the usual source of the *Ashṭâṅga Hṛidaya*, mentions (if one may trust the Bombay Edition, Vol. II, p. 47, l. 8) only the *pippalî-vardhamâna*, by which name the shorter version had, long since, come to be understood.[102]

As regards the *Harîtakî Kalpa* (No. 17), we have the interesting information of Dr. P. Cordier (see note 439 on p. 166; also his *Récentes Découvertes*, p. 29), that he possesses fragmentary manuscripts of two distinct works, both calling themselves *Âśvinî Saṁhitâ*, and both containing versions of a *Harîtakî Kalpa*. These versions are printed on pp. 180*c*-180*f*. Though they present many points of contact with the version in the *Nâvanîtaka*, they differ widely from it both in length and matter. And as they differ equally widely from each other, it is evident that neither of them can have been the source of the *Nâvanîtaka* version. On the contrary, they must have gradually grown up, on different lines, from the original, simple and archaic, version which has been preserved in the *Nâvanîtaka*. In fact, the two existing works, professing to be an *Âśvinî Saṁhitâ*, seem to have every mark of being mediæval apocryphal productions similar to the *Âtrêya or Hârîta-Saṁhitâ*.

The existence of what thus appears to be the original form of the *Harîtakî Kalpa* (also called *Abhayâ Kalpa*, in verse 7), is one of the striking marks of the archaic character of the *Nâvanîtaka*. It has already been pointed out (p. liv.) that the *kalpas* belong to the earliest period of the medical literature of India. It is interesting, therefore, to note that there are three other such *kalpa*, or monographs, incorporated in the *Nâvanîtaka*. For its seventh, twelfth, and thirteenth chapters are constituted respectively by the *Yavâgû Kalpa*, on the preparation of gruels (vv. 785-813), the *Śilâjatu Kalpa*, on bitumen (vv. 950-67), and the *Chitraka Kalpa* on plumbago-root (vv. 968-76). The first, as suggested by the colophon to verse 804 (see Chap. IV, p. xli) may be the work of Bhêḍa. It may have stood in the *Bhêḍa*

[102] In this connection it is interesting to observe that Aruṇadatta, the commentator of the *Ashṭâṅga Hṛidaya* (about 1220 A. D.), appears to have no longer understood what the two versions were. For, commenting on the optional treatment recommended in his text, he explains that the *pippalî-vardhamâna* should be taken as directed in the chapter on *rasâyana*, but the *pippalî sahasra* he does not explain. On referring to the chapter on *rasâyana*, we find the only *pippalî* formula there given (A.H., sect. VI, ch. 39, vv. 98*b*-100*a*) is the shorter version: and commenting on this Aruṇadatta says that it is the *pippalî-sahasra*. So that he practically identifies the two versions, despite their clear differentiation in the formula of the *Ashṭâṅga Hṛidaya* (IV., 12 vv. 39-41): evidently he was at a loss what to make of that differentiation.

Saṁhitâ, and quoted thence anonymously, though in the incomplete Tanjur MS. copy, the only one now existing, it cannot be traced. The second is quoted from the *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, (*ante*, No. 29, p. lv). It, therefore, stood originally in the *Agnivêśa Tantra*, and is the work of Âtrêya. The third, the latter part of which, unfortunately, is missing, appears to be ascribed to Dhanvantari (vv. 968-9). To these may be added the *Laśuna Kalpa*, on garlic, which forms the early portion (vv. 1-43*a*) of the treatise contained in Part I of the Bower Manuscript, and the authorship of which is vaguely ascribed (v. 42*a*) to the "ancient sages," while at the same time it professes itself to be delivered by the "sage-king of Kâśî" to Suśruta (vv. 9, 40, 42*a*.)

Though, in the main, the *Nâvanìtaka* is professedly a compilation from various sources, it does contain a few formulæ which give the impression of being contributions made by the author himself. Thus the formula, in verse 641, merely advises how the preceding formula (vv. 638-40) may be usefully varied. The formulæ in verses 158-9, 614, 783 have a similar object. It should be observed that none of these formulæ can be traced elsewhere; and it is quite possible that some others of the short formulæ of that kind, such as those in vv. 576 608*a*, are really the author's own compositions. Again in some other formulæ we seem to be able to trace the author's hand in the alterations which he has introduced. To this order belong the two short formulæ in vv. 575 and 579, which have already been referred to previously (p. lx.) The second part of these formulæ, as quoted elsewhere (by Mâdhava and Vangasêna), has been altered to admit their attribution to the Aśvins (*ante*, Nos. 11, 12 on p. lxi). More or less lengthy remarks, inserted by the author with the same object, have also been noticed already in the case of some of the wellknown longer formulæ (*ante*, Nos. 10 and 15, p. lx). To the author, of course, belong also all the introductory remarks which are met with in various places of the *Nâvanîtaka*. To this order belong the remarks in verses 108 and 261, which introduce the second and third chapters, as well as the prose remarks, preceding verses 916, 950, and 968, which introduce chapters XI, XII, and XIII; likewise the prose remark which introduces the formula in verse 784. Above all, there belongs to this order the long paragraph (vv. 1-10) which forms the introduction to the whole treatise.

The fact of the *Nâvanîtaka* containing quotations from the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* is one of peculiar importance on account of its bearing on the question of the authorship of that *Saṁhitâ*. That the *Charaka Saṁhitâ*, in the condition in which we now possess it, is the work of two different authors is well known. Charaka is said by the Indian tradition to have left his *saṁhitâ* unfinished. At all events, its *Kalpa Sthâna* and *Siddhi Sthâna*, as well as seventeen chapters of its *Chikitsita Sthâna* were added, some centuries later, by a Kashmirian physician, named Dṛiḍhabala. He states that fact himself in two places of the *saṁhitâ* (sect. VI, vv. 273-5, and sect. VIII, vv. 77-9); but he omits to record the names of the seventeen chapters which he contributed. And the difficulty of their identification, which is thus created, is enhanced by the circumstance that we have two contradictory Indian traditions on the subject. One of them is represented by the Berhampore edition of Gangâdhar (also the Calcutta edition of Debendra Nath Sen and Upendra Nath Sen); the other by the Calcutta edition of Jîvânanda Vidyâsâgara. The former has the support of the oldest existing manuscript, the

Nepal Manuscript of the year 1183 A.D. (303 Nepal Era); the latter, that of the oldest commentator, Chakrapâṇidatta, who lived about the year 1060 A.D. With regard to six of the eleven chapters, which must have belonged to the original *saṁhitâ*, both traditions agree. They differ only with regard to the three chapters on *arśas*, *âtisâra*, and *visarpa*, which Chakrapâṇidatta assigns to Charaka, while the chapters which the Nepal Manuscript assigns to him, are those on *kshatakshîṇa*, *śvayathu*, and *udara*. Now the *Nâvanîtaka* contains quotations from the former, but none from the latter three chapters; and as its author lived many centuries earlier than Dṛiḍhabala, it is obvious that, to judge from this testimony, the tradition of the commentator is to be preferred to that of the Nepal Manuscript. For a detailed statement of the case, which does not strictly come within the scope of the present Introduction, reference may be made to two papers of mine on the Composition of the *Charaka Saṁhitâ* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1808, pp. 997 ff. and 1909, pp. 857 ff.

NOTE.—With regard to the loss of early Indian medical works, referred to on p. liv, I may now (Febr. 1914) add that among the manuscripts recovered by Sir Aurel Stein in the course of his second tour of exploration in Chinese Turkestan, 1906-8 (*ante*, p. iii), from the immured temple library in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Tun Huang (see his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Vol. II, pp. 28, 29, 171-194, 211-219), there were two incomplete but extensive pôthîs, which have since, upon examination, been found by me to be medical works. They are written in Khotanese, one of the two hitherto "unknown" languages; one written in upright, the other in cursive Gupta characters; but they are obviously translations from Sanskrit originals, apparently no longer surviving in India. One of these two incomplete pôthîs still comprises 65 folios, and professes to be the *Siṁdha-sârä Sâsträ*, that is in Sanskrit *Siddha-sâra-Sâstra*. It appears to treat of Pathology, in which the names of chapters on *arśas*, *bhagandara*, *pâṇḍurôga*, *hikkâ*, *śvâsa*, *kâsa*, *mûtrakṛchchhra*, *udâvartta*, *unmâda*, *apasmâra*, *vâtavyâdi*, *visarpa*, *krimi*, *nêtrarôga* can be distinguished. The other pôthî which is written in cursive script, and of which 71 folios survive, appears to treat of Therapeutics; but its name is not known.

Both pôthîs are still awaiting a thorough examination and translation, but a somewhat more minute examination of a portion of the text of the cursive pôthî has disclosed the fact that it contains a number of formulæ which are practically identical with corresponding ones in the Charaka and Bhêḍa Saṁhitâs, while the majority of them can, for the present, not be traced elsewhere. It suggests itself as possible that the two pôthîs, between them, may represent the *Nidâna* and *Chikitsita* portions of a Saṁhitâ, which is based on the same sources as the Charaka and Bhêḍa Saṁhitâs, but of which the original Sanskrit text is no longer surviving in India.

Fragments of a third medical pôthî in Kuchean, the other hitherto "unknown" language of Kuchar, or Kucha (*ante*, p. 1, footnote 2), has also been discovered by Professor Sylvain Lévi. This pôthî, too, includes formulæ reminiscent of similar ones in the Charaka Saṁhitâ; and it may possibly be a translation of the same original Sanskrit text.

Whether, and in what way, the text of these pôthîs may affect the question discussed in Chapter VI must wait till after the completion of the thorough examination and translation of them which is now in progress.

CHAPTER VII.

LANGUAGE AND COMPOSITION IN THE TREATISES OF THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

The language in which the treatises of the Bower Manuscript are written, is a kind of ungrammatical Sanskrit, or what has sometimes been called "mixed Sanskrit," *i.e.*, a mixture of literary and popular Sanskrit. The popular element is far more conspicuous in the more popular treatises on divination and incantation in Parts IV-VII, than in the more scientific treatises on Medicine in Parts I-III.

The term "popular Sanskrit" is not strictly appropriate. "Sanskrit," *i.e.*, prepared or polished, was the name of the form of language (*bhâshâ*) which was elaborated, from about the seventh to the fourth centuries B.C., in the ancient Brahmanic grammar schools of India, out of the previously existing language of the sacred poetry (*chhandas*) of the Veda. That language owned a great wealth of inflectional forms and syntactical usages, not very clearly demarcated, and used with great freedom. The object of the grammar schools was to elaborate out of this more or less "rank growth" a well-ordered (*saṁskṛita*) language by eliminating some forms and usages, and demarcating the remainder[103]. The elaboration was a long continued process, which finally resulted, probably at some time in the fourth century B. C., in the production of Pâṇini's celebrated standard grammar. In its intermediate condition, the language is illustrated in the priestly writings of the so-called Brâhmaṇa period. For its ultimate condition, the first witness appears in the Brahmanical treatises of the so-called Sûtra period; but the earliest, actually existing original record of that condition, known at present, is in the Brahmanic inscription, incised on a sacrificial post at Îsâpur, near Mathurâ, which is dated in the year 33 B. C. [104]. In consequence of its origin, the Sanskrit language tended to perpetuate the phonetic conditions of its Vedic parent, and thus came to bear an air of artificiality.

Outside the Brahmanic schools, the language of the people followed the usual course of linguistic evolution. While it preserved much of the Vedic inflectional forms and syntactic usages which had been discarded in the scholastic Sanskrit, it suffered, on the other hand, the usual process of phonetic deterioration. In was this natural (*prâkṛita*) language, of spontaneous growth, in which the early literature was written of the two great religious movements, Buddhism and Jainism, which, in the sixth century B. C. and subsequently, agitated the people outside the Brahmanic schools. But after a time, the prestige of the latter produced its natural effect on the writers of the non-brahmanic communities. With the rise of the Mahâyâna School of Buddhists in northern India, about the first century B. C., attempts began to be made by Buddhist writers to imitate their Brahmanic rivals in the use of the scholastic Sanskrit. Ultimately they fully succeeded in their endeavours; but at first their efforts were attended with but partial success, differing according to the amount of literary knowledge they possessed. It is this earlier period of literary endeavour, which, as will be shown in the sequel, is reflected in the several treatises of the Bower Manuscript.

103 See Professor Lanman's remarks in the *Journal* of the *American Oriental Society* vol. X, p. 326: "upon both, the field of the noun and that of the verb, the Veda shows a rank growth of forms which die out later ... The inflective system of the nouns has become contracted, rigid, and uniform, but not, like that of the verb, essentially mutilated."

104 That is, in the 24th year of the Kusana king Vâsishka; see Dr. Fleet's remarks in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 1315-7.

As already stated, the prâkritic, or popular, element is much more in evidence in that portion of the Bower Manuscript, which contains the treatises on divination (in Parts IV and V) and on magic or incantation (in Parts VI and VII). In the more scientific portion, which contains the three medical treatises (Parts I-III), the examples of prâkriticism are comparatively rare. In fact, with one or two exceptions, they occur only in Part II, which contains the longest of the three treatises.

The following is a list of the prâkriticisms which occur in Parts I-III. There are five examples of the prâkritic contraction of the elements *aya* and *ava* to *ê* and *ô* respectively. They are *śamêti* (for *śamayati*) in II 42 **28**,[105] 500 **51**, 809 **63**; *śamênti* (for *śamayanti*) II 84 **30**; and *dhôvitvâ* (for *dhâvayitvâ*), II 550 **53**. The normal forms *śamayati* and *śamayanti*, however, are more frequent, as may be seen from the Index (p. 327). The nominative plural *chaturaḥ* occurs once, in I 108 **8**; but the normal form *chatvâraḥ* occurs in II 848 **65** and 1063 **74**. In *udaśvi-piṇyâka*, II 800 **62**, the final *t* of *udaśvit* is dropped. In *ambilavêtasaṁ*, II 78 **30**, and *hirivêraṁ*, II 420 **47** 580 **54** 805 **63** we have two examples of diaeresis of a conjunct; but the normal forms *amblavêtasa* and *hrîvêra* occur with equal frequency (see Index). Examples of the insertion of an euphonic *m* we have in *dêha-m-âtmanaḥ* (for *dêhâtmanaḥ*), II 239 **38**; *âmra-m-asthika* (for *âmrâsthîka*), II 798 **62**; *apsu-m-iyaṁ* (for *apsviyaṁ*), II 886 **67**; *râtri-m-andha*, II 887 **67**, and *nakta-m-andha*, II 890 **67**, but we find also the normal forms *râtryandha*, II 181 **35** and *naktàndha*, I 103 **8**. Similarly, there is an euphonic *r* in *tu-r-upôvakâ* (for *tûpôvakâ*), II 801 **63**. In all these cases, however, the prâkritic forms are required by the metre of the verse in which they occur. Once we have *sômyaṁ* (for *saumyaṁ*, in II 718 **58**. Once we have also the nominative singular masculine in *ô*, in *bhâgô* (for *bhâgaḥ*) *purâṇataitailasya*, II 517 **52**, and the accusative plural masculine in *âṁ*, in *tâṁ* (for *tân*) *kṛitvâ*, II 872 **66**. Examples of prâkritic vocalic sandhi are *chaivêtad* (for *chaivaitad*), II 818 **64**; *sûkshmêlâ* (for *sûkshmailâ*, from *sûkshma-êlâ*), II 61, 63, 64, 65 col. **29**, *et passim*,[106] and regularly in compounds with *ôdana*, as *sûpôdana* (for *sûpaudana*) II 328 **43**, *âmishôdana* (for *âmishaudana*), II 441 **48**, *rasôdana* (for *rasaudana*), II 490, **51**, 724 **58**, *payôdana* (for *payaudana*), II 724 **58** (but *payas-ôdana* in II, 374 **45** 722 **58**). Other, more doubtful, examples are *parimûkshayêt* (for *parimôkshayêt*), II 571 **54**, *upôvakâ* (for *upôdakâ*), II 801 **63**, and *rajatâ* (for *rajatât*), II 951 **70**, where the reading is doubtful or corrupt. In *bhagandalâṁ* (for *bhagandaraṁ*) we have the, also occasionally in Sanskrit observable, changes of *r* to *l*, and of masculine to feminine. In *mâgadhyâ kuḍavaḥ* (for *mâgadhyâḥ*), II 60 **29**; *kaliṅgakâ* (for *kaliṅgakâḥ*) *paṭôlasya*, II 496 **51**; *śôphahâ* (for *śophahâḥ*) II, 592 **55**, and *prastha* (for *prasthaḥ*) *syât*, II 826 **64**,[107] the visarga is dropped; but examples of similar omissions occur in the Vedas (M. Ved. Gr., §2, 3, p. 71).

In Parts IV-VII the cases of prâkriticism are far more common. Thus of the above mentioned contraction of *aya* and *ava* to *ê* and *ô* respectively we have the examples *vichintêsi* (*vichintayasi*), V 49 **207**, *vichintêhi*, V 3, 9 **204** 18 **205** 47 **247**; and *bhôntu* (for *bhavantu*), VI 16 **225**, *ôkîrṇa* (for *avakîrṇa*), VI 1 **223**, *ôrôhaṇi* (for *avarôhaṇi*), VI 2 223, *ôstâraka* (for *avastâraka*?), VI 6 **223**. It is noticeable, however, that while the contraction occurs regularly with the compound root *vichint*, it is as regularly neglected with the simple root *chint*; thus we have *chintayasê*, IV 7 **193**, 23, 24,28, 36 **194**. An example of the opposite case of elision of *y* occurs in *saṁbhâvaïshyasi* (for *sambhâvayishyasi*), V 33 206. Examples of the

[105] The numbers in antique type refer to the pages of the edition; those in arabic type, to verses.

[106] The normal form *sûkshmailâ* appears to occur once in II 115 32, but the reading is doubtful.

[107] But correct, in II 396 46 775 61.

well-known prâkritic diaeresis of a conjunct with an antecedent *r* are *darisaya* (for *darśaya*), V 1 **203**, *pradariśitaṁ* (for *pradarśitaṁ*), V 54 **207**, *varishê* (for *varshê*), V 60 **207**, and *śirishôrtti* (for *śîrshârtti*), VI 4 **223**; but the normal form *varsha* also occurs in V 4 **204**, 17 **205**, 40 **206**. Examples of the change of *p* to *v* we have in *avi* (for *api*), IV 11 **193**, *upavadyatê* (for *upapadyatê*), V 11 **204**, 57 **207**. Once we have *pi* (for *api*) after an anusvâra, in *suraṁ pi*, VI 3 **224**; but the normal *api* also occurs in IV 3 **192**, V 9 **204**. Other miscellaneous prâkriticisms are *chichcha* (for *chitya*), VI 1 **223**; *siṅghasya* (for *siṁhasya*), IV 1 **192**; *dukkha* (for *duḥkha*), V 12 **204**, 21 **205**; *satta-khutto* (for *sapta-kṛitvaḥ*), VII 6 **236**; also *dvêtiyaka* (for *dvaitîyaka*), VI 2 **223**, and *śêlâya* (for *śailâya*), VI 4 **223**. More to the category of prâkriticisms in sandhi belong the following examples: *apêtu* (for *apaitu*) in VI 2 **203**, and *upaishyati* (for *upêshyati*), IV 20 **193**. A final consonant is almost always elided; thus, *kâraṇâ* (for *kâraṇât*), IV 3 **192** 6, 20 **193** 40, 43 **195**; *tasmâ* (for *tasmât*), IV 16 **193**; *âcharê* (for *âcharêt*), VI 16 **225**; *kârayê* (for *kârayêt*), V 48 **207**; *avôcha* (for *avôchat*), VI. 1*b* **222**; so also *chirâ*, V 38 **206**; and *kiṁchi*, IV 35 **194**, 52 **195** V 27 **205** 36 **206**; but the normal *chirât* occurs twice in IV 29 **194** 44 **195**, and the normal *kiṁchit* once in IV 20 **193**. In the nominative and accusative singular neuter of pronouns, the elision of *t* or *d*, alternates with the anusvâra. Thus we have *ta* in V 28 **205**; *êta*, V 25 **205** 37 **206** 47 **207**; *ya*, V 1 **203** 3 **204**; but also the equally prâkritic forms *taṁ*, V 24, 25 **205**; *êtaṁ*, V 4, 7, 14 **204** 28, 31 **205** 43 **206** 52 **207**, and *yaṁ*, V 47, 60 **207**. On the other hand, the normal forms *tad*, *êtad*, *yad* occur before vowels, *e. g.*, *tad-avâpsyasi*, IV 13 **193**; *êtad-uvâcha*, VI 1 **222**, *yad-îpsasê*, IV 1 **192**; but exceptionally also before consonants, *tad-yathâ* and *yat-satyaṁ*, V 3 **203**. Occasionally the anusvâra is added to the end of a word, as in *kârayaṁ* (for *kâraya*), V 6 **204**, *dêśêṁ* (for *dêśê*), V 58 **207**; or it may take the place of the final visarga, as in *tataṁ* (for *tataḥ*), IV 3 **192**.[108] But more often such a visarga is dropped altogether; as in *lâbha* (for *lâbhaḥ*), IV 48 **195**, *vṛitta*, V 36 **206**, *ânanda*, VI 5 **222**; *prîti* (for *prîtiḥ*), V 21 **205**; *prâhu* (for *prâhuḥ*), V 2 **203**, *bhikshu*, VI 2 **222**; *sumitrai* (for *sumitraiḥ*), IV 30 **194**, *davaṭai chôrai nainṛitikai*, V 17 **205**; *hêtô* (for *hêtôḥ*), V 27 **205**. Or it combines to *ô*, as in *itô* (for *itaḥ*) *shashṭhê*, V 13 **204**. Or, its omission may give rise to double sandhi, as in *tatôttamaḥ* (for *tata-uttamaḥ* from *tataḥ-uttamaḥ*), IV 10 **193**. Occasionally some consonant is inserted to avoid a hiatus, or a vocalic sandhi. Thus (*a*) *n* in *nai-n-ṛitikaiḥ* (for *nair-ṛitikaiḥ*), V 17 **205**, *maitrî-n-airavaṇêshu* (for *maitry-airavaṇêshu*), VI 1 **224**; (*b*) *m* in *pari-m-apanaya* (for *paryapanaya*), VI 4 **223**; *Vâsukinâ-m-api* (for *Vâsukinâpi*), VI 2 **224**; for other examples, see page lxvi (*c*) *r* in *jani-r-upadravaṁ* (for *jany=upadravaṁ*), IV 3 **192**; for another example, see above, p. lxvi [109]; (*d*) *s* in *gamanê-s-tathâ*, V 21 **205**, *janê-s- tathâ*, V 50 **207**; but in these two cases the reading is uncertain.

Examples of prâkriticism in inflexion are the following: (1) With nouns: in the nominative singular masculine, a final *n* may be dropped at the end of a verse, as in *mahâ* (for *mahân*), V 36 **206**, or before a consonant, as in *bhagavâ* (for *bhagavân*) *chchhrâvastyâṁ*, VI 1 **222**. But the normal form also occurs, as in *bhôgavân śrâmaṇêrakaḥ*, VI 6 **224**; and before vowels it is used always, as in *mahân arthâḥ*, IV 10, 11 **193**, *bhagavân âyushmantaṁ*, VI 1 **222**. Similarly curtailed forms, however, occur also in the Vedas, see M. Ved. Gr., § 315, p. 193. In the case of *dhanavâ-ś-cha*, as indicated by the interpolated *ś*, the omission of the anusvâra is probably a scribal error, and the reading should be *dhanavâṁ*. In the accusative plural masculine, *âṁ* and *ûṁ* replace *ân* and *ûn*, respectively, before consonants, as in *kâmâṁ*

[108] In *padaṁs-tu* (for *padas-tu*), V 5 **204**, the anusvâra is a mere clerical error.

[109] In *svâti-r-bhikshuṁ*, VI 5 222, the reading is doubtful.

(for *kâmân*) *prêpsyasê*, IV 33 **194**; *mittrâṁ* (for *mittrân*) *dvishasi*, IV 52 **195**; *pûjayasê*, *vṛiddhâṁ* (for *vṛiddhân*) *dêvataṁ*, V 10 **204**; *vijêshyasi ṛipûṁ sarvvâṁ* (for *ṛipûn sarvân*) *pratyarthî*, IV 47 **195**. But the normal form occurs before palatals, as in *svajanâṁ=ś=cha . . . manyasi*, V 10 **204**, and before vowels, as in *bhôgavân avi*, IV 11 **193**. Other examples are: nominative singular masculine *dvitîyô* (for *dvitîyaḥ kûṭaḥ*, IV 16 **193**, *kuladêvô* (for *kuladêvaḥ*) *cha*, V 6 **204**; singular neuter, *janmaṁ* (for *janma*), IV 33 **194**; instrumental plural, *dviśîrshâhi* (for *dviśirshabhiḥ*), VI 12 **224**; and the vowel lengthenings in *ṛishîshu* (for *ṛishishu*), IV 4 **192**, and *vâdînâṁ* (for *vâdinâṁ*), IV 2 **192**.—(2) With pronouns: the nominative or accusative singular neuter *ta* or *taṁ* (for *tad*), etc., have been already referred to above, p. lxvii, of the stem *ima*, there occur the nominative singular feminine *imâ* (for *iyam*), V 4 **203**, and the genitive singular masculine *imasya* (for *asya*), IV 3 **192**. The latter occurs once in the Vedas; see M. Ved. Gr., p. 302, footnote 7; and the normal form *asya* also occurs in VII 6 **237**. Other examples are the instrumental plural masculine *têhi* (for *taiḥ*), VI 12, **224**, and once the genitive singular *tuva*, V 13 **204**, by the side of the usual normal *tava*, IV 6 **193** V 1, 2 **204**, *et passim* (see Index).—(3) With numerals: we have the locative singular masculine *êkasmi* (for *êkasmin*), VI 1 **222**, and the locative plural *chaturushu* (for *chaturshu*), VII 4 **237**.—(4) With verbs: the second person singular present, *âraṁbhasê* (for *ârabhasê*), IV 55 **196**, and *kurvasi* (for *karôshi*), IV 22 **194**; the second singular imperative *karôhi* (for *kuru*), VI 2 **222**/3 **223**; *pûjayâhi* (for *pûjaya*), V 33 **206**, *vichintêhi* (for *vichintaya*), V 3, 9 **204**, 18 **205** 47 **207**, or *vichintiya*, V 18 **205**; the third singular aorist *jani* (for *ajani*), IV 3 **192**. In future forms, the element *y*, when it is the last in a treble conjunct, is frequently omitted; thus, *prâpsasi*, IV 2 **192**, 11 **193**, or *prâpsasê*, IV 11 **193**; but the normal forms are more usual, *prâpsyasi*, IV 21 **193**, 37 **194**, *prâpsyasê*, IV 5 **193**, 28, 33 37 **194** 41 **195**, 54 **196**. Similarly we have also *yakshasê* (for *yakshyasê*), IV 58 **196**, *vipramôkshasi*, (for *vipramôhshyasi*) IV 17 **193**. In the past participle passive of the causal we find *kârâvita* (for *kârita*), V 46 **206**. Examples of the exchange of "voices" are: (*a*) *parasmaipada*, for *âtmanêpada* in *êdhasi* (for *êdhasê*), V 41 **206**, *kliśyasi* (for *kliśyasê*), V 4 **204**, *pratipadyâmi* for (*pratîpadyê*), VI 1 **222**, *pratîksha* (for *pratikshasva*), IV 13 **193**, passive *vihanyasi* (for *vihanyasê*), V 47 **207**; and (*b*) *âtm.* for *parasm.*, in *prichchhasê*, IV 6 **193** (but normal *prichchhasi*, IV 39 **195**), and *pûjayasê* (for *pûjayasi*), V 10 **204**.

Examples of prâkriticism or rather semi-prâkriticism, in stem formation, are *mâtaṁpitaraṁ*, V 10 **204**, apparently meant as two separate accusatives singular for the normal dual *mâtâpitarau*; *bhrâti-samâgamâṁ* (for *bhrâtṛ-samâgamaṁ*), V 22 **205**; *yaśa-mitra* (for *yaśômitra*), VI 6 **225** VII 3 **237**; *pul-âṃbha* (for *pul-âmbhas*), IV 51 **195**; *putratvatâ* (a pleonasm for *putratva* or *putratâ*), IV 13 **193**; *chaturthâ*, IV 22, 26 **194** (for the normal feminine *chaturthî*, IV 32 **194**).

From the prâkrit speech we must distinguish the "popular Sanskrit," properly so called; that is to say, the Sanskrit of the Brahmanic schools as it was spoken and written by the literate, or semi-literate among the people outside those schools, especially in the non-brahmanic portion of it. This popular Sanskrit permitted to itself occasional lapses from the strict rules of the scholastic correct Sanskrit, and occasional intrusions of the usages of the generally prevailing Prâkrit speech. It is the language in which the medical treatises, contained in Parts I—III of the Bower Manuscript, are written. Its peculiarities are assembled in the following classified list:—

I.—PHONOLOGY.

(1) *Substitution of vowels*: *ṛi* for *ri*, in *tṛivṛit*, I 61 **5**; *tṛivṛitâ*, II 88 31 144 **33**.252 **39**; and *tṛiphalâ*, II 605 **56**; but the normal forms *trivṛit*, *trivṛitâ*, and *triphalâ* occur quite

as frequently (see Index). Similar examples in Part IV-VII are *ṭrika*, V 29 **205** (but normal *trika* in II 406 **46**), *niśṛitâ* (for *niśritâ*), VI 11 **224**; and even *ṭriṇi* (for *trîṇî*), V 40 **206**. On the other hand, we find *ri* for *ṛi*, in *śrita* (always for normal *śṛita*), I 73 75 **6**, II 612 **56**, etc. (see Index).

(2) *Substitution of consonants*: (a) *n* for *ṇ*, in *garbhêna*, II 535 **53**, *jaṭharâni*, II 940 **69**, *jvarânâm*, II 169 **35** *pêshyâni*, II 45 **28**, *pranaśyatê*, III 64 **184**,[110] *prayôgêna*, II 256 **39**, 275 **40**, *bṛiṁhana*, II 643 **58**, *mûshikânâṁ*, II 239 **38**. On the other hand, *ṇ* for *n*, in *kushṭhâṇi*, II 53 **29** 86 **31** 249 **39**, but normal *kushṭhâni*, in II 141 **33** and III 49 **183**.—(*b*) *n* for *ṁ*, in *arśânsi*, (for *arśâṁsi*), II 185 **36**; and similarly *ṅ* for *ṁ*, in *viṅśati*, II 232 **38**, *vṛiṅhaṇa*, II 176 **35**, 752 **60**, *saṅharêt*, II 186 **36**.—(*c*) *b* for *v*, when second or third in a conjunct, as once in *pûrvba* for (*pûrvva*), II 200 **36**, and *yathôktâmbâ* (for *yathôktâṁ vâ*), II 583 **55**. Otherwise always regularly *rvv*; see the Index, *s. v.*, *pûrvva*, *mûrvva*, *sarvva*, etc.—(*d*) *s* for *ś*, in *samaṁ* (for *śamaṁ*), III 56 **184**, and *srôtô* (for *śrôtô*), II 1076 **74**, both examples being doubtful. On the other hand, we find *sh* for *s*, in *sadyashkaṁ* (for *sadyaskaṁ*), II 576, 579 **54**.

(3) *Prefixion of a vowel*: *a* in *alatâ* (for *latâ*), I 94 **7**, and *amṛiṇâla* (for *mṛiṇâla*), II 346 **43**. These are the only two cases of such prefixion: the two words, which are of frequent occurrence, are, at all other times, spelled normally *latâ* and *mṛiṇâla*.

(4) *Augmentation of a conjunct*: *b* is invariably inserted in the conjunct *ml*; thus we have *ambla* (for *amla*), I 121, 122 **9** II 14 **12** 726 **59**, *amblavêtasa*, II 64, 66 **29** 75, 80 **30** 219 **37**, *amblâtaka*, II 106 **31**, *âmbla*, I 26 **3** II 93 **31** 302 **41** 441 **48** 577 **64**, *âmblika*, II 79 **30**. Occasionally, *m* is turned into anusvâra, as in *aṁbla*, II 790 **62**, *aṁblavêtasa*, I 62 **5** II 14 **26** 29 **27**, *âṁbla*, I 15 **2**.

(5) *Reduction of a conjunct*: for the sake of the metre (*ślôka*) *nn* is reduced to *n* in *samâpanâḥ* (for *samâpannâḥ*), in II 498 **51**. This is the single example of such a change.

(6) *Dissolution of a conjunct*: the only two examples *ambilavêtasa* (*for amblavêtasa*) and *hirivêra* (for *hrîvêra*) have already been quoted as prâkriticisms; see *ante.*, p. lxvi.

(7) *Shortening of a syllable*, always for the sake of the metre: *apasmâriṇaṁ* (for *apasmâriṇâṁ*), II 378 **45**; *gôdhumaiḥ* (for *gôdhûmaiḥ*), II 405 **46**; *maṇḍûkaparṇi* (for *maṇḍûkaparṇî*), I 52 **5**; *mûlabhayâ* (for *mûlâbhayâ*), II 799 **62**; *mṛittika* (*mṛittikâ*), II 1063 **74**; *varshabhûḥ* (*for varshâbhûḥ*), II 345 **43**; *shaḍi* (*for shaḍî*), II 40 **28**; *samupakkramêt* (*for samupakkrâmêt*), II 1067 **74**; *hitasêvi* (*hitasêvî*) II 726 **58**. Also *âdhatti* and *nigṛihṇati*, see pp. lxii under Verbal Inflection.

(8) *Lengthening of a syllable*, always for the sake of the metre : *asthika* (for *asthika*), II 798 **62**; often in compounds, as *ûrû* (for *ûru*) with *daurbalya*, II 388 **45**, or with *skhaṁbha*, II 316 **42** 334 **43**; 349, 357 **44**; *ṛitû* (for *ṛitu*) with *sthitam*, III 21 **182**; *satâpushpâṁ* (for *śatapushpâṁ*), II 346 **43**; and in genitives plural like *pittînâṁ* (for *pittinâṁ*) etc., see under Nominal Inflection, p. lxxi.

(9) Rare letters or spellings: (*a*) the *upadhmanîya* occurs in *chaturaḥ pippalyaḥ*, II 183 **36**, and *ataḥ paraṁ*, III 41 **183**. On the other hand, the *jihvâmûlîya* is found only in the second portion of the Bower Manuscript, in *duhkham*, V 3 **203** and *kahkhôrda*, VI 1 **223**.—(*b*) The long vowel *ṝi* occurs three times, in *nṛîṇâm*, II 108 **32** 636 **57**, and *kṛîchchhrâṇi* (for *kṛichchhrâṇi*), II 644 **58**.—(*c*) The guttural nasal *ṅ*, occurs once, in *samyaṅ-namayêta*, II 916 **68**.—(*d*) Assimilated *śś* occurs in *manaśśilâ*, III 6 **181**; only once; otherwise always *manaḥśilâ*, I 97 7 II 848, 850 **65** III 55 **184**, *et passim* (see Index). See M. Ved. Gr., §78*e*, p. 71.

[110] In Sanskrit (Pâṇini VIII 4,36) *ṇ* occurs only when *ś* is changed to *sh*, as in *pranashṭuṁ*, *pranashṭa*.

II.—EUPHONIC COMBINATION (*Sandhi*).

(1) *Hiatus* occurs exceptionally, at a caesura or at the end of a *pâda*; thus, *gadgada ûrû*, II 349 **44** (at the caesura in an *âryâ* verse); *yavâgû udaśvi*, II 800 **62** (at the end of the first *pâda* of an *Indravajrâ*); *vâ âshâḍhê*, II 974 **71** and *nâma Âtrêya*, III 36 **183** (at the end of the third *pâda* of a *ślôka*); once otherwise, in *nihaṁti arśâṁsi*, III 7 **181** (between the sixth and seventh feet of an *âryâ*). This conforms to Vedic usage; see M Ved. Gr. §§ 67, 71 pp. 61, 65.

(2) *Double sandhi* is found occasionally: (*a*) between words, in *guḍikâtha* (for *guḍikâ atha* from *guḍikâḥ atha*), II 78 **30**; *tatôddharêt* (for *tata uddharêt* from *tataḥ uddharêt*), II 369 **44**; *mahâtmanêti* (for *mahâtmana iti* from *mahâtmanê iti*), II 132 **33**; (*b*) within compounds, in *urôdghâtêshu* (for *ura-udghâtêshu* from *uras-udghâtêshu*), II 1099 **75**. An intervening final consonant may even be dropped; thus, *m* in *aśvibhyânumatô* (for *aśvibhyâ anumatô*, from *aśvibhyâm anumatô*), II 425 **47**; and *r* in *aśvinônumataṁ* (for *aśvinô anumataṁ* from *aśvinôr anumataṁ*, normal for *aśvinôḥ anumataṁ*), II 253 **39**. Both are met with in Vedic usage, see M, Ved. Gr. § 3 *a*, *b*, p. 64.

(3) *Doubling of consonants*: *k*, in the ligature *kr*, is doubled when it begins a word either in a sentence or in a compound, and is preceded by any vowel, either short or long. Thus we have (*a*) in a sentence, *cha kkrimi*, II 1107 **76**, *hanti kkrimîn*, II 791 **62**; *tu kkramât*, II 767 **60**; *mûlâ kkriyâḥ*, I 51 **5**; *jvarê kkriyâ*, II 617 **56**; or (*b*) in a compound, *âdi-kkriyâ*, I 118 **9**; *gala-kkrîḍi*, I 23 **3**; *pailya-kkrimi*, II 857 **65**; *yathâ-kkramaṁ*, II 735 **59**; *rasa-kkriyâ*, II 885 **67**; *śata-kkratôḥ*, II 35 **28**; *sa-kkrimin*, II 203 **37**. There are, however, a few exceptions, *graha-krimi*, I 41 **4**; *yathâ-kramaṁ*, II 963 **71**; *rasa-kriyâ*, II 852 **65**. After a consonant the doubling does not take place, *chêt kramaḥ*, II 490 **51**; nor after the anusvâra, *agniṁ krimîn*, II 52 **29**; *kâmalâṁ krimiṁ*, II 142 **33**; *mûlaṁ krôñchâdana*, II 292 **41**; nor after the visarga, *tataḥ kramêṇa*, II 726 **58**, except once in *vividhâḥ kkriyâḥ*, II 1024 **72**. In the middle of a word *k* is doubled invariably, as in *chakkra*, *takkra*, *śakkra*, see the Index. See M, Ved., § 30 p. 21. W. Skr. Gr. § 229, p. 72.

(4) *Elision of â after ê or ô*. Thus in *jalâḍhakê 'tmaguptâyâḥ* (for *jalâḍhaka âtmaguptâyâḥ*), II 825 **64**; and *kuḍavô 'malakâ-rasât* (for *kuḍava âmalakârasât*), II 252 **39**; in both cases to suit the metre.

III.—NOMINAL INFLECTION.

(1) *Nominative singular feminine* in *îḥ* for *î*, only once in *tanmayîḥ* (for *tanmayî*), I 19 **2**; in all other cases normally *î* as in *nârî*, *harîtakî*, etc. (see Index); also in Vedic, see W. Skr. Gr., § 356, p. 115. On the other hand, in *û* for *ûḥ*, nearly always, in *yavâgû*, as in *yavâgv-iyaṁ* (for *yavâgû iyaṁ*), II 787 **62**; altogether eleven times (see Index), but twice *yavâgûḥ*, as in *yavâgûr=yamaka*, II 800 **62**, and *yavâgûr-llaghu*, II 1030 **72**; also normal in *varshâbhûḥ*, II 345 **43**.

(2) *Accusative singular masculine*, in *im* for *inam*, only twice, to suit the metre (*ślôka*) in *arôchakim* (for *arôchakinam*), II 26 **27**; and *pratyarthim* (for *pratyarthinam*), IV 32 **194**. Otherwise normal, e. g., *śûlinam*, II 26 **27**.—Again, singular feminine in *yam* for *im*, in *vartyam* (for *vartim*), II 887 **67**; the reading *vartyaṁbhasâ* is blundered for *vartyaṁ aṁbhasâ*.—Again, plural feminine, in *yas* for *îs*, as in *aṁśumatyaḥ* (for *aṁśumatîḥ*), II 301 **41**; *gurvyaḥ* (for *gurvîḥ*), II 232 **38**; *parṇyaḥ* (for *parṇîḥ*), II 188 **36**; *pippalyaḥ* (for *pippalîḥ*), II 134 **33** 188 **36** 314 **42** 386 **45** 505 **51** 745 **59** 930 **69** 1055 **73** *harîtakyaḥ* (for *harîtakîḥ*), II 245 **39** 484 **50**; altogether thirteen times, but the normal ending *îs* occurs twice, *gajapippalîḥ*,

II 314 **42** and *harîtakîḥ*, II 226 **38.** In the Vedas *îs* is nowhere met with, see W. Skr. Gr. § § 359, 363, pp. 316, 318, and M. Ved. Gr. § 378, p. 273.—Also, accusative *âpas* (for *apas*), II 804 **63**; as often in Vedic, see W. Skr. Gr. § 393, p. 133.

(3) *Instrumental singular neuter*, once *dadhinâ* (for *dadhnâ*), II 428 **47**, to suit the metre (*slôka*) ; otherwise always normal *dadhnâ*, II 149, 150 **34** 785, 801 **62** 853 **65** 1053 **73.** Also, feminine, *râsnâyâ* and *balâyâ* (for *râsnayâ* and *balayâ*), II 177 **35**, shown to be instrumentals by the accompanying undoubted instrumentals *mûlêna* and *madhukêna* ; otherwise they might be taken to be genitive substitutes. They may, but need not, be due to the metre (*slôka*) ; for we have an undoubted example in prose in *vidyârâjâyâ*, VI 2 **222** and (with the normal qualifying *anayâ*), VII 6 **237** ; but normal *vidyârâjayâ*, VII 3 **237.** In all other cases, the instrumental is normal; e.g., *śarkkarayâ* I 81 **6** 107 **8** II 504 **51** 1087 **75**, *vachayâ*, II 80 **30**, etc. (see Index).

(4) *Genitive singular feminine*, *aṅganayâ* (for *aṅganâyâ*), I 84 **7**; and *sûkshmailayâ* (for *sûkshmailâyâ*), II 115 **32**; or also, *guḍikâya* (for *guḍikâyâ*), II 1035 **72**, and *madhurasâya* (for *madhurasâyâ*), II 67 **29.** In all other cases, normal, e.g., *sûkshmêlâyâḥ*, II 61 **29**; *guḍikâyâḥ*, II 1022 **72**; *chiḍâyâḥ*, II 856 **65**[111].—Again, plural masculine, *gṛidhrasînâm* (for *gṛidhrasinâm*), II 377 **45**; *pittînâm* (for *pittinâm*), II 164 **34** 418, 423 **49**; *pramêhînâm* (for *pramêhinâm*), II 230, 243 **38** 971 **71**, *rôgiṇâm* (for *rôgiṇâm*), II 254 **39.** In all other cases, normal, e. g., *apasmâriṇâm*, II 378 **45**, *udariṇâm*, II 971 **71**, *kâsinâm*, II 164 **34**, *kshîriṇâm*, I 89 **7**, II 291 **41**, *dêhinâm*, III 33 **183** *prâṇinâm*, I 46 **5**, *mêhinâm*, II 606 **56**, *śarîriṇâm*, II 244 **38**, *śôshiṇâm*, II 940 **69**, etc., the proportion of abnormal to normal cases being 8: 14. Similarly, once, *parvâṇâm* (for *parvaṇâm*), II 335 **43.**—Also plur. masc., only once, *varadâm* (for *varadânâm*,) II 774 **61**; elsewhere normal, as *narâṇâm*, I 92 **7** II 37 **28**, etc. All the preceding abnormalities occur in verse composition, and seem to be due to the exigencies of the metre; but there is one example in prose, *sarvavâdînâm* (for °*vâdinâm*), IV 3 **192.**

(5) *Locative singular neuter* : once the syncopated form *nâmni*, II 918 **69**, and optionally *ahni*, I 20 **2** II 908 **68**, by the side of *ahani*, I 63 **5** II 723 **58** 784 **61**; but elsewhere the full form, as *mûrdhani*, I 11 **2** II 79 **35**, *karmaṇi*, II 962 **71**, etc.

IV.—VERBAL INFLECTION.

In the main the abnormalities in verbal inflection refer to changes with respect to "class" and "voice." Most of them have the support of Vedic and Epic usage.

(1) *Change of "class"* : Thus I. class for II., *rôdatê* (for *rôditi*), II 1041 **73**, but normal II. class, *rudyât*, I 99 **8**; both classes also in Vedic and Epic [112].—Again, VI. class for IInd, parasm., *lihêt* (for *lihyât*), II 475 **50** 590, 594, 596 **55** 608 **56** 1081, 1088 **75**, or âtm., *lihêta* (for *lihîta*), III 21 **182**; but almost equally frequent (7: 8) is the normal *lihyât*, I 128 **9** II 21 **27** 433, 439, 446 **48** 450 **49** 779 **61**, and the VI. class is also epic. Similarly VI. class for IInd, *dvishasi* (for *dvêshṭi*), IV 52 **195**; also epic.—Again, VI. class for VIIth, *pîshêt* (for *piṁshyât*), II 850 **65** 896 **67**; in this case, as well as in the compound *prapîsh*, there is the abnormal lengthening of the root vowel, which, however, is restricted to the tenses; for the participles are *pishṭvâ*, II 41 **28**, etc., or *pishya*, II 887 **67** and *prapishya*, II 82 **30**, *pishṭa*, I 35 **4** II 430 **48**, etc. (see Index). The same lengthening occurs when the root is inflected normally in the Xth class or causal, *pîshayêt*, II 404 **46** 550 **53** 871 **66** 889 **67**, and *prapîshayêt*, II 97 **31** 211 **37** 577 **54.** The lengthened root vowel occurs once also in the

[111] It would seem that the abnormal forms occur only when the normal visarga drops off by reason of sandhi.

[112] In the Rigveda the II. class does not occur; see M. Ved. Gr., § 450*a*. footnote 8, p. 395.

Atharvavêda, *apishan* (see M. Ved. Gr., § 436, footnote 2, p. 330).—Again, VI. class for IXth, *prâśêt*, II 828 **64**; only once, to suit the metre, (*ślôka*), but usually (3: 1) normal, *prâśnîyât*, II 778 **61** 824 **64** III 59 **184**. So also, *nigrihṇati* (for *nigrihṇâti*), II 342 **43** 1083 **75**, in both instances to suit the metre (*ślôka*); for analogous cases in the Vedas, see M. Ved. Gr., § 475*a* p. 349.—Again, VI. class for VIIth, participle present, *prayuṁjamâna*, I 54 **5**, an anomalous form for *prayujamâna*, which would not have suited the metre (*âryâ*): only once; elsewhere normal, *prayuṁjâna*, II 95 **31** 312 **42** 783 **61** (for another anomaly, *prayuṁjît* see below 2*a*).

(2) *Change of "voice;"* (*a*) *parasmaipada* for *âtmanêpada*; *âdhatti*, II 147 **34**, an anomalous confusion of the two forms *âdhattê* (âtm.) and *âdadhâti* (par.), to suit the metre (*âryâ*) which requires a short syllable. Again, *bhâshati* (for *bhâshatê*), II 1099 **75**, required by the metre (*ślôka*); but normal *abhâshata*, II 969 **71**; the parasm. is epic.—Again, *labhati* (for *labhatê*), II 727 **59**, and *labhêt* (for *labhêta*), II 363 **44**, in both instances due to the metre (*ślôka*), elsewhere normal (8: 2), *labhatê*, II 513 **52**, and *labhêta*, II, 200 **36**, etc. (see Index); in Parts IV and V, occasionally irrespective of metre, *lapsyasi*, IV 9 **193**, and *labhishyasi*, V 12 **204**; examples also in epic. Again, *vardhati*, I 60 **5**, once, irrespective of metre; elsewhere normal *varddhatê*, I 46 **5** II 757 **60**, and *varddhantê*, II 618 **56**; but parasm. also vedic and epic.—Again, *prayuṁjît* (for *prayuṁjîta*), II 865 **66**; a quite anomalous form, apparently, suggested by the normal âtmanêpada form *prayuṁjîta*, which occurs in I 36 **4** 52 **5** II 198 **36** 761 **60**; the normal parasmaipada form *prayuṁjyât* occurs in II 269 **40**.—Again, passive, *lakshyanti* (for *lakshyantê*), II 104? **73**, to suit the metre (*ślôka*).

(*b*) *Âtmanêpada* for *parasmaipada*; *gachchhêta* (for *gachchhêt*), II 830 **64** 840, 841 **65**; only in the optative, and to suit the metre (*ślôka*); elsewhere normal, *gachchhanti*, II 827, 828, 833 **64**; âtmanêpada also epic.—Again, *chikitsatê* (for *chikitsati*), II 949 **70**; only once, to suit the metre (*upêndravajrâ*); elsewhere normal, II 273 **40** 309 **42** 928 **69**; but âtmanêpada also epic.—Again, *jîvêta*, II 51 **28**; only once; elsewhere normal, *jîvêt*, I 42 **4** 50 **5** II 744 **59** 932 **69**; âtmanêpada also epic.—Again, *pivatê* (for *pibati*), II 248, 253, **39** and *pivêta* (for *pibêt*), II 82 **30** 327 **42** 593 **55** 846 **65** 1116 **76**, to suit the metre. but as a rule (55: 5) normal; e. g., *pivêt*, I 25, 26, 27, **3** II 24 **27** III 17 **182**, etc. (see Index), *prapivêt*, I 20 **2** 21, 23 **3**; âtmanêpada also vedic and epic.—Again, *śamayatê* (for *śamayati*), II 274 **40**, due to the metre (*ślôka*).

(*c*) *Conjunctive participles*: *grihya*, II 401 **46** 525 **52** 646 **58** IV 12 **193**; always, for the normal *grihîtvâ*, which never occurs; also vedic, but apparently only in composition with nouns, as *karṇa-grihya*, see M. Ved. Gr., § 591*a*, p. 13.—Again, *pishya*, II 887 **67**; only once; elsewhere normal, *pishṭvâ*, II 41 **28**, etc. (see Index); also epic.—Again, *srâvya* (for *srâvitvâ*), II 371 **44**.—Again, *samânayitvâ*, II 1114 **76**; but normal, *samânîya*, II 214 **37**; similarly once in vedic, *pratyarpayitvâ*, M. Ved. Gr., § 59 *b*, p. 412.

V.—STEM FORMATION.

(1) Stems ending in *as*, or *is*, or *us* may have alternative endings in *a*, or *i*, or *u*, as a rule with change of gender from neuter to masculine. Thus (*a*) with *as* neuter and *a* masculine; *arśas*, accusative plural, *arśâṁsi*, II 52 **29** III 7 **181**, etc., twelve times (see Index); and *arśa*, accusative plural, *arśân*, II 1 7 **31**, only once; similarly in composition, *arśas* (*arśô*), II 136 **33**, etc., eleven times (see Index), and *arśa*, II 644 **58**, only once.—Again, *tamas*, accusative singular, *tamas* (*tamô*), II 84 **30** 941 **69**; and *tama*, only in compounds, *tama-śvâsa*, II 479 **50**, *tamôpasrishṭa*, II 424 **47**.—Again, *payas*, accusative plural, *payâṁsi*, II 599 **55**, etc. (numerously, see Index), or in composition, *payas* (*payô*), I 59 **5** II 814 **63** III 68 **184**, anomalously *payasôdana*, II 374 **45** 722 **58**; and *paya*, only in the compound

payôdana, II 724 **58**.—Again, *manas*, genitive plural, *manasâm*, I 65 **6**; in composition, *manas* (*manô*), I 97 **7** II 3 **25** (numerously, see Index); and *mana*, only in the compound *mana-dushṭakarî*, V 15 **205**.—Again, *yaśas*, in composition, *yaśôrthin*, II 412 **47**, and *yaśa*, in the compound *yaśamitra*, VI 6 **225** VII 3 **237**.—Again, *rajas* (*rajô*), I 114 **8**, nominative plural *rajâṁsi*, II 343 **43**; and *raja*, nominative singular masculine *rajas tâmrajaḥ*, II 887 **67**, or in the compound, *raja-nigraha*, II 424 **47**.—Again, *vakshas*, no examples; and *vaksha*, in the compound, *vaksha-stana*, I 18 **2**.—Again, *śirshas*, only in the compound, *śirshô-bhitâpita*, II 272 **40**; and *śirsha*, often in composition, *śirsha-rôga*, II 179 **35**, etc. (see Index).—Again, *sadyas* (*sadyô*), I 100, 103, **8** II 54 **29**; and *sadya*, only in composition, *sady-ôtthita*, II 877 **66**, *sady-ôtpatita*, II 858 **66**.—Again, *srôtas* (*srôtô*), only in the compound *srôtô-ñjana*, II 883 **67**; and *srôta*, only in the compound *srôta-ja*, II 472 **50**.

(*b*) With *is* neuter, and *i* masculine: *śuchis* (*śuchir*, for Sanskrit *śôchis*), only in composition, I 20 **2** II 105 **31** 753 **60**; and *śuchi* (only adjectival), II 269 **40**, etc. (see Index).

(*c*) With *us* neuter and *u* masculine: *chakshus* (*chakshur*), nominative singular, *chakshur*, II 309 **42**; and *chakshu*, though anomalously neuter, nominative singular, V 1 **203**.

(2) Miscellaneous new stems: *hantâra* (for *hantṛi*), nominative sigular neuter, *hantâram*, II 365 **44**; if the form be taken as a normal, it would be the accusative singular masculine of *hantṛi* with an anomalous change of case as well as of gender.—Again, feminine *ghnâ* (for *ghnî*), in *mukha-rôga-ghnâ*, II 42 **28**; only once; elsewhere normal *ghnî*, as in *kshuta-ghnî*, II 801 **63**. Similarly, *chaturthâ*, IV 22, 26 **194**; but normal *chaturthî*, IV 32 **194**.—Again, *gupta*, VI 2 **222**, but normal *gupti*, VII 6 **237**.—Again, cardinals in the place of ordinals, as *chatur*, *ashṭa*, *daśa*, for *chaturtha*, *ashṭama*, *daśama*, regularly in composition with *bhâga*, as in *chatur-bhâga*, fourth part, I 105 **8**, *ashṭa-bhâga*, eighth part, II 153 **34**, and with *bhâgâvaśishṭa*, etc., I 126 **9** II 178 **35** etc. (see Index).

VI.—GENDER.

(1) *Exchange of masculine and neuter.* (*a*) Neuter for normal masculine: nominative singular, *adhyâyam*, II 4 **26**; only once; elsewhere normal, *adhyâyaḥ*, II 107 **32** 260 **39**, and plural, *adhyâyâḥ*, II 9 **26**.—Again, accusative dual, *karañjê*, II 345 **43**, but normal *karañjau*, II 1100 **75**.—Again, nom. sing., *kalpam*, II 321 **42**; only once; elsewhere normal, acc. plur. *kalpân*, I 30 **3**, nom. dual, *kalpau*, I 29 **3** (see Index).—Again, nom. plur. neuter *gṛihâṇi* (for masc. *gṛihâḥ*), II 1117 **76**.—Again, acc. dual neuter, *grahê* (for masculine *grahau*), II 332 **43**.—Again, nom. sing., *prayôgam*, II 762 **60**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *prayôgaḥ*, II 86 **31** 750, 751, **60**, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur. *pravâḍâni*, II 1106 **76**, only once; elsewhere normal, nom. plur. *pravâlâḥ*, II 1106 **76**, acc. plur., *pravâḍân*, II 23 **27**; 1086 **75**.—Again, acc. sing., *prastam* (*êtad*), II 916 **68**; only once; elsewhere normal; nom. sing., *prasthaḥ*, II 109 **32**, nom. plur., *prasthâḥ*, II 390 **45**, nom. dual, *prasthau*, II 777 **61**, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *bhagandarâṇi* (for *bhagandarân*), III 9 **181**; once also feminine, see below.—Again, nom. plur., *rasâni*, II 814 **63**; only once; elsewhere normal, *rasâḥ*, II 173 **35** 601 **56**, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. sing., *viḍâlakam*, II 861 **66**; only once; but twice normal, *viḍâlakaḥ*, I 109, 111 **8**. Also in Part V, nom. sing., *gandham* (for *gandhaḥ*), V 2 **203**, and *chakshu* (for *chakshuḥ*), V 1 **203**.

(b) Masculine for normal neuter: acc. plur., *âmalakân*, II 226 **38** 291 **41**; only twice; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *âmalakam*, II 223 **37**, nom. plur., *amalakâni*, II 129 **33**, etc, (see Index).—Again, nom. sing., *âśchyôtanaḥ*, I 83 **6**; only once; elsewhere normal, *âśchyôtanam*, I 70, 73 **6** II 867, 870 **66**, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *aushadhân*, II 192 **36**; only once; elsewhere normal, *aushadhâni*, II 369 **44** 621 **57**.—Again, acc. plur., *kushṭhân*, II 238

38 493 **51** 942 **70**; but usually normal, *kushṭhâni*, II 53 29 III 61 **184**, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *chûrṇṇâḥ*, II 57 29; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *chûrṇṇam*, II 22 **27**, nom. plur., *chûrṇṇâni*, II 471 **50**, etc. (see Index).—Again, acc. plur., *nâgarân*, III 66 **184**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *nâgaram*, II 63 **29**, etc. (see Index). Again nom. sing., *nâgarakaḥ*, II 104 **31**; but normal, *nâgarakam*, II 1119 **76**.—Again, nom. plur., *palâḥ*, II 193 **36** 588 **55**, acc. plur., *palân*, II 901 **68**; but usually normal, nom. sing., *palam*, II 75 **30**, nom. plur., *palâni*, II 60 **29** III 57 **184**, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur. *mûlâḥ*, III 63 **184**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *mûlam*, I 89 **7** II 266 **40**, nom. plur., *mûlâni*, I 72 **6** II 628 **57** III 37 **183**, etc. (see Index).—Again, nom. plur., *śukrâḥ* (for *śukrâṇi*), II 350 **44**; no examples for the normal neuter.—In the second portion of the Bower Manuscript there occur: nom. sing., *padaḥ*, V 1 **204**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *padam*, V 5 **204** 55 **207**, nom. dual., *padê*, V 58 **207**, and acc. plur., *mitrâṁ* (for *mitrân*), IV 52 **195** V 10 **204**; elsewhere, apparently normal, nom. sing., *mitram*, V 33 **206**.—For other examples where the change of gender is due to change in the stem (e.g., acc. plur., *arśân* for *arśâṁsi*), see *ante*, section V, p. lxxii.

(2) *Exchange of masculine and feminine*: (*a*) feminine for normal, masculine, acc. sing. *bhagandalâm*, II 53 **29**; only once; elsewhere, apparently masculine, loc. sing., *bhagandarê* II 221 **37** III 64 **184**, etc. (see Index); but once also neuter, see *ante*, 1*a*, p. lxxiii.

(*b*) Masculine for normal feminine, acc. plur., *devatân* (for *dêvatâḥ*), II 721 **58**. In the second portion of the Bower Manuscript, *dêvata* is always masculine, acc. sing., *dêvatam*, IV 5 **192**; nom. plur., *dêvataḥ*, IV 21 **194** 48 **195**;[113] instr. plur., *dêvataiḥ*, IV 30 **194**, abl. plur., *dêvatêbhyaḥ*. IV 22 **194**.—Again, nom. dual, *mêdau*, II 297 **41**; only once; elsewhere normal, acc. sing., *mêdâm*, II 128 **33**, acc. dual, *mêdê*, II 112 **32**, etc. (see Index).—Again, loc. sing., *vicharchikê*, II 1034 **72**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *vicharchikâ*, III 49 **183**; acc. sing, *vicharchikâm*, II 342 **43** III 8 **181**.—Again, loc. sing., *spṛihê*, IV 14 **193**; but normal, nom. sing., *spṛihâ*, IV 30 **194**.

VII.—SYNTAX.

(3) *Exchange of feminine and neuter*? nom. sing., *marichâ*, II 851 **65**; only once; elsewhere normal, nom. sing., *maricham*, II 11 **26** III **66** **184**, nom. plur., *marichâni*, II 863 **66** III 54 **184**.

(1) *Exchange or mixture of "cases"*: (*a*) nominative for accusative in the object of a sentence; as in II 237 **38** *vṛiddhayaḥ* (for *vṛiddhîḥ*) *jayêt*; II 253 **39** *vindavaḥ* (for *vindûn*) *pibatê*; II 293 **41** *priyaṁgavaḥ* (for *priyaṁgûḥ* or *priyaṁgûn*) *grâhayêt*. As a rule, such nominatives are found joined with accusatives, as in II 248 **39** *yâvantaḥ* (for *yâvataḥ*) *pibatê vindûn*; and II 782 **61** *tilân bhakshayîta saṁmiśrâḥ* (for *saṁmiśrân*). Or they are mixed with accusatives, as in II 102 **31** *shaḍî* (nom.) . . . *guḍaṁ* (acc.) *bharjitvâ*; II 121 **32** *viḍaṁgâ* (nom.) . . . . *dantiṁ* (acc.) *pachêt*; II 128 **33** *vîrâ* (nom.) . . . . *mêdâñ=cha* (acc.) *saṁharêt*; II 134-5 **33** *pippalyas=trayamâṇâñ=cha* (acc.) *mustâ* (nom.) *kalkikṛitvâ*; II 201-2 **36** *harîtakiṁ* (acc.) *vachâṁ* (acc.) . . . . *yavakshârô* (nom.) *viḍaṁgâ* (nom.) *vipâchayêt*; II 236 **38** *pippalî* (nom.) . . . . *chavyañ=cha* (acc.) *âvapêt*; II 252 **39** *palaṁ ch=aikaṁ* (acc.) *kuḍavô* (nom.) *pachêt*; II 320 **42** *râsnâ* (nom.) *balâśvagandhâṁ* (acc.) *dadyât*; II 326 **42** *râsnâṁ* (acc.) *pâṭhâ* (nom.) *cha guḍañ=cha* (acc.) *pishṭvâ*; II 802 **63** *siddhâṁ* (acc.) *pivêt pittaharâ yavâgû* (nom.); II 816-7 **64** *âmalakarasa-prasthaḥ* (nom.) . . . . *ghṛita-prasthañ=cha* (acc.) *sâdhayêt*. The following are some examples from the second portion of the Bower Manuscript: IV 9 **193** *ayaṁ sapuṇyô labhasê*; IV 11 **193** *prâpsasê nayam uttamam*; IV 28 **194** *prâpsasê sô'rthaḥ*; IV 44 **195**

113 Here the reading *sumukhas-tava dêvatâ; should be sumukhâs=tava dêvatâḥ;* thus making the gender of *dêvata* masculine throughout.

râja-lambhas=tu lapsyasê; V 12 **204** *vimôkshaś=cha bhûti kâmô labhishyasi*; VI 5-6 **222** *Svâtir* (nom. for *Svâtim*) *bhikshum* (acc.)...*drishṭvâ*.

(*b*) Accusative for nominative, not uncommon in the subject of a sentence; thus a series of several accusatives in II 78 **30** *syâd rasaṁ sa-suktaṁ ambilavêtasaṁ viḍaṁ yavanîṁ*; II 80 **30** *syâch=chitrakaṁ yutâm aśvagandhâm*; II 169 **35** *ikshu-mulâni kâṇḍêkshûn ikshu-vâlikâm* etc.; II 204 **37** *chitrakaṁ triphalâṁ vṛihatîṁ kaṇṭakârikâm*, etc. Sometimes, however, the word *syât* is a mere pleonastic adverb of permission ("may be"), and the series of accusatives depend on *dadyât*, or a similar transitive verb, as in II 182-3 **35** *syât tryûshaṇaṁ*...*syâd atha dêvadâru*... *syâd âtmaguptâm atha*...*mêdâñ=cha dadyâd=dhi śatâvarîñ=cha*. Sometimes nominatives and accusatives are mixed, as in II 35 **28** *kaṭutrikaṁ* (nom.) *tiktakarôhiṇîṁ* (acc.) *yavaṁ* (acc.) *chirâtatiktô* (nom.) *'tha śatakkratôr=yavâḥ* (nom.) *samâḥ syur=êtê*; II 40 **28** *râsnâṁ* (acc.) *bhadramustâṁ* (acc.) *agâradhûmaṁ* (acc.) *kaṭukatrikaṁ* (nom.) *ksharô* (nom.) *shaḍi* (nom.) *chêt samâṁsâ* (nom.) *bhâgâḥ* (nom.) *samâś=chûrṇṇa-kṛitâḥ* (nom.); II 291 **41** *âmalakân* (acc.) *kaiêrukâḥ* (nom.) *syuḥ*.

(*c*) Accusative for dative: once in II 207 **37** *viriktaṁ* (acc., for *viriktâya*) *tu yavâguṁ*... *bhôjanaṁ dâpayêt*; probably an instance of double accusative.

(*b*) Ablative for instrumental, regularly with *prayôgât* (for *prayôgêna*), in II 198, 200 **36**, 308, 310 **42** 462 **49** 830 **64**.

(*e*) Genitive for nominative: only once in II 1116 **76** *pivêta bâlasya* (for *bâlaḥ*); but the construction of the whole verse is abnormal, and probably corrupt.

(*f*) Genitive for accusative: in II 295 **41** *kashâya-madhurâṇâṁ* (for *madhurâṇi*) *śîtâny-apî cha*...*vipâchayêt*; II 300 **41** *muktâ-vidruma-śaṁkhânâṁ* (for *-saṁkhâḥ*) *-chandrakâṁt-êndranîlayôḥ* (for *êndranîlau*)...*imân pachêt*; II 928 **69** *daridrâṇâṁ* (for *daridrân*) *chikitsati*, and II 949 **70** *narâṇâṁ* (for *narân*) *chikitsatê*.

(*g*) Genitive for instrumental, in II 253 **39** *Aśvinô 'numataṁ* (for *Aśvibhyâm*); so also *matam=Aśvinôḥ* in II 575 and 579 **54**.—Again, in II 1022 **72** *guḍikâyâḥ* (for *guḍikayâ*) *pralêpayêt*; II 1077 **74** *gandha-tailasya* (for *gandha-tailêna*) *pûrayêt*.

(*h*) Genitive for dative; in II 222 **37** *êkâṁga-rôgiṇâṁ dadyât*; II 315 **42** *hitaṁ nṛiṇâṁ*; II 324 **42** *strîṇâṁ cha dêyaṁ*; II 800 **62** *vyâpanna-tailasya hitâ*; II 1013 **72** *bâlasya dâpayêt*; II 1015, 1017, 1020, 1026, *bâlânâṁ dâpayêt*; II 1029 **72** *bâdhyamânasya dâpayêt*. But the normal dative occurs in II 1011 **71** *kumârâya pradâpayêt*, and II 1045 **73** *bâlâya dâpayêt*.

(*i*) Genitive for locative, in I 102 **8** *vidrutas=cha* (for *vidrutê*) *jantôr*...*vadanapralêpê*, possibly by false assimilation to the adjacent genitive *jantôḥ*.—Again, in II 63 **29** *arśassu hṛidrôgiṇâm hikkâ-śvâsishu* (for *hṛidrôgishu*) *hitaṁ*; II 94 **31** *vishûchikâyâ* (for *vishûchikâyâm*) *arśassu*...*prayuñjânaḥ*, though here possibly a clerical error of *â* for *ma*.—Again, in II 357-8 **44** *mûkânâm* (for *mûkêshu*)···*arditeshu*···*avabhagnêshu*···*sandhishu*; II 1081 **75** *lihêch=chhardyâ iti* (for *chhardyâm=iti*).

(*k*) Locative for instrumental, in II 1038 **73** *guḍikâyâṁ* (for *guḍikayâ*) *pralêpayêt*.

(*l*) Mixture of accusative, genitive, and locative, in II 221 **37** *vâtaślêshmâni*[114] (acc.) *pâṇḍûnâm* (gen.) *arśassu* (loc)...*dadyât*. Similarly in II 377-8 **45** *kampanañ=cha* (acc.) *gṛiddhrasînâṁ* (gen.) *tathaiva cha bhagandarê* (loc.).

(2) *Exchange of "Numbers"*: (*a*) singular for dual; not uncommon; as in II 29 **27** *tintiḍîk-âmblavêtasaṁ*, but normal *tintiḍîk-âmblavêtasê* in II 64 **29**. Similarly *unmâda-visarpaṁ*, II 341 **43**; *gaṇḍamâlâ-bhagandarê* (for *-bhagandarayôḥ*), II 249 **39**; *dhanvayavâshaka-chandanaṁ*, II 138 **33**; *niṁva-kadaṁbaṁ*, II 233 **38**; *padmak-âguru ṁ*, (for *°âgurû ṛi*), II 266

114 Conjectural for the original reading *vâta-ślêshmâti* which is erroneous. It may be intended for *ślêshmâni*, or *slêshmani*, in either case for *ślêshmâṇi* or *ślêshmaṇi*; or it may be *ślêshmârti*.

40; *pushkar-âguruṁ*, II 189 **36**; *must-ôśîraṁ*, II 137 **33**; *vachâ-hiṅguṁ*, II 399 **46**; *vilv-âgnimanthaṁ*, II 188 **36**; *vêpâth-ûnmâdaṁ*, II 333 **43**; *śvâsa-kâsaṁ*, II 341 **43**; *hikkâ-śvâsê* (for °*śvasayôḥ*), II 33 **27**. In the preceding instances, the gender is the normal neuter; but in *bal-âśvagandhâṁ*, II 320 **42**, and *yashṭîmadhuka-mañjishṭhâṁ*, II 301 **41** we have the feminine. Similarly, we find the masculine singular *nand-ôpanandô* (for *nandôpanandau*) combined with the plural *yê nâgâḥ*. But the normal dual occurs equally frequently, e.g., *chandrakânt-êndranîlayôḥ*, II 300 **41**; *jîvak-arshabhakau*, II 189 **36** 297 **41**; *pippalî-śriṁgavêrâbhyâṁ*, II 212 **37**; *bal-âtibalayôḥ*, II 266 **40**; *lâmajjaka-dhanañjayau*, II 294 **41**; *vyôsha-vatsakau*, II 56 **29**. In most of the preceding examples, moreover, the minor grammatical rule that a briefer and vowel-initial member should stand first, and that one ending in *a* should be placed last (see W. Skr. Gr., §. 1254*c*, p. 429) is not observed.

(*b*) Singular for plural; in *sapta saptâhaṁ* (for *saptâhâḥ*), II 956 **70**, and in the copulative compounds *kâmalâ-jvara-pâṇḍutvaṁ*, II 342 **43**; *madhuka-mâṁjishṭhâ-tagaraṁ*, II 266 **40**, with the normal neuter gender; but an instance with an abnormal feminine occurs in *phalgu-karjûra-mṛidvîkâm*, II 187 **36**.

(*c*) Dual for plural, only once, in *paṭôla-pichumanda-parpaṭakau* (for °*parpaṭakâḥ*, plur. masc., or °*parpaṭakam*, sing. neut)., II 137 **33**; but the normal plural is usual, as in *muktâ-vidruma-śaṁkhânâṁ*, II 300 **41**; see also II 57 **29**, *et passim*.

(*d*) Plural for dual; *vṛishaṇâḥ* (for *vṛishaṇau*), III 47 **183**; also *dadhyamblakâṁchikânâṁ* (for °*kâṁchikayoḥ*), II 313 **42**.

(3) *Absence of concord*: (*a*) with respect to "number": thus, singular verb with plural noun, in II 767 **60**, *saṁyuktâḥ*···*sêvyamânâ*···*samupanâmayet*; in this case the plurals *saṁyuktâḥ* and *sêvyamânâ* are erroneous, for the subject of the whole formula is the singular *êsha prayôgaḥ*. Again, in II 1066 **74**, *yasya visphôṭakâ gâtrê paridâhaś=cha lakshyatê* (for *lakshyantê*); but here the singular verb is due to the influence of the preceding singular noun *paridâhaḥ*.—On the other hand, plural verb with singular noun, in II 469 **49**, *kâśasya mûlaṁ madhu-saṁprayuktaṁ*... *śamayaṁti* (for *śamayati*); III 65 **184**, *viduḥ vadanti* (for *vadati*). So also, in IV 56 **196**, *idaṁ sthânaṁ dṛiśyantê* (for *dṛiśyatê*).—Again, singular verb with plurality of nouns; often with *syât*; e.g., in II 78 **30**, *syân=mâtuluṁgasya rasaṁ*···*tryûshaṇâny=ambilavêtasañ=cha*; II 80 **30**, *syâch=chitrakaṁ trikaṭukaṁ*···*kustumburûṇi*···; II 472 **50**, *lâjâḥ supishṭâ vadarâ-sthimajjâ syâd=añjanam*. In these examples the singular *syât* may be due to the attraction of the adjacent singular noun; for when the adjacent term happens to be plural, the plural *syuḥ* is used, as in II 467 **49**, *tryûshaṇaṁ triphalâ*···*râsnâ cha sarvvê tulyâḥ syuḥ*. But more probably the term *syât* is used adverbially; and it is obviously so used, e.g., in II 182-3 **35** and II 241 **38**, where it occurs with a series of nouns in the accusative case governed by the transitive verb *dadyât*.

(*b*) With respect to gender: masculine with feminine, once, in II 275 **40**, *bandhyâ labhatê garbhaṁ samâcharan*, for *samâcharantî* which would not suit the metre (*ślôka*). So also once, in IV 45 **195**, *paribhrashṭâ* (for *paribhrashṭaḥ*) *samagraḥ*.—Again, masculine with neuter; several times; in II 98 **31**, *rôga-jâtâni tân* (for *tâni*) *śriṇu*; II 185 **36**, *arśâṁsi kshubdhân* (for *kshubdhâni*) *nihanti*; II 471 **50**, *chûrṇṇâni madhudvitîyâ vinihaṁti* (though in this case there is probably a clerical error for °*dvitîyâni nihaṁti*); II 637 **57**, *annam=iva kâla-bhôjyaḥ* (for °*bhôjyam*); II 725 **58**, *rasaḥ bhôjyaṁ* (for *bhôjyaḥ*); II 735 **59**, *niyamaś=cha yathâ-drishṭaṁ* (for *yathâ-drishṭaḥ*); II 1111 **76**, *śarkkarâ-madhu-saṁyuktas=*(for *saṁyuktaṁ*) *trishṇâ-śamanam=uttamam*. So also in V 61 **207**, *kâlas=tê samupasthitam* (for *samupasthitaḥ*).

(4) *Peculiar Constructions*: (*a*) Cases absolute; the nominative; e.g, in II 148-9 **34**, *viḍaṁgâ chitrakô daṁtî·····ghṛita-prasthaṁ pachêd=êbhiḥ*, lit. "baberang, plumbago-root, dantî·····with these boil a prastha of ghee;" or II 603 **56**, *surâhvadâru triphalâ sa-mustâ kashâyam=utkvâthya pivêt*; i.e., lit. "deodar, three myrobalans with musta; having decocted them, drink (it)."[115]—Similarly we have the accusative absolute, e.g., in II 314–5 **42**. *râsnâṁ balâṁ...prativishâṁ garbhên-ânêna pâchayêt*. *i.e.*, lit. "râsnâ, balâ...prativishâ; with a paste of these let (it) be boiled."—And again, a combination of both, the nominative and accusative absolute occurs, e.g., in II 169-72 **35**, *śaramûl-êkshu-mûlâni kâṇḍêkshûn ikshuvâlikâm* (three acc)···*êshâṁ tripalikâ bhâgâḥ* (nom)···*jaladrôṇê vipaktavyam=âḍhakam avasêshayêt*, e.g., "roots of śara and of sugarcane, (pieces of) kaṇḍekshu, (and) ikshuvâlikâ; of these (drugs) quantities of three pala each; let (the whole) be boiled in a drôṇa of water till it is reduced to one âḍhaka."

(*b*) Interpolation of pleonastic particles within a compound word; thus, *atha* in II 112. **32**, *śrâvaṇy=ath=âtmaguptâṁ* (for *śrâvaṇy-âtmaguptaṁ*); and II 720 **58**, *punarvvasv=atha=pushyêṇa* (for *punarvvasu-pushyêṇa*). Similarly *êva*, in II 323 **42**, *êtadvidh=aiv=ôktam*, (for *êtadvidh-ôktam*, i.e., *êtadvidham êva uktam*); and II 310 **42**, *śrîm=êv-âbhivivarddhanam* (for *śrîm-abhivivarddhanam*, see below *d*). So also *tathaiva* in II 807 **63**, *dadhi-ghṛita-taila=tathaiva=taṇḍulânâm* (for *dadhi-ghṛita-taila-taṇḍulânâm*). And again, *cha* and *chaiva*, in II 1019, **72**, *śarkkarâ-ch-âśmarî=chaiva=mûtragrahê* (for *śarkkar-âśmarî-mûtragrahê*; or *syât* in II 802 **63**, *śarkkarâ-syât=siddhâm* (for *śarkkarâ-siddhâm*).

(*c*) Interpolation of pleonastic particles within a sentence; thus, *chêt* in II 40 **28** 490 **51** 794 **62** 807 **63**; and *syât* (used adverbially), in II 78, 80 **30** 182-3 **35** 207 **37** 229, 241 **38** 1075 **74**.

(*d*) Abnormal compounds; thus, *purâṇaṁ kshaudra-saṁyutam* (for *purâṇa-kshaudra-saṁyutaṁ*), II 464 **49**, and *bilva-kalkaṁ vipakvam* (for *bilva-kalka-vipakvam*), II 1075 **74**; though in these two cases the anuswâra may be a clerical error; also, *sa-śâlmalêḥ pushpaṁ* (for *sa-śâlmali-pushpaṁ*); but see similar cases in W. Skr. Gr., § 1316, p. 456, also § 1250, p. 427, and § 1267*c*, 1269*b*, p. 434.—Again, *vânta-viriktavân* (for *vântavân viriktavân*), II 719 **58**; *śrîm=êv=âbhivivarddhanam* (*śrîm=abhivivarddhanam* with interpolated *êva*, see *above* under *b*), an accusative compound like the similar Sanskrit compounds *vanaṁ-karaṇa*, etc. (see W. Skr. Gr, § 1271*b*, p. 435); *kshir-ârka-kuḍavam* (for *arka-kshira-kuḍavam*), III 2 **181**, where the transposition appears to be due to the necessities of the metre (*âryâ*)[116].—Again, II 902 **68**, *bhramara-sa-varṇâni* (for *bhramara-varṇâni*, or *sa-bhramara-varṇâni*); and II 1115 **76**, *sa-śâriv-ôśîra-sa-nâgapushpam* (for *sa-śâriv-ôśîraṁ sa-nâgapushpaṁ*, or *sa-śâriv-ôśîra-nâgapushpaṁ*, neither of which however would have suited the metre *upajâti*). In other cases *sa* takes the, place of the copula *cha*, as in II 203 **37**, *kâsaṁ sa-hikkâṁ sa-kkrimîn=api*; so also in II 182 **35** 354 **44**, *et passim*.

(*e*) Abnormal constructions; thus in II 349-50 **44**, where there is a series of nominatives,···*arditâḥ*···*viyuktâḥ*···*avabhagnâḥ*···*sandhayaḥ*···*skhalanâḥ*···*kshatâḥ*···*śaṇḍhâḥ*···*grihîtâḥ* without any verb, but where the verb *upayuñjyuḥ*, or *prayuñjyuḥ*, is to be understood as suggested by the preceding, *upayôjyam*. Again, in II 1065 **74**, where the transitive verb *vinâśayêt* is to be supplied to the accusatives absolute *dâhaṁ trishṇâñ=cha chharddiñ=cha*, from the following *sarva-rôga-vinâśanam*. Other examples, the construction of which is explained

[115] In Charaka Saṁhitâ VI, 6, verse 24, whence this formula is quoted (see *ante* Chapter VI, No. 21, p. Lv), the nominatives are turned into accusatives, in the existing text.

[116] For curious cases of transposition in Vedic compounds, see W. Skr. Gr., §1309, p. 452.

in the accompanying footnotes, are II 320 **42**, note **167**, p. 109; II 366-7 **44**, note 185, p.113; II 480 **50**; note 240, p. 125; II 813 **63**, note 382, p. 155; and II 1116 **76**, note 494, p. 180*b*.

* * * *

The character of the composition in the treatises of the Bower Manuscript is, in the main, metrical. In fact, in the three medical treatises which constitute Parts I-III, the composition is practically entirely metrical. With the exception of some brief introductory remarks (before verse 50 in Part I, and before verses 404, 917, 947, 950, 968 in Part II) which are in prose, and three formulæ (*viz*., 393-5, 715, and 784 in Part II) which probably are in prose, the three treatises are entirely written in a variety of metres. These metres, arranged in the order of frequency, are the following:—

(1) *Anushṭubh* or *ślôka*, Part I, vv. 10, 11, 28-30, 40, 44-51, 55-67, 88, 105, 112-132; total 50 verses. Part II, vv, 1-34, 38, 39, 43-59, 64, 65, 71-77, 87-103, 119-132, 144-146, 148-181, 186-198, 201-318, 329-343, 345, 351-379, 383-389, 399-428, 431-453, 460-468, 474-479, 481-490, 494-499, 502-509, 514-602, 604-626, 638-648, 716-742, 744-781, 803, 804, 810-813, 816-850, 852-857, 859-878, 880-882, 885, 886, 888-898, 905-909, 917-946, 950-964, 968-976, 1011-1078, 1080-1105, 1110-1113; total 834 verses. Part III, vv. 10-18, 25-52, 54, 57-60, 66-72; total 49, verses. Or a grandtotal of 933 verses.

(2) *Trishṭubh* (*Indravajrâ*, etc.), Part I, vv, 12, 14, 23, 39, 68-86, 89-104, 106-109; total 43 verses. Part II, vv, 37, 40, 78, 79-83, 182-185, 199, 200, 324, 429, 430, 469-473, 480, 491-493, 501, 510-513, 603, 627-632, 742, 743, 785, 787-802, 808, 809, 947-949, 965-967, 1079, 1106-1109, 1114-1118; total 72 verses. Part III, vv. 20-24, 61; total 6 verses. Or a grand total of 121 verses.

(3) *Âryâ*, Part I, vv. 52-54, 87, 110, 111; total 6 verses. Part II, vv. 60-62, 66-70, 104-118; 133-143, 147, 319-323, 325-328, 344, 346-350, 380-382, 390-392, 396-398, 454-459, 633-637 814, 815, 851, 858, 883, 884, 899-904, 910-916, 1119; total 90 verses. Part III, vv. 1-9, 55, 56, 63, 64; total 13 verses. Or a grand total of 109 verses.

(4) *Vasanta-Tilakâ*, Part I, vv. 1-8; Part II, vv. 80-82, 85, 86, 805, 806; total 7 verses; Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 15 verses.

(5) *Vaṁśa-sthavila* (a kind of *Jagatî*), Part I, v. 22; Part II, vv. 35, 36, 41, 42, 500, 786; total 6 verses. Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 7 verses.

(6) *Śârdûla-vikriḍita*, Part I, vv. 19, 41, 42; total 3 verses; Part II, vv. 63, 879; total 2 verses. Part III, none. Or a grandtotal of 5 verses.

(7) *Aupachhandasika*, Part I, vv, 17, 20, 21, 27; Parts II and III, none. Or a total of 4 verses.

(8) *Suvadanâ*, Part I, v, 15; Part II, v. 782; Part III, none. Or a total of 2 verses.

(9) *Pṛithvî*, Part I, v. 34; Part II, none; Part. III, v, 65. Or a total of 2 verses.

(10) *Mandâkrântâ*, Part I, vv. 9, 35; *Mâlinî*, Part I, vv. 13, 43; *Śâlinî*, Part I, vv, 24, 32; *Kusumita-latâ-vellitâ*, Part I, vv, 31, 35; *Mattamayûra*, Part I, vv. 37, 38. Five metres which, two times each, occur only in Part I.

(11) *Tôṭakâ*, *Sragdharâ*, *Sudhâ*, *Pramâṇikâ*, *Pramitâksharâ*, and one unidentified; six metres, occurring only in Part I, and only once, *viz*. vv. 16, 18, 25, 26, 33, 36 respectively. Also, *Ruchirâ*, *Pushpitâgrâ*, *Saṁskṛitâ*; three metres, occurring only in Part II, and only once, *viz*. vv, 84, 807, 887 respectively.

The preceding list shows that practically the three medical treatises are written in three metres, the *ślôka*, *trishṭubh*, and *âryâ*. In a total of 1,323 verses, comprised in the three

treatises, those three metres occur 933, 121, and 109 times respectively; and among them, again the *ślôka* is by far the predominating metre, taking up about 70 per cent. of the whole.

The total number of different metres is twenty-three. Of these, Part I, in proportion to its extent, contains an extraordinarily large number, not less than 19, distributed over 132 verses. In Part II there are 9 metres to 1,119 verses; and in Part III, 4 metres to 72 verses. It is evident from this familiarity with metrical writing that the author of the three medical treatises was well-versed in Sanskrit composition. Of course, the substance of Part II is not actually his own original composition, for as he informs us himself in the opening verse of that treatise it is a compilation of extracts from the standard medical works and the floating medical tradition of his time (see details in Chapter VI). Still there are in it certain portions which have every appearance of being his own contribution. These comprise, above all, the ten introductory verses (*ślôka*), describing the contents of the treatise, which are clearly the author's own composition. But there occur also scattered instances of verses in the body of the work which are clearly additions made by the author to formulae which he quotes from other sources. To this class belongs, for example, verse 119*a* (p. 32) which is a *ślôka* appended to a formula consisting of eleven *âryâ* verses, and in which that formula is ascribed to Âtrêya. If this ascription had formed a part of the original formula, it would no doubt have been in the same *âryâ* measure. The fact that it is in the different *ślôka* measure, seems to indicate that it was added by the author of the *Nâvanîtaka* for the purpose of explaining the source of his information, namely, the floating medical tradition of his time. There is a similar instance in verse 147 (p. 34) which is an *âryâ*, appended to a formula consisting of three *ślôka* verses. We have another in the two *trishṭubh* verses 199 and 200 (p. 36), appended to a formula consisting of eleven *ślôka* verses (188-198). And again another instance is the *trishṭubh* verse 324 (p. 42), which is added to a formula of five *ślôka* verses, to explain its ascription to Vâḍvali as well as some more of its benefits. A slightly different instance is the *ślôka* verse 345 (p. 43) which is inserted within a formula, otherwise consisting of four and a half *âryâ* verses (344 and 346-50). There are some other examples, equally suggestive of authorship, in which, however, no change occurs in the metre. Thus we find a half *ślôka* (v. 312*a*, p. 42) appended to a long formula consisting of twenty-five other *ślôkas* (vv. 287-311), which adds a futile amplification to a formula fully ending with verse 311. An exactly similar case is the half *ślôka* verse 781*a* (p. 61), which is appended to a formula consisting of other seven and a half *ślôkas* (vv. 773*b*-780*b*). It is not only added to a formula which obviously ends with the *ślôka* 780*b*, but it corrects the ascription of the formula which was given in the first *ślôka* (v, 773*b*-774*a*) of the original formula. In that *ślôka* it was ascribed to the Aśvins, while in the added half-*ślôka*, it is attributed to Viśvâmitra. Another striking case of this kind is the prefixion of one *ślôka* and a half (vv. 418 and 419*a*, p. 47) to a formula consisting of other six *ślôkas* and a half (vv. 419*b*- 425). The prefixed *ślôkas* not only repeat the ascription of the formula to the Aśvins, though that ascription was already stated in the original concluding *ślôka* (v. 425), but they are found omitted in other medical works which quote the formula.[117] Another instance, probably of the same kind, is the half-*ślôka* verse 366*a* (p. 44), which is added to a long formula of fifteen *ślôkas* (vv. 351-365). An instance of again a different kind, though no less suggestive of authorship, is the *ślôka* verse 783 (p. 61), which follows a verse in the complicated *suvadanâ* measure (v. 782). It indicates a useful modification of the formula given in the preceding verse, and suggests itself as due to the author of the *Nâvanîtaka*

[117] See for details in my paper in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, pp. 462-4.

himself. Probably there is another example of this kind in the *ślôka* verse 850 (p. 65), which adds a pharmacopoeic direction to the preceding formula, consisting of the two *ślôka* verses 848 and 849.

In contrast with the treatise in Part II, the two treatises contained in Parts I and III are very different productions. They do not profess to be compilations from preexisting sources, but rather suggest themselves to be original compositions. For, with a few exceptions, such as verses 105, 129, 131 in Part I, and verses 25-36, 37-53, 55, 56, in Part III, they contain nothing that either professes to be, or can be shown to be, a quotation from some earlier work. They may, in fact, very well be original compositions of the same author as he who compiled the *Nâvanîtaka*.

The case is rather different with the treatises on divination and incantation which are contained in Parts IV-VII of the Bower Manuscript. There is nothing in the character of the composition which is distinctly in popular Sanskrit, that would point to an author more intimately conversant with scholastic Sanskrit. A considerable portion of the treatises is written in prose; and whatever is in metrical form, is written entirely in the easy *ślôka* measure. Part VII, or at least the surviving fragment of it, is written entirely in prose; and the only portion that is metrical in Part VI is the charm made of seventeen verses (pp. 224, 225). On the other hand, Part V is written entirely in verse; and so is also Part IV, with the exception of its five introductory lines (p. 192) which are in prose.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUBJECT AND CONTENTS OF THE TREATISES IN THE BOWER MANUSCRIPT.

(1) In the existing fragmentary state of Part I, it is difficult to determine the particular class of medical literature to which the treatise contained in it should be assigned, It commences with a *kalpa*, or small pharmacographic tract, on garlic (*Allium sativum*, Linn.) This tract consists of the initial forty-three verses, including between them eighteen or nineteen different, mostly more or less unusual, metres. Their list, given at the end of Chapter VII, shows that the most frequent among them is the *vasanta-tilaka* with eight verses, while the well-known *ślôka* comes only second with six verses. The tract is preserved in almost perfect order; the end of every verse (except two, vv. 29 and 35) is marked with a double stroke. The concluding verse 43 alone is seriously mutilated, but fortunately its statement as to garlic (*laśuna*) being the subject of the tract (*kalpa*) is preserved. That subject is represented in verse 9 as having been communicated by the sage (*muni*) King of Kâśi (*Kâśi-râja*) to Suśruta. By the sage, in all probability, Divôdâsa is intended, also known as the divine surgeon Dhanvantari; and Suśruta undoubtedly refers to the celebrated author of what is now known as the *Suśruta Saṁhitâ.* But it may be noted that in the concluding verse 43, the author, whoever he was, refers to himself in the first person (*uktô mayâ*).

The tract, or *kalpa*, on garlic is followed by another tract which might be described as a short *tantra*, or text-book, comprising a number of very miscellaneous sections, arranged in a rather unmethodical fashion. It commences with remarks on the importance of regulating digestion (vv. 44-51), and with some pharmaceutic directions (vv. 55-59), such as are usually found in the so-called *sûtra-sthâna*, or section on the principles of medicine, of a *saṁhitâ.* Interspersed are some alterative and aphrodisiac formulæ (vv. 52-54, 60, 61-67), such as are usually given in the *Saṁhitâ* sections on *rasâyana* and *vâjikaraṇa*. Next comes a section with formulæ for various eye-lotions (*âschyôtana*, vv. 68-86). This is followed by another on face plasters (*mukha-lêpa*, *vadana-pralêpa*, vv. 87-105) and collyria *añjana*, *viḍâlaka*) and remedies for the hair, etc. (vv. 106-120); and finally there is a section on cough-mixtures (vv. 121-124). This second tract differs from the preceding in two respects. First, it employs only three metres, the *ślôka* (44 verses), *trishṭubh* (30 verses) and *âryâ* (6 verses); and secondly, it uses the double stroke to mark, not the end of a verse, but the end of a formula (consisting of one or more verses) or of a section. In both respects it resembles the treatise in Part II.

(2) Part II contains a practical formulary, or handbook of prescriptions, covering the whole field of internal medicine. It is called the *Nâvanîtaka* or "Cream," and professes to give, for the use of the practitioner, a selection of the best prescriptions found in the standard medical works of the time; and though these standard works are not actually named, it is possible in many cases to identify them. But in addition to these, it gives some formulæ which seem to be taken from the floating medical tradition, as well as a very few which appear to have been added by the author himself. The details may be seen in Chapters VI and VII, as well as in the subjoined Table of Parallels.

The formulary was originally divided into sixteen chapters. This, at least, was the intention of its author, as may be seen from his introduction (vv. 8 and 9), which enumerates the headings of the sixteen chapters. There is no good reason to doubt that the intention was accomplished; but whether or not the formulary was ever actually completed, it is now impossible to say, seeing that the solitary existing copy of it in the Bower Manuscript is incomplete, as the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, as well as apparently the conclusion of fourteenth, are missing.

The division of the chapters, and the distribution of the formulæ over them, are not made on any unitary principle. Some formulæ are put together on the principle of the form which is given to the medicament; others, on the principle of the purpose which the medicament is to subserve; others, again, on the principle of the kind of patients to whom the medicine is to be administered; and finally, some chapters are added describing some important "simples" vegetable or mineral. Thus, under the first principle we have the initial three chapters, which enumerate formulæ for preparing compound powders (*chûrṇa*), medicated *ghees* or clarified butters (*ghṛita*), and medicated oils (*taila*) respectively. The second principle is applied from two different aspects, according as the purpose of a medicament is, either to relieve or cure an abnormal condition of the system, or to stimulate or improve its normal functions (see note 327 on page 144). Under the former aspect a large number of formulæ are collected in the fourth chapter, referring to some twenty-two or twenty-four, not always clearly distinguished, diseases, the details of which may be seen in the Table of Contents, prefixed to this edition. The principle, however, is not quite strictly observed in the chapter; for right into the middle of it, two formulæ are pitchforked, which belong to the preceding principle (the form of a medicament), *viz.*, one (vv. 484-490) referring to the preparation of a linctus (*lêha*), the other (vv. 491-493), to the preparation of a kind of medicated mead (*madhvâsava*). The reason why they are inserted here apparently is that their purpose is purgative and alterative respectively; but even in that case, their proper place would be under the second aspect of the therapeutic principle. In this connection it may also be noted that none of the formulæ in Chapter IV may be understood as a "specific." In most cases the formula is stated to cure a number of, sometimes, very different diseases; but one of these was thought to be its principal object, and this particular disease was, as a rule, indicated by being named at the head of the number. Under the second aspect of the therapeutic principle, formulæ are distributed over the six Chapters V-X, treating of enemas (*vasti-karma*, see note 142 on page 105), alteratives (*rasâyana*), gruels (*yavâgû*), aphrodisiacs (*vṛishya*), collyria (*nêtrañjana*), and hair dyes (*kêśa-rañjana*) respectively. Under the third principle, referring to the kind of patient, we have the three concluding chapters of the treatise, of which, however, only the fourteenth chapter on the diseases of children survives, while chapters XV and XVI, dealing with barren and child-bearing women, respectively, are missing. Intermediately there come in the three chapters XI-XIII, containing small monographs on chebulic myrobalan, plumbago-root, and bitumen respectively.

(3) Part III is another specimen of an ancient formulary, or manual of prescriptions. It is probably, however, a mere fragment of what was, or was intended to be, a larger work. The existing fragment corresponds to the initial portion, that is, to Chapters I-III, of the formulary in Part II; for it contains formulæ put together on the principle of the form of the medicament. But though put together on that principle, the formulæ are not arranged in any consistent order: powders, *ghees*, oils, pills, tinctures and liniments are mixed up, as shown in the subjoined list:—

(1) Oils,	formulæ	Nos. I, II, III, VII.	(4) *Ghee*,	formula	No. VI.
(2) Powder	"	No. IV.	(5) Pills,	"	Nos. X, XII, XIV.
(3) Liniments	"	Nos. V, VIII, IX, XIII	(6) Linctus,	"	No. XI.

(4) TABLE OF PARALLELS IN PARTS II AND III.

Column I gives references to verses and pages of the edition; columns II and III, to identical or similar formulæ in other works; column IV indicates formulæ to which no parallels

are known, and column V, formulæ or parts of formulæ which were probably written by the author himself. The initials are explained in the List of Abbreviations prefixed to this edition. For further details on parallels, see the notes on the translations.

I Ref. to verses and pages.	II ident-ical.	III simi-lar.	IV no par.	V auth-or.	I Ref. to verses and pages.	II ident-ical.	III simi-lar.	IV no par.	V auth-or.
vv. 1-10, pp. 77-8	...	...	...	a	vv. 277-279, p. 105	HS.	...	...	...
vv. 11-17, p. 78	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 280-286, p. 106	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 18-20, p. 79	...	...	no	...	vv. 287-311, p. 108	...	...	no	...
v. 20, p. 79	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 312*a*, p. 108	...	...	...	a
v. 22, p. 79	V.	...	...	...	v. 312*b*-318, p. 108	...	V.	...	...
v. 23, p. 79	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 319-323, p. 109	...	D.Ch.	...	...
v. 24*a*, p. 80	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 324, p. 109	...	...	...	a
v. 24*b*, p. 80	...	...	...	a	vv. 325-328, p. 109	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 25-26, p. 80	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 329-343, p. 110	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 27-28, p. 80	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 344, p. 111	...	...	no	...
vv. 29-34, p. 81	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 345, p. 111	...	...	...	a
vv. 35-37, p. 82	...	...	no	...	vv. 346-366*a*, p. 111	...	...	no	...
vv. 38-42, pp. 82-3	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 366*b*-382, p. 113	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 43-55, p. 83	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 383-389, p. 114	Ch.	...	...	...
vv. 56-59, pp. 84-5	V.	...	...	...	vv. 390-398, pp. 114-5	...	...	no	...
vv. 60-62, p. 85	...	...	no	...	pp. 399-401*a*, p. 115	Bh.	...	...	...
v. 63, p. 85	BV.	...	...	...	vv. 401*b*-403, p. 115	...	...	no	...
v. 64-70, pp. 85-6	...	...	no	...	vv. 404-405, p. 116	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 71-75*a*, p. 86	BV.	SY.	...	...	v. 406, p. 116	Ks.	...	...	...
vv. 78-107, pp. 87-9	...	...	no	...	vv. 407-412, pp. 116-7	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 108-118, p. 90	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 413-417, p. 117	...	...	no	...
v. 119*a*, p. 90	...	...	...	a	vv. 418-428, p. 118	...	V.	...	...
v. 119*b*-127*a*, p. 91	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 429-431, pp. 118-9	...	...	no	...
vv. 127*b*-132, p. 91	...	...	no	...	vv. 432-433, p. 119	...	SY.	...	...
vv. 133-143, pp. 92-3	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 434, p. 119	...	...	no	...
vv. 144-146, p. 93	...	...	no	...	v. 435, p. 119	SY.	...	...	...
v. 147, p. 94	...	...	...	a	vv. 436-440, p. 119	...	D. Ch.	...	...
v. 148-149, p. 94	...	...	no	...	vv. 441-444*a*, p. 120	...	...	no	...
vv. 150-157, pp. 94-5	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 444*b*-446*a*, p. 120	...	vv. 27-28	...	...
vv. 158-159, p. 95	...	...	no	...					
vv. 160-161, p. 95	...	SY.	...	...	vv. 446*b*-447*a*, p. 120	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 162-165*a*, p. 96	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 447*b*-449, p. 121	...	...	no	...
vv. 165*b*-169*a*, p. 96	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 450-451, p. 121	SY.	...	...	...
vv. 169*b*-176, p. 96	Ch.	...	...	...	v. 452, p. 121	...	Chd.	...	...
vv. 177-185*a*, p. 97	...	D. Ch.	...	...	v. 453, p. 121	V.	...	...	...
vv. 188-198, p. 98	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 454-459, p. 121	...	...	no	...
vv. 199-200, p. 98	...	...	...	a	vv. 460-462, p. 122	Ch.	...	...	...
vv. 201-203, p. 99	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 463-464, p. 122	...	V.	...	...
vv. 204-209, p. 99	...	V.	...	...	v. 465, p. 122	...	...	no	...
vv. 210-215, p. 100	...	...	no	...	v. 466, p. 122	V.	...	...	...
vv. 216-222, p. 100	...	V.	...	...	vv. 467-468*a*, p. 123	...	v. 476-7	...	...
vv. 223-231, p. 101	...	...	no	...					
vv. 232-240, p. 101	...	SY.	...	...	vv. 469-472, p. 123	...	V.	...	...
vv. 241-244, p. 102	...	...	no	...	v. 473, p. 124	...	...	no	...
vv. 245-250, p. 103	...	Chd.	...	...	v. 474, p. 124	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 251-257, p. 103	R.	V.	...	...	v. 475, p. 124	...	Bh.	...	...
vv. 258-260, p. 104	...	V.	...	...	vv. 473-479, p. 124	Bh.	...	...	...
vv. 261-276, p. 104	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 480-481, p. 125	...	...	no	...

I Ref. to verses and pages.	II identical.	III similar.	IV no par.	V author.	I Ref. to verses and pages.	II identical.	III similar.	IV no par.	V author
vv. 482-483, p. 125	...	D. Cl	..	...	vv. 805-818, pp. 155-6	...	..	no	...
vv. 484-495a, pp. 125-6	Ch.	...	..	...	v. 819, p. 156	Ch.	...	...	..
vv. 495b-496a, p. 126	...	V.	..	...	vv. 820-828, p. 157	..	...	no	
vv. 496b-499, p. 127	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 829-830a, p. 157	S.	...	..	...
vv. 500-509a, pp. 127-8	...	..	no	...	vv. 830b-833a, p. 157	...	...	no	...
vv. 510-511a, p. 128	Ks.	Chd.	..	...	v. 833b-834a, p. 157	S.	...	...	...
vv. 511b-513a, p. 129	...	...	no	...	v. 834b-835a, p. 158	...	S.	...	...
v. 514, p. 129	Ks.	...	...	..	vv. 835b-838a, p. 158	...	..	no	...
vv. 515-521, p. 129	...	...	no	...	vv. 838b-840a, p. 158	...	S.	...	...
vv. 522-523a, p. 130	Ks.	...	...	...	vv. 840b-844a, pp. 158-9	...	...	no	...
v. 523-524, p. 130	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 844b-846a, p. 159	Ch.	...	...	...
v. 525, p. 130	Ks.	...	..	..	vv. 846b-849, p. 159	...	...	no	...
v. 526a, p. 130	....	...	no	.	v. 850, p. 159	...	...	...	a
vv. 526b-533a, pp. 130-1	Ks.	...	...	...	vv. 851-855, p. 160	...	...	no	...
vv. 533b-534a, p. 131	SY.	...	...	...	vv. 856-857, p. 160	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 534b-537a, p. 131	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 858, p. 161	...	...	no	...
vv. 537b-538a, p. 132	Ks.	...	...	...	vv. 859-860a, p. 161	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 538b-544, p. 132	...	...	no	...	vv. 860b-868, pp. 161-2	...	...	no	...
vv. 545-546, p. 132	Ks.	...	...	...	vv. 869-870, p. 162	...	D. Ch.	...	...
vv. 547-548, pp. 132-3	...	...	no	...	vv. 871-879, p. 162	...	...	no	...
vv. 549-562a, p. 133	...	Fragm	ents.	...	vv. 880-882, p. 163	...	A. H.	...	..
vv. 562b-565a, p. 133	KS.	...	...	...	vv. 883-886, p. 163	...	...	no	...
vv. 565b-568, p. 133	...	Fragm	ents.	..	v. 887, p. 163	...	D. Ch.	...	....
vv. 569-574, pp. 133-4	...	...	no	...	vv. 888-898, p. 164	...	...	no	...
v. 575, p. 134	V.	..	...	..	vv. 899-900, p. 165	...	D. Ch.	...	...
v. 576, p. 134	...	...	no	...	vv. 901-916, p. 165	...	...	no	...
v. 577, p. 134	...	V.	...	...	vv. 917-949, pp. 166-9	...	A.	...	...
v. 578, p. 134	..	S.	...	...	vv. 950-967, pp. 170-1	Ch.	..	...	...
v. 579, p. 135	...	SY.	...	...	vv. 968-976, pp. 171-2	...	...	no	...
vv. 580-584, p. 135	...	...	no	...	vv. 1011-1040, pp. 172-4	...	...	no	...
vv. 585-587, p. 135	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 041, p. 175	...	V.	...	...
vv. 588-592, p. 136	....	...	no	...	vv. 1042-1059a, pp. 175-6	...	...	no	...
v. 593, p. 136	...	Chd.	...	..	vv. 1059b-1060a, p. 176	Bh.	...	...	...
v. 594, p. 136	...	D. Ch.	...	...	vv. 1060b-1078, pp. 176-8.	...	...	no	...
vv. 595-602, pp. 136-8	...	...	no	...	vv. 1079-81, 4, 5, 8, p. 178.	...	V.	...	...
v. 603, p. 138	Ch.	...	...	...					
vv. 604-641, pp. 138-43	...	...	no	...	vv. 1080, 2, 3, 6, 7, pp. 178-9	...	...	no	...
vv. 642-644, p. 143	Bh.	...	...	...	vv1089-1109, pp. 179-80.a	...	...	no	...
vv. 645-649, p. 143	Ch.	...	...	...					
vv. 716-741, pp. 144-6	...	...	no	...	vv. 11-10-11, 13, 19, pp. 180a-b	...	V.	...	...
vv. 742-743, p. 146	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 1112-14, 18, pp. 180a-b.	...	...	no	...
v. 744, p. 146	...	...	no	...	Part III.				
vv. 745-752, pp. 146-8	Ch.	...	...	...	vv. 1-36, pp. 185-7	...	...	no	...
vv. 753-758, p. 148	..	A.	...	...	vv. 37-53, p. 188	...	SY.	...	...
vv. 759r782, pp. 148-50	...	...	no	...	v. 54, p. 189	...	...	no	...
v. 783, p. 151	...	...	...	a	vv. 55-56, p. 189	A. H.	..	...	...
v. 784, p. 151	...	...	no	...	vv. 57-60, p. 189	...	...	no	...
vv. 785-801, pp. 151-4	Bh.	Ch.	...	...	vv. 61-62, p. 190	..	SY.	...	...
vv. 802-804, p. 154	Bh.	...	...	...	vv. 63-72, pp. 190-1	...	...	no	...

(5) Parts IV and V contain two short manuals of *Pâśaka-kêvalî*, or cubomancy, that is, the art of foretelling a person's fortune by means of the cast of dies (*pâśaka*, or as spelled in Pt. IV, l. 2, p. 192, *prâśaka*). The mode of exercising this art can be best seen from the manual in Part IV, which is practically complete, while the manual in Part V is apparently

very fragmentary. The former manual shows that the die which was used was marked with the four numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, ; and that each cast, or rather (as we shall see) set of casts, consisted of three of these numbers. Accordingly there could be no more than sixty-four possible casts. These are shown in the subjoined table.

Number of Groups.	Names of Groups.	Figures of Groups.	Number of Variations.	
First Class of Four Groups with the same figure thrice.	Chaṇṭayâṇṭa (?) ...	444	1	4
	Navikkî	333	1	
	Paṭṭabandha ...	222	1	
	Kâlaviddhi	111	1	
Second Class of Twelve Groups with the same figure twice.	Sâpata	**443, 434, 344**	3	36
	Vṛisha	**442, 424, 244**	3	
	Kûṭa...	**441, 414, 144**	3	
	Mâlî...	**334, 343, 433**	3	
	Viî	332, 323, 233	3	
	Kâṇa	331, 313, 133, ...	3	
	Prêshyâ	**224, 242, 422**	3	
	Sajâ	223, 232, 322	3	
	Pâñchî	221, 212, 122	3	
	Karṇa	**114, 141, 411**	3	
	Chuñchuna	113, 131, 311	3	
	Kharî	112, (121), (211)	3	
Third Class of Four Groups with the same figure once.	Bahula	432, 324, **243**, (234), 423, 342...	6	24
	Bhadrâ	421, 214, 142, (124), **412**, 241...	6	
	Saktî	341, 413, 134, 143, 314, 431 ...	6	
	Dundhubhî	321, 213, 132, 123, 312, 231 ...	6	
		Total of variations of casts		64

All but four of these sixty-four variations occur in Part IV. The four which are missing (121, 211, 234, 124, put in brackets) have clearly been omitted through some inadvertence on the part of the scribe; *viz.*, 234 on the reverse of the second folio, 124 on the obverse of the third folio, and 121 and 211 at the very end of the manuscript, on the reverse of the fifth folio. In Part V less than one-third (20 out of 64, shown in antique-type), occur. No fewer than forty-four variations are missing; *viz.*, the whole of the first class of groups (444, 333, 222, 111); one-half of the second class, namely, the whole

groups *viṭî*, *kâṇa-sajâ*, *pâñchî*, *chuñchuna*, and *kharî*; and nearly the whole of the third class, only two variations (243 and 412) being preserved. What the cause of this mutilation whether intentional or other, may have been is not apparent.

At the end of the *Pâśaka-kêvalî* manuscript, No. 70 of the Deccan College (*viz.* A in the list on page 214, in the Appendix to Part V), there is an appendix written in the modern Gujarâtî vernacular language, which explains the *modus operandi* in this kind of cubomancy. It runs as follows :—

Tathae sakanâvalî-nô pâsô nâkh'vâ-nî viddhi lakhîi chhaï || pâsô sakan jôîê, tîhâraiṁ 3 *vâr nâṁkhîi | pehelô paḍê têh'nuṁ saîk'ḍaṁ gaṇîi || têkiṁ pagaḍaṁ paḍê, tô* 100 *gaṇîi || bê pagaḍâṁ paḍê dhuri, tô* 200 *gaṇîi || traṇi pagaḍâṁ paḍê pehelûṁ, tô* 300 *kahîi || chyâr pagaḍ-âṁ paḍê, to* 400 *gaṇîi || phani pâsô bîjîvâr nâṁkhîi tîhâraï pagaḍaṁ paḍê, tô êk âṁk ek'dô gaṇîi || im bê pagaḍuṁ paḍe, tô* 2 *|| traṇi paḍe, tô* 3 *|| chyâr paḍaï, tô* 4 *|| im trîjî-vâr paṇi jâṇavuṁ || pachhê peheluṁ saîkaḍuṁ || anaï bîjî trîjî-bâr-nâ âṁk êkaṭṭhâ kîjaï || jet-alâ âvê, tetalâ upari âṁk jôînaï sakan jôiê || etalê || pehaluṁ êk paḍê — pachhi bê paḍê | pachhi trîjî-bâr traṇi paḍê || to* 123, *êk sô naï trîvîsnô âṁk thâï || im peheluṁ bê paḍê | pachhê êk paḍê pachhê traṇi paḍêḍ to* 213, *bê saïṁ naï têr-nô âṁk âvaï || êṇi rîtaïṁ jôvuṁ sahî ||*

This may be thus translated: "The mode of throwing the divination die (*pâsô*, singular) is as follows. When the die is wanted for an oracle (Skr. *śakuna*), it must be thrown three times; and the first cast must be counted as hundred. Thus, if one pip (*pagaḍam*, sing.) falls, it counts 100; if two pips (*pagaḍâṁ*, plur.) fall, they count 200; if three pips fall in the first cast, they represent 300; if four pips fall, they count 400. Next, the die (*pâsô* sing.) is thrown for the second time. Then, of the pips that fall, one counts as the figure (*âṁk*) 1; similarly if two pips fall, they are 2; if three fall, 3; if four fall, 4. In the same way, the cast of the third time must be understood. Finally, the hundred of the first throw, and the figures (*âṁk*) of the second and third, must be placed together. Whatever (combined) figure results, upon that the oracle must be pronounced. Thus, if first one falls, next two fall, next, at the third throw, three fall, then it is the (combined) figure 123, one hundred and twenty-three. Similarly, if at the first (cast) two fall, next one falls, next three fall, the result is the figure 213, two hundred and thirteen. This is the correct manner of proceeding."

It is clear from this explanation that in the ancient Indian art of cubomancy only a single die was used; and that the die indicated only the four numbers, respectively represented by 1, 2, 3, 4 pips on four different facets. A die in the form of a tetrahedron would satisfy these conditions; but the existence of a tetrahedral die at any time is, I believe, an unheard-of thing. It seems probable, therefore, that the die was one of that elongated kind, with four long sides and two rounded ends, which is known as *talus* or *astragalus*, or knucklebone, and on which the four long sides were marked with pips. If the die had the ordinary cubical form, two of its six equal sides would have borne no pips; and then there would have been the not infrequent chance of one of the two unmarked facets turning up in any of the three consecutive casts. In such a case, of course, the throws would have had to be repeated, till some pip-marked facet turned up; but the explanation above-quoted does not seem to contemplate the occurrence of such an eventuality, which is not even alluded to. At the same time there occurs in the Introduction to the manual in Part IV (l. 3, on page 192) an obscure phrase which may point to the die having had the form of a six-sided cube. There the dice are described as *kumbhakâri-mâtaṅga-yuktâ*, lit., "joined with a *kumbhakârî* and a *mâtaṅga*." This may mean marked with the figures of a *kumbhakârî*, or potter woman (or the girl *kumbhakârî*), and *mâtaṅga*, or elephant (or Chaṇḍâla man). These two figures might have stood on the two sides not marked

with pips. Another explanation of the phrase, however, is possible which is given in note 1 on page 197. There is also another difficulty in the circumstance that the introduction (ll. 2, 3 on page 192, speaks of dice in the plural number, *prâsakâ* [*ḥ*] *patantu*, " may the dice fall." But the reference may very well be, not to the number of several dice, but the number of casts of a single die If more than one die should really have been used, the number of the dice, of course, would have been three; and each act of divination would have required but a single cast, the three dice being thrown at one time. They would probably have been loose; though at the present day the dice of the Indian cubomancer, which moreover are four in number, are strung on a short thin iron rod. A description of this kind of modern cubomancy is given on pp. 44-46 of Peterson's Third Report on the Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Extra No. for 1887, in connection with a work called *Ramalâmṛita*, or "the fine art of Ramal." The Arabic term *ramal* signifies geomancy, or any kind of divination, specially cubomancy. The performer always, or often, is a Muhammedan. In the above-mentioned case, reported from Bombay, the four dice seem to have been immovably fixed on the rod; but in a case examined by me in Calcutta, they were loosely strung on the rod round which they could rotate freely, though they were secured from falling off the rod by two rod-heads. This mode of cubomancy, however, seems to be a comparatively modern importation into India, and is, therefore, hardly relevant to the understanding of the mode of cubomancy which forms the subject of the two manuals.

These two manuals are quite independent works. Their oracles, though of course touching on similar subjects, are totally different compositions, of much greater length in Part V than in Part IV. In early Indian times several cubomantic manuals appear to have been current. The manuals, which survive at the present day and are ascribed to the authorship of the Sage Garga, possess a few striking points of agreement with the manual in Part V. The subject of these agreements is fully discussed in the appendix to Part V, pp. 214 ff. The evidence points to the existence of three rather widely different recensions of what may possibly have been originally a single manual. The latter might possibly be represented by the recension preserved in the Bower Manuscript. This recension is of considerable antiquity. As shown in Chapter VI, it may have existed as early as the second century A. D. (*ante*, p. Lvii), and of course it may go back to a much earlier time. The other existing recensions cannot be older than the end of the fourth century, because in the fifth verse of their introduction they speak of cubomancers as possessing *hôrá-jñāna*, or the knowledge of the doctrine of *hôrâ* (Greek ὥρα), or lunar mansions (latin *domus*). The first mention of that doctrine has been traced by Professor Jacobi (in his dissertation *de astrologiae indicae hôrâ appellatæ originibus*, Bonn 1872) to Firmicus Maternus, who lived about 335-350 A. D. in the West, whence it came to the knowledge of the Indians. For some further information on the subject of Indian cubomancy the student may be referred to A. Weber's paper in the Monatsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1859, pp. 158 ff., and in the Indische Streifen, vol. I, pp. 274 ff; also to Dr. J. E. Schröter's Inaugural Dissertation on *Pâśaka-kêvalî*, ein indisches Würfelorakel (Borna, 1900). The latter contains a critical edition of the recension of the manual on cubomancy, ascribed to Garga.

(6) Parts VI and VII contain two different portions of the same text, which is a *Sûtra* or *Dhâraṇî* referring to a charm protective against snakebite and other evils. The name of the Sûtra is *Mahâmâyûrî Vidyârâjñî* (scl. *Dhâraṇî*), lit. the 'great peacock' queen of charms. It apparently takes its name from the fact that the peafowl (*mayûra*) is the great traditional enemy of the snake. It is a charm of great repute among the Buddhists, and is included in the highly valued collection of *Dhâraṇîs*, called *Pañcha-rakshâ*, or the Five Protective

Charms. In this collection it usually takes the third place (see Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in Cambridge, No. 1325, p. 48, etc; Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Part II, in Oxford, No. 1447, p. 257, and Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in Calcutta, No. B4, pp. 164-8 and p. 173); but sometimes the second (see the Oxford Catalogue, No. 1448, p. 259, and apparently the Cambridge Catalogue, No. 1662, p. 162), or the fourth (see Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 56, p. 42). The *Pañcha-rakshâ* itself is sometimes found included in certain larger *Dhâraṇî-mantra-saṁgraha*, or Collections of Dhâraṇî charms (see the Oxford Catalogue, No. 1449, p. 260, and the Calcutta Catalogue, No. B5, pp. 80, 292).

In the *Pañcha-rakshâ* collection, however, the *Mahâmâyûrî* charm exists in a greatly expanded form. This expanded recension, as may be seen from the Chinese translations of the charm, appears to have developed in the course of the fifth or sixth centuries A. D. There are six such translations enumerated in Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Nos. 305-311. Three of them are based on the expanded recension of the Sûtra, while the three others exhibit the Sûtra in a more primitive and much less developed form. To the former belong two translations of the eight century A. D. (Nos. 306 and 307), done by It-sing in 705 A.D., and Amôghavajra in 746-771 A.D. respectively; a and somewhat shorter translation of the sixth century (No. 308), made by Saṅghapâla in 516 A.D. The three more primitive recensions (Nos. 309, 310, 318) belong all to the fourth century A. D., *viz.*, two by Poh Śrîmitra under the Eastern Tsin dynasty, 317-420 A. D., and one by Kumârajîva under the later Tshin dynasty, 384-417 A. D. At the time these six translations were made, the *Mahâmâyûrî* Sûtra seems to have still existed as a separate work, and not yet to have formed a component part of the *Pañcha-rakshâ* collection. That collection would seem to have originated in Bengal under the Buddhistic Pâla dynasty, not earlier than the tenth or eleventh centuries A. D. For another of the later component parts of the *Pañcha-raksha*, namely, the *Mahâ-sahasra-pramardinî* Sûtra, was translated into Chinese (Nanjio's No. 784), when it was still a separate work, by Sh'hu (Dânapâla?) about 980-1000 A. D., while the *Pañcha-rakshâ* collection itself, being a late production, does not seem to have been translated into Chinese at all.

The relative extent of the two recensions of the *Mahâmâyûrî* Sûtra, in the *Pañcha-rakshâ* collection and the Bower Manuscript, may be seen from the Appendix to Parts VI and VII (pp. 240*a* ff.) Those two Parts include only an extremely small portion (about one-seventh) of the modern expanded version of the Sûtra, *viz.*, its second and third section. The former relates the story of the monk Svâti and his recovery from the fatal bite of a snake through the application of the Mahâmâyûrî charm; the latter, the story of the obtainment of that charm by Buddha in one of his former births (*jâtaka*) as the king of the peacocks (*mayûra-râja*). These two stories would seem to have made up the whole extent of the original Sûtra before its subsequent enormous accretions. From the Bower Manuscript it appears that the copy of the Sûtra included in it was written for the benefit of a person (probably a monk or abbot), called Yaśômitra, whose name, as usual in such cases, was inserted at the end of the copy. This copy, being written on birchbark of an inferior quality (see Chapter II), after a time became seriously damaged: the obverse of the folio, on which the second story commenced, flaked off entirely, and that portion of the manuscript which contained the first story appears to have been destroyed altogether. The latter was now replaced by a fresh copy, written on a new supply of birch-bark of a superior quality. This fresh copy is the existing Part VI of the Bower Manuscript.

INTRODUCTION TO FOLKLORE NOTES

FROM

GUJARAT AND THE KONKAN.

SOME ten years ago the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson circulated to a number of selected correspondents certain leading questions on folklore, to which numerous replies were received before his death. It was his intention to publish the substance of the information thus received in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. It is possible that he may also have intended, at some future time, to produce a work on the folklore of the Bombay Presidency based on these materials, and amplified by the fruits of his mature scholarship. His intention, if it existed, can no longer be fulfilled. The existence of a small memorial fund, however, has provided the means for preparing for publication the valuable materials collected by him, as well as for their ultimate inclusion in a small volume intended for the use of folklore scholars. With the approval and support of the Jackson Memorial Committee, I am now in a position to tender the following and subsequent papers for publication in the *Indian Antiquary*. Readers of the *Antiquary* may remember that Mr. Jackson had accepted the joint editorship of this journal only a short time before his death at Nasik deprived India of a ripe scholar and sincere friend.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE FOLKLORE OF GUJARAT

NATURE POWERS

CHAPTER I

BESIDES the higher-grade deities, whose worship is enjoined and treated of in the Shāstras and Purānas, numerous other minor deities, none of whom however find a place in the Scriptures, are worshipped by the lower classes. The principle underlying the whole fabric of the worship of these minor deities, who for the most part are the spirits of dead ancestors or heroes, has more in it of fear for their power of harming than of love for their divine nature. All untoward occurrences in domestic affairs, all bodily ailments and unusual natural phenomena, inexplicable to the simple mind of the villager, are attributed to the malignant action of these nameless and numerous spirits, hovering over and haunting the habitations of men.[1] The latent dread of receiving injuries from these evil spirits results in the worship by the low-class people of a number of *devas* and *mātās*, as they are called. The poor villager, surrounded on all sides by hosts of hovering spirits, ready to take offence, or even to possess him, on the smallest pretext, requires some tangible protector to save him from such malign influences.[1] He sets up and enshrines the spirit that he believes to have been beneficent to him, and so deserving of worship, and makes vows in its honour, often becoming himself the officiating priest. Each such deity has its own particular *thānak* (*sthāna*) or locality. Thus there is hardly a village which has not a particular deity of its own. But in addition to this deity, others in far off villages are generally held in high esteem.[1]

There are a number of ways in which these lower-class deities can be installed. Their images are made either of wood, stone, or metal.[2] No temples or shrines are erected in their honour.[3] An ordinary way of representing them is by drawing a trident, (*trishūl*, a weapon peculiar to god Shiva) in red lead and oil on an upright slab of stone on a public road, on any dead wall, on the confines of a village, or a mountain side, or a hill top, in an underground cellar, or on the bank of a stream.[4] Some people paint tridents in their own houses. The *trishūl*, or trident, may also be made of wood, in which case its three points are plastered with red-lead and oil and covered with a thin coating of tin.[5] Sometimes carved wooden images in human shape, daubed over with red-lead and oil, are placed in a small wooden chariot or in a recess about a foot square. In some shrines two brooms or whisks of peacock's feathers are placed on either side of the image.[6] A slight difficulty overcome or a disease remedied by a vow in honour of any of these deities offers the occasion for an installation, and in all future emergencies of the same kind similar vows are observed. A *mātā* installed to protect a fortress or a street is called a Gadheri Mātā, and the worshippers of a fortress, or street, mother are known as Pothias.[7] At the time of installation flags are hoisted near the dedicated places. A troop of dancers with jingling anklets recite holy verses, while the *bhuva*, exorcist-priest, performs the ceremonies. Generally installations are frequent during the

1 Khan Bahadur Fazlullah and Mr. K. D. Desai.
2 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.
3 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
4 Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.
5 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
6 Mr. M. D. Vyas, Shastri, Bhayavadur.
7 Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.

Navarātra* holidays when, if no human-shaped image is set up, a *trishūl* at least is drawn in red-lead and oil.[1] Some of these evil deities require, at the time of their installation, the *balidān* (sacrifice or oblation) of a goat or a he-buffalo. Also, when a spirit is to be exorcised, the symbol of the familiar spirit of the exorcist is set up and invoked by him.[1] After the installation, no systematic form of worship is followed in connection with them.[2] Regular forms are prescribed for the *real* gods of the Purānas. But upon these the low-caste people are not authorised to attend.

Still, in practice there are two forms of worship: ordinary or *sāmānya-pūjā* and special or *vishesha-pūjā*.[3] Ordinary worship is performed by bathing the deity—which can be done by sprinkling a few drops of water over it—burning a ghi, or an oil, lamp before it, and by offering a cocoanut and a pice or a half-anna piece. The last is taken away by the *bhuva*, or priest, who returns generally half or three-quarters of the cocoanut as a *prasād* of the god.

There are no particular days prescribed for such worship, but Sundays and Tuesdays would seem to be the most favoured.[4] On such days, offerings are made for the fulfilment of a vow recorded in order to avoid a *bādhā*, or impending evil. In the observance of this vow the devotee abstains from certain things, such as ghi, butter, milk, rice, juvar, betelnut till the period of the vow expires. When a vow is thus discharged, the devotee offers flowers, garlands, incense, food or drink according to the terms of his vow.[4] The *dhūpa*, *i.e.*, burning incense of *gūgal* (balsamodendron) is one of the commonest methods of worship.

The days for special worship are the Navarātra holidays, the second day of the bright half of Āshādh, the ninth month of the Hindu Calendar,[5] Divāsā[6] or the fifteenth day of the dark half of Āshādh, and Kālī-chaudas[7] or the fourteenth day of the dark half of Āshvin, the last month; besides other extraordinary occasions when a spirit has to be exorcised out of a sick person.

The Navarātra days are said to be the most auspicious days for devī-worship. People believing in the power of the mātās observe fast on these days. Most of them at least fast on the eighth day of the Navarātra known as Mātā-ashtamī, taking only a light meal which consists of roots, as a rule, especially the suran (Amorphophallus campanulatus), and of dates and milk.[8] On the Navarātra days red-lead and oil are applied to the images of the devis, and a number of oblations, such as loaves, cooked rice, *lāpsi*†, *vadān*‡ and *bāklā*§ are offered.[9] The utmost ceremonial cleanliness is observed in the preparation of these viands. The corn is sifted, cleaned, ground or pounded, cooked, treated with frankincense, offered to the gods and lastly partaken of before sunset, and all these operations must be performed on the same day; for the offerings must not see lamp-light.[10] Girls are not allowed to partake of these offerings. All ceremonies should be conducted with much earnestness and reverence; otherwise the offerings will fail to prove acceptable to the mātās or devis.[10]

On Mātā-ashtamī and Kālī-chaudas devotees sometimes offer rams, goats or buffaloes as victims to the devis or devas in addition to the usual offerings of *lāpsi*, *vadān* and *bāklā*.[10] The night of Kālī-chaudas is believed to be so favourable for the efficacious

*The first nine days of Āshvin, the last month of the Gujarat Hindu Calendar, known otherwise as Mātānā dāhadā-mātā's days. The influence of the mātās is very strong in these days.

[1] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[2] Mr. M. D. Vayas, Shastri, Bhayavadur.

[3] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

[4] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[5] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[6] Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

[7] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[8] Mr. K. D. Desai.

† *Lapsi* is coarse wheat-flour fried in ghi and sweetened with molasses or sugar.

‡ Vadān-bean flour—generally of gram or peas—is allowed to remain in water with spices until the paste acquires a sufficeint degree of consistence, when it is rolled into small biscuit-sized balls and fried in oil.

§ *Bāklā* are small round flat cakes of dry boiled beans.

[9] Mr N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[10] Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sānkā.

recitation (*sādhana*) of certain *mantras*, mysterious incantations possessing sway over spirits, that *bhuvas* (exorcists) leave the village and sit up performing certain rites in cemeteries, on burning-ghats, and in other equally suitable places where spirits are supposed to congregate.[1]

On Divāsā, the last day of Āshādh, the ninth month, low-caste people bathe their gods with water and milk, besmear them with red-lead and oil, and make offerings of cocoanuts, *lāpsi*, *bāklā* of *adād* (Phansolens radiatus) or *kansār**. Particular offerings are believed to be favoured by particular deities : for instance, *khichdo* (rice and pulse boiled together) and oil, or *tavo* (flat unleavened loaves) are favoured by the goddess Meldi, boiled rice by Shikotar and *lāpsi* by the goddess Gātrād.[2]

On these holidays, as well as on the second day of the bright half of Āshādh the devotees hoist flags in honour of the spirits, and play on certain musical instruments producing discordant sounds. Meanwhile *bhuvas*, believed to be interpreters of the wills of evil spirits, undergo self-torture, with the firm conviction that the spirits have entered their persons. Sometimes they lash themselves with iron chains or cotton braided scourges.[3] At times a *bhuva* places a pan-full of sweet oil over a fire till it boils. He then fries cakes in it, and takes them out with his unprotected hands, sprinkling the boiling oil over his hair. He further dips thick cotton wicks into the oil, lights them and puts them into his mouth and throws red-hot bullets into his mouth, seemingly without any injury.[4] This process secures the confidence of the *sevakas* or followers, and is very often used by *bhuvas* when exorcising spirits from persons whose confidence the *bhuvas* wish to gain. A bowl-full of water is then passed round the head of the ailing person (or animal) to be charmed, and the contents are swallowed by the exorcist to show that he has swallowed in the water all the ills the flesh of the patient is heir to.[4]

In the cure of certain diseases by exorcising the process known as *utār* is sometimes gone through. An *utār* is a sacrificial offering of the nature of a scapegoat, and consists of a black earthen vessel, open and broad at the top, and containing *lāpsi*, *vadān*, *bāklā*, a yard of *atlas* (dark-red silk fabric), one rupee and four annas in cash, pieces of charcoal, red-lead, *sorro* (or surmo-lead ore used as eye-powder), an iron-nail and three cocoanuts.[4] Very often a trident is drawn in red-lead and oil on the outer sides of the black earthen vessel.[5] The *bhuva* carries the *utār* in his hands with a drawn sword in a procession, to the noise of the jingling of the anklets of his companions, the beating of drums and the rattling of cymbals. After placing the *utār* in the cemetery the procession returns with tumultuous shouts of joy and much jingling of anklets.[6]

Sometimes *bhuvas* are summoned for two or three nights preceding the day of the *utār* ceremony, and a ceremony known as *Dānklān-beswān* or the installation of the *dānklā*[7] is performed. (A *dānklā*† is a special spirit instrument in the shape of a small kettle-drum producing, when beaten by a stick, a most discordant, and, by long association, a melancholy, gruesome and ghastly sound—K. B. Fazlullah).

Many sects have special deities of their own, attended upon by a *bhuva* of the same order.[8] The *bhuva* holds a high position in the society of his caste-fellows. He believes himself to be possessed by the devi or mātā whose attendant he is, and declares,

[1] Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sanka.

* Kansār is course wheat-flour cooked in three times as much water and sweetened with molasses or sugar and taken with ghi.—B. L. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

[2] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

[3] Mr. G. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sultanpore.

[4] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[5] Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

[6] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[7] Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

[8] Mr. Jagannath Hirji, Schoolmaster, Chok.

† A *dānklā* is otherwise known by the name of *dūg-dudioon*

while possessed by her, the will of the mātā, replying for her to such questions as may be put to him.[1] The devis are supposed to appear in specially favoured *bhuvas* and to endow them with prophetic powers.[2]

The following is a list of some of the inferior local deities of Gujarat and Kathiawar :—

(1) Suro-pūro.—This is generally the spirit of some brave ancestor who died a heroic death, and is worshipped by his descendants as a family-god at his birthplace as well as at the scene of his death, where a pillar (pālio) is erected to his memory.[3]

(2) Vachhro, otherwise known by the name of Dādā (sire).—This is said to have been a Rajput, killed in rescuing the cowherds of some Chārans, who invoked his aid, from a party of free-booters.[4] He is considered to be the family-god ofthe Ahirs of Solanki descent, and is the sole village-deity in Okha and Baradi Districts.[5] Other places dedicated to this god are Padānā, Aniālā, Taluka Mengani,[6] Khajurdi, Khirasarā and Anida.[7] He is represented by a stone horse, and Chārans perform priestly duties in front of him.[8] Submission to, and vows in honour of, this god, are believed to cure rabid-dog-bites.[9]

(3) Sarmālio commands worship in Gondal, Khokhāri and many other places. Newly-married couples of many castes loosen the knots tied in their marriage-scarves as a mark of respect for him.* Persons bitten by a snake wear round their necks a piece of thread dedicated to this god.[9]

(4) Shītalā is a goddess known for the cure of small-pox.—Persons attacked by this disease observe vows in her honour. Kālāvad and Syādlā are places dedicated to her.[9]

(5) Ganāgor.—Virgins who are anxious to secure suitable husbands and comfortable establishments worship this goddess and observe vows in her honour.[9]

(6) Todāliā—She has neither an idol nor a temple set up in her honour, but is represented by a heap of stones lying on the village boundary—Pādal or Jāmpā. All marriage processions, before entering the village (Sānkā) or passing by the heap, pay homage to this deity and offer a cocoanut, failure to do which is believed to arouse her wrath. She does not command daily adoration, but on occasions the attendant, who is a Chumvāliā Koli, and who appropriates all the presents to this deity, burns frankincense of *gugal* (balsamodendron) and lights a lamp before her.[10]

(7) Buttāya also is represented by a heap of stones on a hillock in the vicinity of Sānkā. Her worshipper is a Talabdia Koli. A long season of drought leads to her propitiation by feasting Brāhmans, for which purpose four pounds of corn are taken in her name from each threshing floor in the village.[10]

(8) Surdhan.—This seems to have been some brave Kshatriya warrior who died on a battlefield. A temple is erected to his memory, containing an image of Shiva. The attending priest is an Atit.[10]

(9) Ghogho.—This is a cobra-god worshipped in the village of Bikhijada having a Bajana (tumbler) for his attending priest.[10]

(10) Pir.—This is a Musalman saint, in whose honour no tomb is erected, the special site alone being worshipped by a devotee.[10]

(11) Raneki is represented by a heap of stones, and is attended upon by *chamārs* (tanners). Her favourite resort is near the Dhedvādā (*i.e.*, a quarter inhabited by sweepers). A childless Girasia is said to

[1] Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal.
[2] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrāsā.
[3] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.
[4] Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasarā.
[5] Mr. L. G. Travadi, Schoolmaster, Upleta.
[6] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.
[7] Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasarā.
[8] Mr. L. G. Travadi, Schoolmaster, Upleta.
[9] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhank.

* Two pieces of cloth, a shouldercloth and a scarf are cast over the bridegroom and the bride, and they are tied together by a knot. It is the unloosening of this tie which is here referred to.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

[10] Mr. N. M. Dave, Schcolmaster, Sānkā.

have observed a vow in her honour for a son, and a son being born to him, he dedicated certain lands to her; but they are no longer in the possession of the attendants.[1]

(12) Hanuman.—On a mound of earth there is an old worn-out image of this god. People sometimes light a lamp there, offer cocoanuts and plaster the image with red-lead and oil. A *sādhu* of the Māragi sect, a Koli by birth, acts as *pujari*.[1]

(13) Shaktā (or shakti).—This is a Girasia goddess attended upon by a Chumvāliā Koli. On the Navarātra days, as well as on the following day, Girasias worship this goddess, and if necessary observe vows in her name.[1]

(14) Harsidh.—Gāndhavi in Bardā and Ujjain are the places dedicated to this goddess. There is a tradition connected with her that her image stood in a place of worship facing the sea on Mount Koyalo in Gandhavi. She was believed to sink or swallow all the vessels that sailed by. A Bania named Jagadusā, knowing this, propitiated her by the performance of religious austerities. On being asked what boon he wanted from her, he requested her to descend from her mountain-seat. She agreed on the Bania promising to offer a living victim for every footstep she took in descending. Thus he sacrificed one victim after another until the number of victims he had brought was exhausted. He then first offered his four or five children, then his wife and lastly himself. In reward for his self-devotion the goddess faced towards Miani and no mishaps are believed to take place in the village.[2]

(15) Hinglaj.—This goddess has a place of worship a hundred and fifty miles from Karachi in Sind, to which her devotees and believers make pilgrimage.[2]

In the village of Jāsdān, in Kathiawar, there is an ancient shrine of Kālu-Pīr in whose memory there are two sepulchres covered with costly fabrics, and a large flag floats over the building. Both Hindus and Musalmans believe* in this saint, and offer cocoanuts, sweatmeats and money to his soul. A part of the offering being passed through the smoke of frankincense, burning in a brazier near the saint's grave in the shrine, the rest is returned to the offerer. Every morning and evening a big kettle-drum is beaten in the Pīr's honour.[3]

Other minor deities are Shikotār, believed by sailors to be able to protect them from the dangers of the deep;[4] Charmathvati, the goddess of the Rabarīs;[5] Macho, the god of the shepherds;[5] Meldi, in whom Vaghries (bird-catchers) believe;[6] Pithād, the favourite god of Dheds;[7] Dhavdi, who is worshipped by a *hajām* (barber);[8] Khodiar;[9] Géla,[9] Dādamo,[9] Kshetrapāl,[9] Chāvad,[10] Mongal,[10] Avad,[10] Pālan,[10] Vir

[1] Mr. N. M. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sānkā.

[2] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.

* The tendency to fraternise as much in belief as in nationality is a notable feature of Indian life. The saying goes :—Hindu Musalmān ék Rām bijó Rehmān. The Hindu and Musalman are not far apart; one is the follower of Rām, the other of Rehmān (the most compassionate—a Kuranic name of Allah). Again says another proverb: The Hindu and Musalmān are as closely connected as the breast and the skirt of a garment (Hindu né Musalmān moli dāman jo-vehevār). The Hindu pays homage to the Pīr, the Muslim repays the compliment by holding some of his Hindu brother's lower class deities, such as Vaital and Kāli and Ambā, in awe. The Hindu worships and breaks cocoanuts before the Moharram *taazias*—the Musalman responds by showing a sneaking sort of a regard for the Holi, whom he believes to have been a daughter of the patriarch Abraham. This reciprocal good fellowship in time of political agitation, like those of the Indian Mutiny, results in the "chapati", or unleavened bread loaf, being considered a symbol to be honoured both by Muslim and Hindu; and in more recent times, as during the plague troubles in Allahabad and Cawnpore, shows itself in the Muslim garlanding the Hindu on a holiday, and the Hindus setting up sherbat-stalls for Musalmans on an Id day.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

[3] Mr. J. N. Patel, Schoolmaster, Jasdan.

[4] Mr. Jaggannath Hirji, Schoolmaster, Chok.

[5] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrāsā.

[6] Mr. O. A. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Lakhapadar.

[7] Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti Marad.

[8] Mr. J. D. Khandhar, Sayala.

[9] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

[10] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

Vaital,[1] Jālio,[1] Gadio,[1] Paino,[1] Parolio,[1] Sevalio,[1] Andhario,[1] Fulio[1] Bheravo,[1] Ragantio,[1] Chod,[2] Gātrad,[2] Mammai and Verai.[3] There are frequent additions to the number, as any new disease or unusual and untoward incident may bring a new spirit into existence. The installation of such deities is not a costly concern,[4] and thus there is no serious check on their recognition.

The sun, the beneficent night-dispelling, light-bestowing great luminary, is believed to be the visible manifestation of the Almighty God,[5] and inspires the human mind with a feeling of grateful reverence which finds expression in titles like *Savitā*, Life-Producer, the nourisher and generator of all life and activity[6].

He is the chief rain-sender[7]; there is a couplet used in Gujarat illustrative of this belief. It runs:—"Oblations are cast into the Fire: the smoke carries the prayers to the sun; the Divine Luminary, propitiated, responds in sending down gentle showers." "The sacred smoke, rising from the sacrificial offerings, ascends through the ethereal regions to the Sun. He transforms it into the rain-giving clouds, the rains produce food, and food produces the powers of generation and multiplication and plenty. Thus, the sun, as the propagator of animal life, is believed to be the highest deity.[7]"

It is pretty generally believed that vows in honour of the sun are highly efficacious in curing eye-diseases and strengthening the eyesight. Mr. Damodar Karsonji Pandya quotes from the Bhagvadgītā the saying of Krishna:

प्रभास्मि शशिसूर्ययोः

"I am the very light of the sun and the moon.*" Being the embodiment or the fountain of light, the sun imparts his lustre either to the bodies or to the eyes of his devotees. It is said that a Rajput woman of Gomātā in Gondal and a Brahman of Rajkot were cured of white leprosy by vows in honour of the sun.[8] Similar vows are made to this day for the cure of the same disease. Persons in Kathiawar suffering from ophthalmic disorders, venereal affections, leucoderma and white leprosy are known to observe vows in honour of the sun.[9]

The Parmār Rajputs believe in the efficacy of vows in honour of the sun deity of Māndavrāj, in curing hydrophobia.[10]

Women believe that a vow or a *vrat* made to the sun is the sure means of attaining their desires. Chiefly their vows are made with the object of securing a son. On the fulfilment of this desire, in gratitude to the Great Luminary, the child is often called after him, and given such a name as Suraj-Rām, Bhānu-Shankar. Ravi-Shankar, Adit-Rām.[11]

Many cradles are received as presents at the temple of Māndavrāj, indicating that the barren women who had made vows to the deity have been satisfied in their desire for a son, the vows being fulfilled by the present of such toy-cradles to the sun. In the case of rich donors, these cradles are made of precious metal.[12]

At Mandvara, in the Muli District of Kathiawar, the Parmār Rajputs, as well as the Kāthis, bow to the image of the sun, on their marriage-day, in company with their newly-married brides.[12] After the birth of

[1] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[2] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
[3] Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpore.
[4] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[5] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[6] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[7] Mr. M. D. Vyas. Schoolmaster, Bhayavadur.
* Cf. Alláho núr-us-samáwátiwal ard, mathalo nurihi-ka miskatin bihá nusbáh—Koran. Allah! He is the light of the Heavens and the Earth. The likeness of His Light being similar to a lamp in a glass.—Fazlullah Latfullah.
[8] Mr. Jethabai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal; and Damodar Karsonji, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
[9] Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.
[10] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.
[11] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[12] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

a son to a Rajputani, the hair on the boy's head is shaved for the first time in the presence of the Māndavrāj deity,* and a suit of rich clothes is presented to the image by the maternal uncle of the child.[1]

The sun is सर्वसाक्षी the observer of all things and nothing can escape his notice.[2] His eye is believed to possess the lustre of the three Vedic lores, *viz.*, Rigveda, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, and is therefore known by the name of वेदत्रयी. The attestation of a document in his name as Sūrya-Nārāyana-Sākshi is believed to be ample security for the sincerity and good faith of the parties.[3] Oaths in the name of the sun are considered so binding that persons swearing in his name are held to be pledged to the strictest truth.[4]

Virgin girls observe a *vrat*, or vow, called the '*tili-vrat*' in the sun's honour, for attaining अखंड सौभाग्य—eternal exemption from widowhood. In making this *vrat*, or vow, the votary, having bathed and worshipped the sun, sprinkles wet red-lac drops before him.[5]

According to Forbes's Rāsmālā, the sun revealed to the Kāthis the plan of regaining their lost kingdom, and thus commanded their devout worship and reverence. The temple named Suraj-deval, near Thān, was set up by the Kāthis in recognition of this favour. In it both the visible resplendent disc of the sun and his image are adored.[6]

People whose horoscopes declare them to have been born under the *Sūrya-dashā*, or solar influence, have from time to time to observe vows prescribed by Hindu astrology.[7]

Cultivators are said to observe vows in honour of the sun for the safety of their cattle.[8]

The following are some of the standard books on sun-worship:—

(1) Aditya-hridaya—literally, the Heart of the Sun. It treats of the glory of the sun and the mode of worshipping him.

(2) Brihadāranyakopanishad and Mandula-Brahmans—portions of Yajur-veda recited by Vedic Brahmans with a view to tender symbolic as well as mental prayers to the sun.

(3) Bibhrād—the fourth chapter of the Rudri.

(4) A passage in Brāhman—a portion of the Vedas, beginning with the words स्वयंभूरसि Thou art self-existent—is entirely devoted to Sun-worship.[9]

(5) Sūrya-Purāna—A treatise relating a number of stories in glorification of the sun.

(6) Sūrya-kavacha.[10]

(7) Sūrya-gīta.

(8) Sūrya-Sahasranama—a list of one thousand names of Sūrya.[11]

It is customary among Hindus to cleanse their teeth every morning with a wooden stick, known as *dātan*† and then to offer salutations to the sun in the form of a verse which means: "Oh God, the *dātans* are torn asunder and the sins disappear. Oh the penetrator of the innermost parts, forgive us our sins. Do good unto the benevolent and unto our neighbours." This prayer is common in the mouths of the vulgar laity.[12]

Better educated people recite a shloka, which runs: "Bow unto Savitri, the sun, the observer of this world and its quarters, the eye of the universe, the inspirer of all energy, the holder of a three-fold person-

* A similar custom is observed in Gujarat. Unfortunate parents, who have lost many children, vow to grow the hair of their little children, if such are preserved to them, observing all the time a votive abstinence from a particular dish or betelnut or the like. When the children are 3 or 5 or 7 years old, the vow is fulfilled by taking them to a sacred place, like the temple of Ranchhodji at Dakor, to have their hair cut for the first time. This vow is known as bābari in Southern Gujarat.—K. D. Desai.

1 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka. 2 Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Gondal. 3 Mr. K. D. Desai.
4 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka. 5 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
6 Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.
7 Mr. G. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Sultanpore.
8 Mrs. Raju Ramjee Kanjee, 2nd Assistant, Girls' School, Gondal.
9 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank. 10 Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
11 Mr. Girijashankar Karmeashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.
†The Hindus use the tender sprigs of the Nim or Babul trees for tooth-brushes. After they have done duty as brushes they are cloven into two and the tenderest part is used as a tongue-scraper.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.
12 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

ality (being an embodiment of the forms of the three gods of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshvar)—the embodiment of the three Vedas, the giver of happiness and the abode of God.[1]

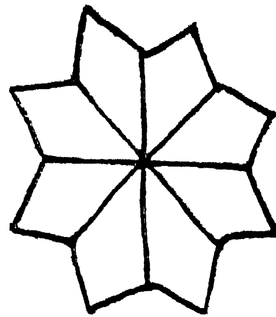
After his toilet a high-caste Hindu should take a bath and offer morning prayers and *arghyas* to the sun.[2] The *Trikāla-Sandhyā* is enjoined by the Shāstras on every Brahman, *i.e.*, every Brahman should perform the *Sandhyā* thrice during the day: in the morning, at mid-day and in the evening. The *Sandhyā* is the prayer a Brahman offers, sitting in divine meditation, when he offers three *arghyas* to the sun and recites the Gāyatrī mantra 108 times.[3]

The *arghya* is an offering of water in a spoon half filled with barley seeds, sesamum seeds, sandal ointment, rice, and white flowers. In offering the *arghya* the right foot is folded below the left, the spoon is lifted to the forehead and is emptied towards the sun after reciting the Gāyatri mantra.[4] If water is not available for offering the *arghyas*, sand may serve the purpose. But the sun must not be deprived of his *arghyas*.[5]

The Gāyatrī is the most sacred mantra in honour of the sun, containing, as it does, the highest laudations of him.[5] A Brahman ought to recite this mantra 324 times every day. Otherwise he incurs a sin as great as the slaughter of a cow.[6] Accordingly a Rudrākshmālā, or a rosary of 108 Rudrāksh beads, is used in connecting the number of Gāyatrīs recited.[7] It is exclusively the right of the twice-born to recite the Gāyatrī. None else is authorised to recite or even to hear a word of it. Neither females nor Shūdras ought to catch an echo of even a single syllable of the Gāyatrī mantra[8].

A ceremony, called Sūryopasthān, in which a man has to stand facing the sun with his hands stretched upwards at an angle towards the sun, is performed as a part of the *sandhyā*.[9]

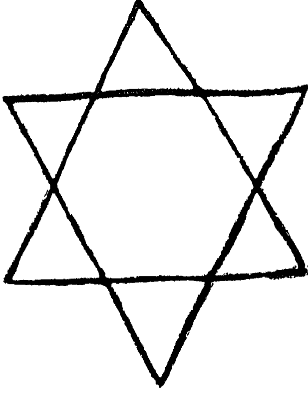
Of the days of the week, Ravivar, or Sunday is the most suitable for Sun worship[10]. Persons wishing to secure wealth, good-health and a happy progeny, especially people suffering from disorders caused by heat and from diseases of the eyes, barren women, and men anxious for victory on the battlefield, weekly observe vows in honour of the sun, and the day on which the vow is to be kept is Sunday.[11] It is left to the devotee to fix the number of Sundays on which he will observe the *vrat*, and he may choose to observe all the Sundays of the year.[12] On such days the devotees undergo ceremonial purifications by means of baths and the putting on of clean garments, occupy a reserved clean seat, light a ghi-lamp and recite the Aditya-hridaya-pātha, which is the prescribed mantra for Sun worship.[13] Then follows the Nyāsa, (न्यास) in the recitation of which the devotee has to make certain gestures (or to perform physical ceremonials). First the tips of all the four fingers are made to touch the thumb as is done in counting. Then the tips of the fingers are made to touch the palm of the other hand. Then one hand is laid over the other. Then the fingers are made to touch the heart, the head, the eyes, and the hair in regular order. The right hand is then put round the head and made to smite the left.[13] An *ashtadala* or eight-cornered figure is drawn in *gulal*,



1 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.
2 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
3 Mr. K. D. Desai.
4 Mr. Jethalal Anūpram, Schoolmaster, Aman.
5 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
6 Mr. K. D. Desai.
7 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
8 Mr. K. D. Desai.
9 Mr. M. D. Vyas, Shastri, Bhayavadur.
10 Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi, and L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.
11 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara, and Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
12 Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
13 Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrāsā

(red powder) and frankincense, red ointment and red flowers are offered to the sun.[1] Durvā grass is also commonly used in the process of Sun worship.[2]

Sometimes a hexangular figure is drawn



instead of the *ashtadal*, a copper disc is placed over it and the sun is worshipped by Panchopachar or the five-fold ceremonials.[3] Of all ceremonials a namaskār is especially dear to the sun.[4] It is said :—

नमस्कारप्रियो भानुर्जलधाराप्रियः शिवः ।
परोपकारप्रियो विष्णुर्ब्राम्हणो भोजनप्रियः ॥

A namaskār or bow is dear to the sun; a stream of water (pouring water in a small stream over Shiva's idol) is dear to Shiva: benevolence to Vishnu and a good dinner to a Brahman.[4]

In observing vows in the sun's honour on Sundays, the following special foods are prescribed in particular months :[5]—

(1) In Kārtika, the first month, the devotee is to take only three leaves of the Tulsi or the holy basil plant.

(2) In Mārgashīrsha, the devotee may only lick a few pieces of candied sugar.

(3) In Pausha, the devotee may chew three stalks of green darbha grass.

(4) In Māgha, a few seeds of sesamum and sugar mixed together may be swallowed.

(5) In Phālgūna, a consecrated draught of curds and sugar may be drunk.

(6) In Chaitra, people should break their fasts with a little ghi and molasses.

(7) In Vaishākha, the only satisfaction allowed to those observing the *vrat* is to lick their own palms three times.

(8) In Jyeshtha, the fast is observed simply on three *anjalis* or palmfuls of pure water.

(9) In Ashādha, three chillies may be eaten.

(10) In Shrāvana, only cow-urine and molasses are tasted.

(11) In Bhādrapada, cow-dung and sugar are partaken of.

(12) In Āshvina, the application of chandan (sandal wood) either in the form of an ointment or of powder.

Only a few very pious and enthusiastic devotees observe all Sundays in the above manner. In average cases, the devotee allows himself rice, ghi, sugar, milk, *i. e.*, white food, the restriction being only as to colour.[5]

People observing vows in honour of the sun take food only once during the day, and that too in *bājas* or dishes made of *khākhara* (or palāsh) leaves. This is considered one of the conditions of worship, there being some mysterious relation between Sūrya and the *khākhara*.[6]

If the Pushya Nakshatra happens to fall on a Sunday, the worship of the sun on that day is believed to be most efficacious in fulfilling the desires of the devotees.[7]

Of the days of the month, the seventh day of both the bright and the dark halves of each month [8] and the Amāvāsyā day, *i. e.*, the last day of a Hindu calendar month, [9] are set apart for Sun-worship. The ceremonies of the worship are the same as those on Sundays. In fact, in almost all the observances in connection with the sun the same ceremonials are to be gone through. Very often a Brahman recites the pātha **direct-**

[1] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.
[2] Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.
[3] Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.
[4] Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.
[5] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrasa.
[6] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
[7] Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadavah.
[8] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.
[9] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

ing his hosts or hostesses to perform certain ceremonial gestures. On the last of the number of days which the devotee has decided to observe, the *vrat* is celebrated and Brahmans are feasted. This celebration of the *vrat* is known as *vratujavavun*.[1]

The special occasions for Sun-worship are the Sankrānti days and the solar eclipses.

In each year there are twelve Sankrānti days on which the sun moves from one sign of the zodiac to another. Sun-worship is performed on all these Sankrāntis, but Makara-Sankrānti, which falls on the 12th or 13th of January, is considered the most important.[2] The uttarāyana-parvan falls on this day, *i. e.*, the sun now crosses to his northern course from his southern, and the time of that Parvan is considered so holy that a person dying then directly attains salvation.[3] On this day, many Hindus go on a pilgrimage to holy places, offer prayers and sacrifices to the sun, and give alms to Brahmans in the shape of sesamum seeds, gold, garments and cows.[4] Much secret, as well as open, charity is dispensed,[5] grass and cotton-seeds are given to cows, and *lāpsi** and loaves to dogs.[5] Sweet balls of sesamum seeds and molasses are eaten as a *prasād* and given to Brahmans, and dainties such as *lāpsi* are partaken of by Hindu households, in company with a Brahman or two, who are given dakshinā after the meals.[6]

On solar eclipse days, most of the Hindu sects bathe and offer prayers to God. During the eclipse the sun is believed to be combating with the demon Rāhu, prayers being offered for the sun's success. When the sun has freed himself from the grasp of the demon and sheds his full lustre on the earth, the people take ceremonial baths, offer prayers to God with a concentrated mind, and well-to-do people give in alms as much as they can afford of all kinds of grain[7].

The Chāturmās-vrat, very common in Kathiawar, is a favourite one with Hindus. The devotee, in performing this *vrat*, abstains from food on those days during the monsoons on which, owing to cloudy weather, the sun is not visible. Even if the sun is concealed by the clouds for days together, the devout votary keeps fasting till he sees the deity again[8].

Barren women, women whose children die, and especially those who lose their male children, women whose husbands suffer from diseases caused by heat, lepers, and persons suffering from ophthalmic ailments observe the vow of the sun in the following manner.[9] The vows are kept on Sundaysand Amāvāsyā days, and the number of such days is determined by the devotee in accordance with the behests of a learned Brahman. The woman observes a fast on such days, bathes herself at noon when the sun reaches the zenith, and dresses herself in clean garments. Facing the sun, she dips twelve red karan flowers in red or white sandal ointment and recites the twelve names of Sūrya as she presents one flower after another to the sun with a bow.† On each day of the *vrat*, she takes food only once, in the shape of *lāpsi*, in *bajas* of khākharā or palāsh leaves ; white food in the form of rice, or rice cooked in milk is sometimes allowed. She keeps a ghi-lamp burning day and night, offers frankincense, and sleeps at night on a bed made on the floor [10].

People who are declared by the Brahmans to be under the evil influence (dashā) of Sūrya, observe vows in the sun's honour and go through the prescribed rites on Sundays. Such persons take special kinds of food and engage the services of priests to recite

[1] Mr. K. D. Desai. [2] Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Songadh. [3] Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti-Murad.
[4] Mr. Ranchhodji Becher Pandya, Shastri, Jelpur, Sanskrit Pāthashālā. [5] Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
* Wheat flour fried in ghi with molasses. [6] Mr. K. D. Desai. [7] Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[8] Mr. K. D. Desai. [9] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.
† The names are: 1 Āditya, 2 Divākar, 3 Bhāskar, 4 Prabhākar, 5 Sahasrānshu, 6 Trilochan, 7 Haritāshva, 8 Vibhāvasu, 9 Divākrit, 10 Divādarshātmaka, 11 Trimūrti, 12 Sūrya.
Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

holy texts in honour of the sun. If all goes well on Sunday, Brahmans, Sādhus and other pious persons are entertained at a feast. This feast is known as *vrat-ujavavun*. Some persons have the sun's image (an ashtadal) engraved on a copper or a golden plate for daily or weekly worship. [1]

On the twelfth day after the delivery of a child, the sun is worshipped and the *homa* sacrifice is performed. [2]

If at a wedding the sun happens to be in an unfavourable position according to the bridegroom's horoscope, an image of the sun is drawn on gold-leaf and given away in charity. Charity in any other form is also common on such an occasion. [2]

A Nāgar bride performs sun-worship for the seven days preceding her wedding. [3]

In Hindu funeral ceremonies three *arghyas* are offered to the sun, and the following mantra is chanted [4] :—

आदित्यो भास्करो भानु रविः सूर्यो दिवाकरः ।
षण्नाम स्मरेन्नित्यं महापातकनाशनम् ॥

It means—one should ever recite the six names of the Sun, Aditya, Bhāskar, Bhānu, Ravi, Surya, Divākar, which destroy sin.

The sun is also worshipped on the thirteenth day after the death of a person, when *arghyas* are offered, and two earthen pots, containing a handful of raw *khichedi*—rice and pulse—and covered with yellow pieces of cotton are placed outside the house. This ceremony is called *gadāso bharvo*. [1]

Rajahs of the solar race always worship the rising sun. They also keep a golden image of the sun in their palaces, and engage learned Brahmans to recite verses in his honour. On Sundays they take only one meal and that of simple rice (for white food is most acceptable to the sun). [5]

Circumambulations round images and other holy objects are considered meritorious and to cause the destruction of sin.[6] The subject has been dwelt on at length in the Dharma-sindhu-grantha, Vratarāja, and Shodashopa-chāra among the Dharma-Shāstras of the Hindus.[7]

The object round which turns are taken is either the image of a god, such as of Ganpati, Mahādev or Vishnu[8] or the portrait of a *guru*, or his footmarks engraved or impressed upon some substance, or the *agni-kunda* (the fire-pit),[9] or the holy cow[10], or some sacred tree or plant, such as the Vad (banyan tree), the Pipal (ficus religiosa),[11] the Shami (prosopis spicegera), the Amba (mango tree), the Asopalava tree (Poly-althea longi folia),[12] or the Tulsi (sweet basil) plant.

It is said to have been a custom of the Brahmans in ancient times to complete their daily rites before sunrise every morning, and then to take turns round temples and holy objects. The practice is much less common now than formerly.[13] Still, visitors to a temple or an idol, usually are careful to go round it a few times at least (generally five or seven). The usual procedure at such a time is to strike gongs or ring bells after the turns, to cast a glance at the *shikhar* or the pinnacle of the temple, and then to return.[14]

Women observing the *chāturmās-vrat*, or the monsoon vow, lasting from the eleventh day of the bright half of Ashādh (the ninth month) to the eleventh day of the bright half of Kārtik (the first month) first worship the object, round which they wish to take turns, with *panchāmrit* (a mixture of milk, curds, sugar, ghi and honey). The number of turns may be either 5, 7, 21 or 108. At each turn they keep entwining a fine cotton thread and place a *pendā** or a *bantāsā*† or a betel-leaf or an almond, a cocoanut, a fig or some

1 Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.
2 Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Ganod.
3 Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.
4 Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Ganod.
5 Mr. Chhaganlal Motiram, Wala Taluka.
6 Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur, Sanskrit School
7 Mrs. Raju Ramjee Kanjee, Girls' School, Ganod.
8 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
9 Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.
10 Mr. J. D. Khandhar, Sayala.
11 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
12 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
13 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
14 Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.
* Milk and sugar ball.
† A sugar cake.

other fruit before the image or the object walked round. These offerings are claimed by the priest who superintends the ceremony.[1] When a sacred tree is circumambulated, water is poured out at the foot of the tree at each turn.[2]

During the month of Shrāvan (the tenth month) and during the Purushottama (or the intercalatory) month, men and women observe a number of vows, in respect of which, every morning and evening, they take turns round holy images and objects.[3]

People observing the *chāturmās-vrat* (or monsoon vow), called Tulsi-vivāha (marriage of Tulsi), worship that plant and take turns round it on every eleventh day of both the bright and the dark halves of each of the monsoon months.[3] The *gautrat-vrat* (gau= cow) necessitates perambulations round a cow, and the *Vat-Sāvitri-vrat* round the Vad or banyan tree. The banyan tree is also circumambulated on the Kapilashashthi day (the sixth day of the bright half of Mārgashīrsha, the second month) and on the Amāvāsyā or the last day of Bhādrapada (the eleventh month).[4]

Women who are anxious to prolong the lives of their husbands take turns round the Tulsi plant or the banyan tree. At each turn they wind a fine cotton thread. At the end of the last turn, they throw red lac and rice over the tree and place a betelnut and a pice or a half-anna piece before it.[5]

The *Shāstras* authorise four *pradakshinās* (or perambulations) for Vishnu, three for the goddesses, and a half (or one and a half)[6] for Shiva.[7] But the usual number of *pradakshinās* is either 5, 7, 21 or 108. In taking turns round the image of Vishnu, one must take care to keep one's right side towards the image, while in the case of Shiva, one must not cross the *jalādhari** or the small passage for conducting water poured over the Shiva-linga.[7]

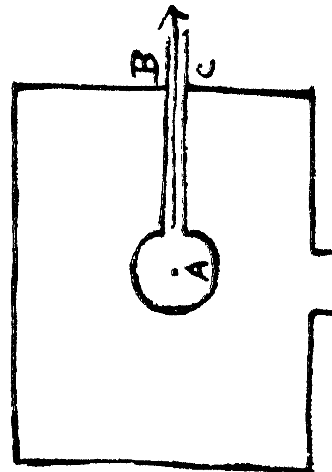
Sometimes in *pradakshinās* the votary repeats the name of the deity round which the turns are taken while the priest recites the names of the gods in Shlokas.[8] Sometimes the following verse is repeated.[9]

पापोऽहं पापकर्माऽहं पापात्मा पापसंभवः ।
त्राहि मां पुण्डरीकाक्ष सर्वपापहरो भव ॥
यानि कानि च पापानि जन्मांतरकृतानि च ।
तानि तानि विनश्यन्तु प्रदक्षिणपदपदे ॥

'I am sinful, the doer of sin, a sinful soul and am born of sin. O lotus-eyed One! protect me and take away all sins from me. Whatever sins I may have committed now as well as in my former births, may every one of them perish at each footstep of my *pradakshinā*.'

The recitation and the turns are supposed to free the soul from the *pherā* of *lakh-choryasi*†. Alms are given many times to the poor after *pradakshinās*.[10]

The reason why *pradakshinās* are taken during the day is that they have to be taken in the presence of the sun, the great everlasting witness of all human actions.[11]



1 Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.
2 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
3 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
4 Mr. P. L. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Luvaria.
5 Mr. Jeram Vasaram, Schoolmaster, Jodia.
6 Mr. M. H. Raval, Ganod.
7 Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.
* See figure above. *A* shows Shiva's image: the arrow-head, the jalādhari which a person is not to cross. He is to return from the point *B* in his first round and from the point *C* in his half turn. Thus *B C* remains uncrossed. The circle round *A* shows the Khāl, place wherein god Shiva is installed —K. D. Desai.
8 Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpore.
9 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
† Hindus believe that a soul has to go through a lac and eighty-four thousand transmigrations before it attains final emancipation. The cycle of 1,84,000 births is called the *phera* of *lakh—choryasi*,—K. D. Desai.
10 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
11 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.

As all seeds and vegetation receive their nourishment from solar and lunar rays, the latter are believed in the same way to help embryonic development.[1]

The heat of the sun causes the trees and plants to give forth new sprouts, and therefore he is called 'Savita' or Producer.[2] Solar and lunar rays are also believed to facilitate and expedite delivery.[3] The medical science of the Hindus declares the Amāvāsya (new-moon day) and Pūrnima (full-moon day) days—on both of which days the influence of the sun and the moon is most powerful—to be so critical for child-bearing women as to cause, at times, premature delivery.[4] Hence, before delivery, women are made to take turns in the sunlight and also in moonlight, in order to invigorate the fœtus, thus securing that their delivery may be easy. [The assistance rendered by solar rays in facilitating the delivery is said to impart a hot temperament to the child so born, and that by the lunar rays a cool one.][5] After delivery, a woman should glance at the sun with her hands clasped, and should offer rice and red flowers to him.[6] Sitting in the sun after delivery is considered beneficial to women enfeebled by the effort[7]. It is a cure for the paleness due to exhaustion[8], and infuses new vigour.[9]

The Bhils believe that the exposure of a new-born child to the sun confers upon the child immunity from injury by cold and heat.[10]

The practice of making recently delivered women sit in the sun does not seem to be widespread, nor does it prevail in Kathiawar. In Kathiawar, on the contrary, women are kept secluded from sunlight in a dark room at the time of child-birth, and are warmed by artificial means.[11] On the other hand, it is customary in many places to bring a woman into the sunlight after a certain period has elapsed since her delivery. The duration of this period varies from four days to a month and a quarter. Sometimes a woman is not allowed to see sunlight after child-birth until she presents the child to the sun with certain ceremonies, either on the fourth or the sixth day from the date of her delivery.[12]

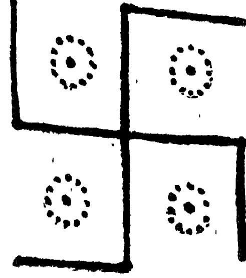
A ceremony called the Shashthi-Karma is performed on the sixth day after the birth of a child, and the Nāmkaran ceremony—the ceremony of giving a name—on the twelfth day. The mother of the child is sometimes not allowed to see the sun before the completion of these ceremonies.[13] Occasionally, on the eleventh day after child-birth, the mother is made to take a bath in the sun.[14]

Exactly a month and a quarter from the date of delivery a woman is taken to a neighbouring stream to offer prayers to the sun and to fetch water thence in an earthen vessel. This ceremony is known as Zarmā-zaryan.[15] Seven small betel-nuts are used in the ceremony. They are carried by the mother, and distributed by her to barren women, who believe that, by eating the nuts from her hand, they are likely to conceive.[16]

[1] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[2] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[3] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[4] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
[5] Mr. Jethalal Anupram, Schoolmaster, Ainan.
[6] Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.
[7] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
[8] Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Moti-Murād.
[9] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[10] Mr. D. K. Shah, Schoolmaster, Charadwa.
[11] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.
[12] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Schoolmaster, Chhatrāsa.
[13] Mr. Chhaganlal Motiram, Schoolmaster, WalaTalu.
[14] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.
[15] Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani, and the Schoolmaster, Movaiyam.
[16] Mr. K. D. Desai.

In difficult labour cases, *chakrāvā* water is sometimes given to women. The *chakrāvā* is a figure of seven cross lines drawn on a bell-metal dish, over which the finest white dust has been spread. This figure is shown to the woman in labour: water is then poured into the dish and offered her to drink.[1] The figure is said to be a representation of chitrangad.[2] It is also believed to be connected with a story in the Mahābhārata.[3] Subhadrā, the sister of god Krishna and the wife of Arjuna, one of the five Pāndavas, conceived a demon, an enemy of Krishna. The demon would not leave the womb of Subhadrā even twelve months after the date of her conception, and began to harass the mother. Krishna, the incarnation of god, knowing of the demon's presence and the cause of his delay, took pity on the afflicted condition of his sister and read chakrāvā, (Chakravyūha) a book consisting of seven chapters and explaining the method of conquering a labyrinthine fort with seven cross-lined forts. Krishna completed six chapters, and promised to teach the demon the seventh, provided he came out. The demon ceased troubling Subhadrā and emerged from the womb. He was called Abhimanyu. Krishna never read the seventh chapter for then Abhimanyu would have been invincible and able to take his life. This ignorance of the seventh chapter cost Abhimanyu his life on the field of Kuru-kshetra in conquering the seven cross-lined labyrinthine forts. As the art of conquering a labyrinthine fort when taught to a demon in the womb facilitated the delivery of Subhadrā, a belief spread that drinking in the figure of the seven cross-lined labyrinthine fort would facilitate the delivery of all women who had difficulties in child-birth.[3]

The figure *Swastika* (literally auspicious), drawn as shown below, is an auspicious



sign, and is believed to be a mark of good luck and a source of blessings. It is one of the sixteen line-marks on the sole of the lotus-like feet of the god Ishwar, the Creator of the Universe.[4] The fame of the good effects of the Swastika figure is said to have been first diffused throughout society by Nārad-Muni, as instructed by the god Brahma.[5]

Various conjectures have been made concerning the origin of this figure. The following explanation is found in a work named Siddhāntsar. The Eternal *Sat* or Essence, that has neither beginning nor end nor any maker, exhibits all the religious principles in a *chakra* or a wheel-form. This round shape has no circumference; but any point in it is a centre; which being specified, the explanation of the whole universe in a circle is easy. Thus the figure ⊙ indicates the creation of the universe from *Sat* or Essence. The centre with the circumference is the womb, the place of creation of the universe. The centre then expanding into a line, the diameter thus formed represents the male principle, *linga-rūp*, that is the producer, through the medium of activity in the great womb or *mahā-yoni*. When the line assumes the form of a cross, it explains the creation of the universe by an unprecedented combination of the two distinct natures, animate and inanimate. The circumference being

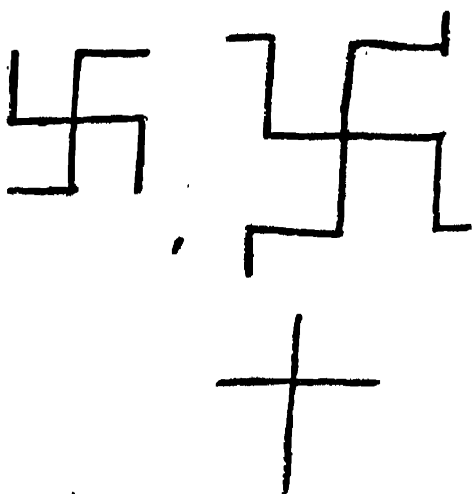
[1] Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.
[2] Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.
[3] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[4] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
[5] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

removed, the remaining cross represents the creation of the world. The Swastika, or Sathia, as it is sometimes called, in its winged form (卍) suggests the possession of creative powers by the opposite natures, animate and inanimate.[1]

Another theory is that an image of the eight-leaved lotus, springing from the navel of Vishnu, one of the Hindu Trinity, was formerly drawn on auspicious occasions as a sign of good luck. The exact imitation of the original being difficult, the latter assumed a variety of forms, one of which is the Swastika.[2]

Some people see an image of the god Ganpati in the figure. That god being the master and protector of all auspicious ceremonies has to be invoked on all such occasions. The incapacity of the devotees to draw a faithful picture of Ganpati gave rise to a number of forms which came to be known by the name of Swastika.[3]

There are more ways than one of drawing the Swastika, as shown below, but the



original form was of the shape of a cross. The first consonant of the Gujarati alphabet, *ka*, now drawn thus ક, was also originally drawn in the form of a cross (+). Some persons therefore suppose that the Swastika may be nothing more than the letter ક (*ka*), written in the old style and standing for the word *kalyān* or welfare.[4]

Though the Swastika is widely regarded as the symbol of the sun, some people ascribe the figure to different deities, *viz.*, to Agni,[5] to Ganpati,[6] to Laxmi,[7] to Shiva,[8] besides the sun. It is also said to represent Swasti, the daughter of Brahma, who received the boon from her father of being worshipped on all auspicious occasions.[9] Most persons, however, regard the Swastika as the symbol of the sun. It is said that particular figures are prescribed as suitable for the installation of particular deities: a triangle for one, a square for another, a pentagon for a third, and the Swastika for the sun.[10] The Swastika is worshipped in the Ratnagiri district, and regarded as the symbol as well as the seat of the Sun-god.[11] The people of the Thana district believe the Swastika to be the central point of the helmet of the sun; and a vow, called the *Swastika-vrat*, is observed by women in its honour. The woman draws a figure of the Swastika and worships it daily during the Chaturmās (the four months of the rainy season), at the expiration of which she presents a Brahman with a golden or silver plate with the Swastika drawn upon it.[12]

A number of other ideas are prevalent about the significance of the Swastika. Some persons believe that it indicates the four directions;[13] some think that it represents the four *mārgas*—courses or objects of human desires—*viz.*, (1) Dharma, religion; (2) Artha, wealth; (3) Kām, love; (4) Moksha, salvation.[14] Some again take it to be an image of the ladder

1 Mr. N. J. Bhatt, Schoolmaster, Moti-Murād.
2 Mr. K. P. Joshi, Schoolmaster, Limbdi.
3 Mr. H. R. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Khirasarā.
4 Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.
5 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.
6 Mr. H. R. Pandya, Khirasarā.
7 Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.
8 The Schoolmaster, Chank, Kolaba.
9 Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwa.
10 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
11 The Schoolmaster, Pendhur, Ratnagiri.
12 The Schoolmaster, Anjār.
13 Mr. Jethabhai Mangaldas, Schoolmaster, Gondal.
14 Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Schoolmaster, Songadh.

leading to the heavens[1]. Others suppose it to be a representation of the terrestrial globe, and the four piles of corn placed in the figure, as shown below (p. 16) represent the four mountains, Udayāchala, Astāchal, Meru and Mandārāchala.[2] The Swastika is also believed to be the foundation-stone of the universe.[3]

The Swastika is much in favour with the gods as a seat or couch, and as soon as it is drawn it is immediately occupied by some deity.[4] It is customary therefore to draw the Swastika on most auspicious and festive occasions, such as marriage and thread ceremonies, the first pregnancy ceremonies and the Divali holidays.[5] In the Konkan the Swastika is always drawn on the *Antarpāt*, or the piece of cloth which is held between the bride and the bridegroom at the time of a Hindu wedding.[6] And at the time of the Punyāha-wāchan,a ceremony which precedes a Hindu wedding, the figure is drawn in rice and is worshipped.[6] Throughout the Chāturmās some persons paint the auspicious Swastikas, either on their thresholds or at their doors, every morning.[7]

On the sixth day from the date of a child's birth, a piece of cloth is marked with a Swastika in red lac, the cloth is stretched on a bedstead and the child is placed upon it.[8] An account of this ceremony is to be found in the treatises Jayantishastra, Jātakarma, and Janakālaya.[8]

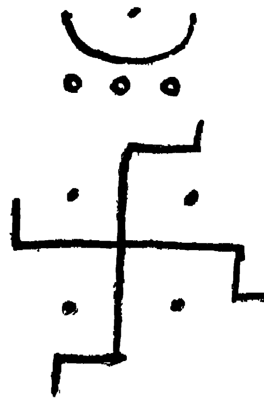
Before joining the village-school, little boys are made to worship Saraswati, the goddess of learning, after having installed her on a Swastika, in order that the acquisition of learning may be facilitated.[9]

A Brahman host, inviting a party of brother-Brahmans to dinner, marks the figure one (१) against the names of those who are eligible for dakshinā, and a Swastika against the names of those who are not eligible. These latter are the *yajamāns* or patrons of the inviting Brahman, who is himself their *pūjya, i. e.*, deserving to be worshipped by them. A *bindu* or dot, in place of the Swastika, is considered inauspicious.[10]

The Swastika is used in calculating the number of days taken in pilgrimage by one's relations, one figure being painted on the wall each day from the date of separation.[10]

It is said that the Swastika when drawn on a wall is the representation of Jogmāya. Jogmāya is a Natural Power, bringing about the union of two separated beings[11].

The Jains paint the Swastika in the way noted below and explain the figure in



the following manner:—The four projectors indicate four kinds of souls: *viz.*, (1) Manushya or human, (2) Tiryach or of lower animals, (3) Deva or divine, (4) Naraki or hellish. The three circular marks denote the three Ratnas or jewels, *viz.*, (1) Jnān or knowledge, (2) Darshana or faith, (3) Charita or good conduct; and the semicircular curve, at the top of the three circles, indicates salvation.[12]

[1] Mr. L. D. Mehta, Motā Devāliā.

[2] The Schoolmaster, Ganod.

[3] The Schoolmaster, Agashi and Arnālā,

[4] Mr. T. D. Khāndhār, Schoolmaster, Sayala.

[5] Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Songadh.

[6] The Schoolmaster, Mith-bāo, Ratnagiri.

[7] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank.

[8] Mr. Jethalal Anupram, Schoolmaster, Aman.

[9] Mr. M. H. Raval, Vanod.

[10] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[11] Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Songadh.

[12] Mr. K. D. Desai

Every Jain devotee, while visiting the images of his gods, draws a Sathia (Swastika)[1] before them and places a valuable object over it. The sign is held so sacred that a Jain woman has it embroidered on the reticule or *kothali* in which she carries rice to holy places.*

'I am the very light of the sun and the moon,' observes Lord Krishna in his dialogue with Arjuna[2], and the moon also receives divine honours like the sun. Moon-worship secures wealth, augments progeny, and betters the condition of milch-cattle.[3] The suitable days for such worship are the second and the fourth days of the bright half of every month (Dwitīya or Bīj and Chaturthi or Choth, respectively) and every full-moon day (Purnima or Punema). On either of these days the devotees of Chandra (the moon) fast for the whole of the day and take their food only after the moon has risen and after they have seen and worshipped her.[4] Some dainty dish such as *kansār*†, or plantains and puris‡, is specially cooked for the occasion.

A sight of the moon on the second day of the bright half of every month is considered auspicious. After seeing the moon on this day some people also look at silver and gold coins for luck,[5] The belief in the value of this practice is so strong that, immediately after seeing the moon, people refrain from beholding any other object. Their idea is that silver, which looks as bright as the moon, will be obtained in abundance if they look at a silver piece immediately after seeing the moon.[6] Moon worship on this day is also supposed to guarantee the safety of persons at sea.[7] In the south, milk and sugar is offered to the moon after the usual worship, and learned Brahmans are invited to partake of it. What remains after satisfying the Brahmans is divided among the community.[6] On this day, those who keep cattle do not churn whey nor curd milk nor sell it, but consume the whole supply in feasts to friends and neighbours.[8] The Ahirs and Rabaris especially are very particular about the use of milk in feasts only: for they believe that their cattle are thereby preserved in good condition.[9]

The fourth day of the dark half of every month is the day for the observance of the *chaturthi-vrat* (or *choth-vrat*). This *vrat* is observed in honour of the god Ganpati and by men only. The devotees fast on this day, bathe at night after seeing the moon, light a ghi lamp, and offer prayers to the moon. They also recite a *pāth* containing verses in honour of Ganpati, and, after worshipping that god, take their food consisting of some specially prepared dish. This *vrat* is said to fulfil the dreams of the devotees.[10]

The day for the *chaturthi-vrat* in the month of Bhādrapad (the 11th month of the Gujarati Hindus) is the fourth day of the bright half instead of the fourth day of the dark half[11], and on this day (Ganesh

[1] Mr. Girijashankar Karunashankar, Songadh.

*The Swastika is found at Pompeii and in the Greek 'key' pattern. It is also found on Persian and Assyrian coins and in the Catacombs at Rome. It is to be seen on the tomb of the Duke of Clarence, who was drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, at Tewkesbury, and occurs in Winchester Cathedral, where it is described as the fyle-foot.—R. E. E.

[2] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster, Dhhank. Compare a similar idea in the Kurān in the chapter An Nur (the Lights): "Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. The semblance of his light is the nyche wherein there is a light."—K. B. Fazlullah.

[3] Mr. J. A. Jani, Schoolmaster, Aman.

[4] Mr. N. D. Vora, Schoolmaster, Rajpara; and Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani.

† Kansār is coarse wheat flour sweetened with molasses and cooked in water until the whole quantity of water is absorbed and taken with ghi.

‡ Puris are cakes of fine wheat flour, fried in ghi.

[5] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[6] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[7] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[8] The Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[9] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

[10] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi, and B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.

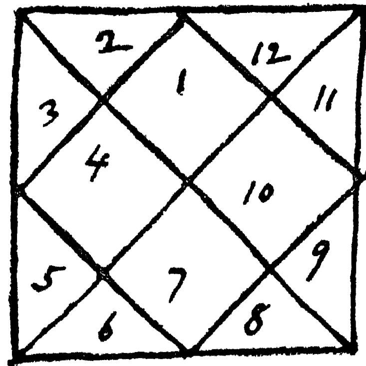
[11] Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

Chaturthi*) the moon is not worshipped. The very sight of her is regarded as ominous, and is purposely avoided.[1] The story is that once upon a time the gods went out for a ride in their respective conveyances. It so happened that the god Ganpati fell off his usual charger, the rat, and this awkward mishap drew a smile from Chandra (the moon). Ganpati, not relishing the joke, became angry and cursed Chandra saying that no mortal would care to see his face on that day (which happened to be the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad). If any one happens to see the moon even unwittingly on this day, he may expect trouble very soon.[2] There is one way, however, out of the difficulty, and that is to throw stones on the houses of neighbours. When the neighbours utter abuse in return, the abuse atones for the sin of having looked at the moon on the forbidden night. The day is therefore called (in Gujarat) *Dagad-choth*, *i. e.*, the Choth of stones.[3]

On the fourth day of the dark half of Phālgun (the 5th month of Gujarati Hindus) some villagers fast for the whole of the day and remain standing from sunset till the moon rises. They break their fast after seeing the moon. The day is, therefore, called *ubhi* (*i.e.*, standing) *choth*.[4]

Virgins sometimes observe a vow on Poshi-Punema or the full-moon day of Pausha (the 3rd month of the Gujarati Hindus). On this day a virgin prepares her evening meal with her own hands on the upper terrace of her house. She then bores a hole through the centre of a loaf, and observes the moon through it, repeating while doing so a verse† which means: O Poshi-Punemadi, *khichadi* (rice and pulse mixed together) is cooked on the terrace, and the sister of the brother takes her meal.[5] The meal usually consists either of rice and milk or of rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar, or of *kansār*. She has to ask the permission of her brother or brothers before she may take her food; and if the brother refuses his permission, she has to fast for the whole of the day.[6] The whole ceremony is believed to prolong the lives of her brothers and her future husband. The moon is also worshipped at the time of *griha-shānti*, *i. e.*, the ceremonies performed before inhabiting a newly-built house.[7]

If the moon is unfavourable to a man born under a particular constellation, on account of his occupying either the 6th, the 8th or the 12th square in a *kundali*‡ (see below)



prayers are offered to the moon; and if the occasion is a marriage, a bell-metal dish, full of rice, is presented to Brahmans.[8]

---

* All observers of the *Chaturthi-vrat* worship the god Ganpati on this day, and offer him one thousand trifoliate sprouts of dūrva (cynodon dactylon). The dish specially prepared for the occasion is *Golana-lādu*—sweet-balls of wheat flour fried in ghi andmixed with molasses.—Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[1] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[2] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohelwad.

[3] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[4] The Schoolmaster, Vanod.

† The original is—
Poshi Poshi Punemadi,
Āgāshe rāndhi khichadi,
jame bhāini benādi.

[5] The Schoolmaster, Kotda-Sangani and The Schoolmaster, Jodia.

[6] Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit School.

[7] Mr. L. D. Mehta, Schoolmaster, Mota Devalia.

‡ A Kundali is an astrological diagram of the position of planets at any particular time. The numbers in the diagram change their positions according to the position of planets at any given time.—Mr. D. Desai.

[8] Mr. Chhaganlal Motira, Wala Taluka.

The appearance of the moon and the position of the horns of her crescent at particular times are carefully watched as omens of future events. Cultivators believe that if the moon is visible on the second day of the bright half of Āshādh (the 9th month of Gujarati Hindus), the sesamum crops of that season will be abundant; but if the moon be hidden from sight on that day, the weather will be cloudy during the whole of Āshādh, and will prove unfavourable to vegetable growth.[1] If the moon appears reddish on a Bīj day (or the second day of the bright half of a month), and if the northern horn of the crescent be high up, prices in the market are believed to rise; if, on the other hand, it is low, it prognosticates a fall in prices. If the two horns are on a level, current prices will continue.[1]

Similarly, the northern horn of the crescent, if it is high up on the Bīj day of Āshādh, augurs abundant rainfall; if it is low, it foreshadows a season of drought.[2]

If the moon presents a greenish aspect on the full-moon day of Āshādh, excessive rains may be expected in a few days; if on that day she rises quite clear and reddish, there is very little hope of good rains; if she is partly covered by clouds when she rises and then gets clear of the clouds, and then again disappears in the clouds in three *ghadis*,* three *pohors*,* or three days, rain is sure to fall.[3]

If on the 5th day of the bright half of Chaitra, the moon appears to the west of the Rohini constellation, the prices of cotton are believed to rise; if to the east, they are said to fall; and if in the same line, the current rates are believed to be likely to continue.[4]

The Bīj (2nd day) and the ninth day of Āshādh (the 9th month of the Gujaratis and the 4th month of the Hindus of the Deccan) falling on a Sunday is a combination that foretells excessive heat. If they fall on Wednesday, intense cold is said to be the result. Their occurring on a Tuesday, threatens absence of rains, and on a Monday, a Thursday or a Friday, foreshadows excessive rainfall.[5]

Thunder on Jeth-Sud-Bīj, or the second day of the bright half of Jyeshtha, is a bad omen and threatens famine.[6]

The spots on the moon have given rise to numerous beliefs, mythological as well as fanciful. One of them is that they are the result of a curse, pronounced by the sage Gautama on Chandra. Indra, the god of rain, was infatuated with the charms of Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, and with the help of Chandra laid a cunning plot to gain his ignoble object. Accordingly, one night, Chandra set earlier than usual and Indra assumed the form of a cock and crowed at midnight in order to deceive Gautama into the belief that it was dawn, and therefore his time for going to the Ganges to perform his religious services. The trick was successful, and the holy sage being thus got rid of, Indra assumed the form of Gautama himself and approached Ahalyā, who was surprised to see her husband (as she thought) so quickly returned. The wily god allayed her suspicions by explaining that it was not yet time for the morning ceremonies, and thus enjoyed the favours due to her husband. Gautama, in the meanwhile, finding the water of the Ganges cool and placid, and discovering that it was not yet dawn, returned to his hermitage. On reaching home he detected the treachery of Indra, who tried to escape in the disguise of a tom-cat. The exasperated sage then cursed Indra, Chandra and his wife: Indra to have a thousand sores on his person, Ahalyā to turn into a stone, and Chandra to have a stain on his fair face.[7]

Another mythological story is that Daksha Prajāpati, the son of Brahmā, gave all his

[1] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[2] The Schoolmaster, Khāndhār.

* One *ghadi* is equal to 24 minutes and one *pohor* (prahara) lasts for three hours.

[3] Mr. M. P. Shah, Schoolmaster, Zinzuwada.

[4] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[5] Mr. M. P. Shah, Schoolmaster, Zinzuwada.

[6] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[7] The Schoolmasters of Dhhank, Rajpara and Limbdi.

twenty-seven daughters in marriage to Chandra, who was inspired with love for one of them only named Rohini, the most beautiful of them all. The slighted twenty-six sisters complained to their father, Daksha, of Chandra's preference for Rohini. Daksha in anger cursed Chandra to be attacked by consumption (which is supposed to be the reason of the waning of the moon) and his face to be marred by a stain.[1]

The curse of Gautama and the curse of Daksha are also supposed to be reasons of the waxing and the waning of the moon.

Another belief regarding the moon-spots is that when the head of Ganapati was severed by Shiva's trident, it flew off and fell into the chariot of the moon. The spots are either the head itself[2] or are due to drops of blood fallen from the flying severed head.[3]

The spots are also said to be explained by the fact of the image of god Krishna or Vishnu* residing in the heart of the moon who, as a devotee of Vishnu, holds his image dear to his heart.[4]

The moon is often called *mrigānka* (*lit.* deer-marked) and *mriga—lānchhana* (*lit* deer-stained); and a further explanation of the spots in this connection is that the moon-god took into his lap a strayed deer, out of compassion, and thus his lap became stained.[5] Jains believe that in the nether parts of the moon's *vimān* or vehicle, there is an image of a deer whose shadow is seen in the spots.[6]

Some persons declare the spots to be a *shami* tree (*prosopis spicigera*).[7] The belief of the masses in Gujarat is said to be that the spot on the moon's disc is the seat of an old woman, who sits spinning her wheel with a goat tethered near her.[8] If the droppings of the goat were to fall on earth, departed souls would return to the earth.[9]

It is said that a child and a tree are never seen to grow except during the night. Such growth is therefore held to be due to lunar rays.[10] As all trees, plants, etc., thrive owing to the influence of the moon, the moon-god is called the lord of herbs. The moon is also a reservoir of nectar and is called *Sudhākar*, *i. e.*, one having nectarine rays.[11] As the lord of herbs, the moon-god is supposed to have the power of removing all diseases that are curable by drugs, and of restoring men to health.[12]

Persons suffering from white leprosy, black leprosy, consumption and diseases of the eyes are believed to be cured by the observance of the *Bīj* and *Punema* vows.[13] Consumption in its incipient and latter stages is also said to be cured by exposure to the rays of the moon.[14] Constant glimpses of the moon add to the lustre of the eyes.[15] On the *Sharad-Punema*, or the 15th day of the bright half of Ashvin (the last month of the Gujaratis and the 7th month of the Deccani Hindus), tailors pass a thread through their needles in the belief that they will thereby gain keener eyesight.[16]

A cotton-wick is exposed to the moon on Sharad-Punema, and is afterwards lighted in oil poured over the image of Hanūmān. The soot, which is thus produced, if used on the Kali-chaudas day—the fourteenth day of the dark half of Ashvin—is said to possess much efficacy in strengthening the eyesight and also in preserving the eyes from any disease during the ensuing year.[17]

Sweetened milk or water is exposed to moonlight during the whole of the night of

[1] The Schoolmaster, Rajpara. [2] The Schoolmaster, Dadvi. [3] The Schoolmaster, Lilapur.

* Throughout the Hindu Scriptures, Vishnu and his incarnations are described as being of *Shyama-varna* or dark complexion.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

[4] The Schoolmaster, Dadvi. [5] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Halar. [6] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

[7] The Schoolmaster. Lilapur. [8] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa. [9] Mr. M. P. Shah, Zinzuwada.

[10] The Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School. [11] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.

[12] Rao Saheb Shelke and the Shastri of Bhayavadur. [13] The Schoolmaster, Rajpara.

[14] The Schoolmaster, Dhhank, He refers to the books Vratarāj and Pathyapathya on this point.

[15] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Halar; and the Schoolmaster of Chauk, Kolaba.

[16] The Schoolmaster, Jodia. [17] The Schoolmaster, Kolki.

Sharad-punema (the full-moon day of Ashvin) in order to absorb the nectarine rays of the moon, and is drunk next morning. Drinking in the rays of the moon in this manner is believed to cure diseases caused by heat as well as eye-diseases, and it similarly strengthens the eyesight and improves the complexion.[1] Sugar-candy thus exposed and preserved in an air-tight jar is partaken of in small quantities every morning to gain strength and to improve the complexion.[2] The absorption of the lunar rays through the open mouth or eyes is also believed to be of great effect in achieving these objects.[3]

Once upon a time the gods and demons, by their united efforts, churned the ocean and obtained therefrom fourteen *ratnas* or precious things.* These were distributed among them. Lakshmi, the *kaustubha* jewel, the Shārnga bow and the conch-shell fell to the share of Vishnu, and the poison, *Halāhal visha*, was disposed of to Shiva. Only two things remained, *sudhā*, or nectar, and *surā* or liquor. To both gods and demons the nectar was the most important of all the prizes. A hard contest ensuing between them for the possession of it, the demons, by force, snatched the bowl of nectar from the gods. In this disaster to the gods, Vishnu came to their help in the form of Mohini—a most fascinating woman—and proposed to the demons that the distribution of the immortalising fluid should be entrusted to her. On their consent, Vishnu or Mohini, made the gods and the demons sit in opposite rows and began first to serve the nectar to the gods. The demon Rāhu, the son of Sinhikā, fearing lest the whole of the nectar might be exhausted before the turn of the demons came, took the shape of a god and placed himself amongst them between Chandra (the moon) and Sūrya (the sun). The nectar was served to him in turn, but on Chandra and Sūrya detecting the trick, the demon's head was cut off by Vishnu's discus, the *sudarshana-chakra*. Rāhu however did not die: for he had tasted the nectar, which had reached his throat. The head and trunk lived and became immortal, the former being named Rāhu, and the latter Ketu. Both swore revenge on Chandra and Sūrya. At times, therefore, they pounce upon Chandra and Sūrya with the intention of devouring them. In the fight that ensues, Chandra and Sūrya are successful only after a long contest, with the assistance of the gods, and by the merit of the prayers that men offer[4].

The reason of the eclipse is either that Chandra and Sūrya bleed in the fight with Rāhu and their forms get blackened[5]; or that the demon Rāhu comes between the two luminaries and this earth, and thus causes an eclipse[6]; or because Rāhu obstructs the sun and the moon in their daily course, and this intervention causes an eclipse[7]; or because Rāhu swallows the sun and the moon, but his throat being open, they escape, their short disappearance causing an eclipse.[8]

Besides the mythological story, there is a belief in Gujarat that a *bhangi* (scavenger or sweeper), creditor of the sun and the moon, goes to recover his debts due from them, and that his shadow falling against either of them causes an eclipse.[9]

---

1 The Schoolmasters of Rajpara, Limbdi, and Ibhrampur.

2 Mr. K. D. Desai.

3 The Shastri of Jetpur, Pāthashala.

* The following Sanskrit verse mentions all of them: —

लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वंतरिश्चन्द्रमा ।
गावः कामदुहः सुरेश्वरगजो रम्भादिदेवाङ्गनाः ॥
अश्वः सप्तमुखो विषं हरिधनुः शंखोऽमृतं चांबुधेः ।
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्वन्तु वो मंगलम् ॥ १ ॥

Rao Saheb P. B. Joshi.

4 The Schoolmasters of Jodia, Dhhank, Songadh, Rajpara, and Limbdi.

5 The Schoolmaster of Khirāsara.

6 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

7 Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāwad.

8 Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

9 Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

A third explanation of the eclipse is that the sun and the moon revolve round the Meru mountain, and the shadow of the mountain falling upon either of them causes an eclipse.[1]

It is believed amongst Hindus that eclipses occur when too much sin accumulates in this world.[2] Most Hindus regard an eclipse as ominous, and consider the eclipse period to be unholy and inauspicious. The contact of the demon Rāhu with the rays of the sun and the moon pollutes everything on earth. Great precautions therefore become necessary to avoid pollution.[3] A period of three *pohors** (*prahars*) in the case of the moon, and of four in the case of the sun, before the actual commencement of an eclipse, is known as *vedha, i. e.*, the time when the luminaries are already under the influence of the demon. During this period and during the time of an eclipse people observe a strict fast. Anyone taking food within the prohibited period is considered *sutaki* or ceremonially impure, as if a death had happened in his family.[4] An exception is, however, made in the case of children, pregnant women and suckling mothers who cannot bear the privation of a strict fast. From the beginning of an eclipse to its end, everything in the house is believed to be polluted, if touched.[4]

As the sun and the moon are believed to be in trouble during an eclipse, people offer prayers to God from the beginning of the *vedha* for their release. It is the custom to visit some holy place on an eclipse-day, to take a bath there, and to read holy passages from the Shastras. Some people, especially Brāhmans, sit devoutly on river-banks and offer prayers to the sun.[4] Much secret as well as open charity is given at the time of an eclipse. But the receivers of charity during the actual period of an eclipse are the lowest classes only, such as *bhangis*, *mahārs* and *māngs*. When an eclipse is at its full, these people go about the streets giving vent to such cries as *āpó dān chhuté chānd* (give alms for the relief of the moon!).[5]

Among the gifts such people receive are cotton clothes, cash, grain such as sesamum seeds, *udad*, pulses, and salt.[6] The gift of a pair of shoes is much recommended.[7] Sometimes a figure of the eclipsed sun or moon is drawn in *juari* seeds and given away to a *bhangi*.[8]

Although the period of an eclipse is considered inauspicious, it is valued by those who profess the black art. All *mantras*, incantations, and *prayogas*, applications or experiments, which ordinarily require a long time to take effect, produce the wished for result without delay if performed during the process of an eclipse.[9]

If a man's wife is pregnant, he may not smoke during the period of an eclipse lest his child become deformed.[10] Ploughing a farm on a lunar-eclipse day is supposed to cause the birth of chāndrā-children, *i. e.*, children afflicted by the moon.[10]

After an eclipse Hindus bathe, perform ablution ceremonies and dress themselves in clean garments. The houses are cleansed by cowdunging the floors, vessels are rubbed and cleansed, and clothes are washed, in order to get rid of the pollution caused by the eclipse[11]. Unwashed clothes of cotton, wool, silk or jute, according to popular belief, do not become polluted.[11] The placing of *darbha* grass on things which are otherwise liable to pollution is also sufficient to keep them unpolluted.[12]

Brahmans cannot accept anything during the impious time of an eclipse, but after it

[1] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.

[2] Mr K. D. Desai.

[3] Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāwad.

* A *pohor* or *prahar* is equal to three hours.

[4] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[5] Mr. Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

[6] The Schoolmasters of Jodia and Songadh.

[7] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[8] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

[9] Mr. G. K Bhatt, Songadh.

[10] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[11] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

[12] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

is over, alms are freely given to them in the shape of such costly articles as fine clothes, gold, cattle and the like.[1]

After an eclipse Hindus may not break their fast till they have again seen the full disc of the released sun or the moon. It sometimes happens that the sun or the moon sets *gherāyalā* (while still eclipsed), and people have then to fast for the whole of the night or the day after, until the sun or the moon is again fully visible.[2]

There is a *shloka* in the *Jyotish-Shāstra* to the effect that Rāhu would surely devour Chandra if the *nakshatra*, or constellation of the second day of the dark half of a preceding month, were to recur on the Purnima (full-moon day) of the succeeding month. Similarly, in solar eclipses, a similar catastrophe would occur if the constellation of the second day of the bright half of a month were to recur on the Amāvāsya (the last day) of that month.[3] The year in which many eclipses occur is believed to prove a bad year for epidemic diseases.[4]

The Jains do not believe in the Hindu theory of *grahana* (or the eclipse).[5] Musalmans do not perform the special ceremonies beyond the recital of special prayers; and even these are held to be supererogatory.[6]

With the exception that some people believe that the stars are the abodes of the gods,[7] the popular belief about the heavenly bodies seems to be that they are the souls of virtuous and saintly persons, translated to the heavens for their good deeds and endowed with a lustre proportionate to their merits.[8] And this idea is illustrated in the traditions that are current about some of the stars. The seven bright stars of the constellation *Saptarshi* (or the Great Bear) are said to be the seven sages, Kashyapa, Atri, Bhāradwāj, Vishwāmitra, Gautama, Jāmadagni and Vasishtha, who had mastered several parts of the *Vedas*, and were considered specialists in the branches studied by each, and were invested with divine honours in reward for their proficiency.[9] Another story relates how a certain hunter and his family, who had unconsciously achieved great religious merit, were installed as the constellation *Saptarshi** (or the Great Bear). A hunter, it is narrated in the *Shivarātri-māhātmya*, was arrested for debt on a *Shivrātri*† day, and while in jail heard by chance the words 'Shiva, Shiva' repeated by some devotees. Without understanding their meaning, he also began to repeat the same words, even after he was released in the evening. He had received no food during the day, and had thus observed a compulsory fast. In order to obtain food for himself and his family, he stationed himself behind a *Bel*‡ tree, hoping to shoot a deer or some other animal that might come to quench its thirst at a neighbouring tank. While adjusting an arrow to his bowstring,

1 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
2 Mr. K. D. Desai.
3 Mr D. K. Shah, Charadwah.
4 Mr. T. D. Khandhar, Sayala.
5 The Schoolmaster, Jodia.
6 Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.
7 Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.
8 Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa, and Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.
9 Mr. Motichand Vasanji Doshi, Kāluwad.

* I believe the name of the constellation is wrongly given: it ought to be Mriga. One of the stars in this group, known as 'Sirius', in Western astronomy, is often called Vyādha (*i. e.*, the hunter).—Mr. K. T. Gupte.

The Mrig constellation is also said to represent the goddess Saraswati, who had assumed the form of a gazelle in order to escape the amorous grasp of Brahmā, her father. While the deer in the Mrig constellation is Saraswati, the Ardra constellation is Mahādev who had followed to chastise Brahma, who also is seen as the Brahma constellation.—Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

† The thirteenth day of both the bright and dark halves of a month, sacred to the worship of god Shiva.

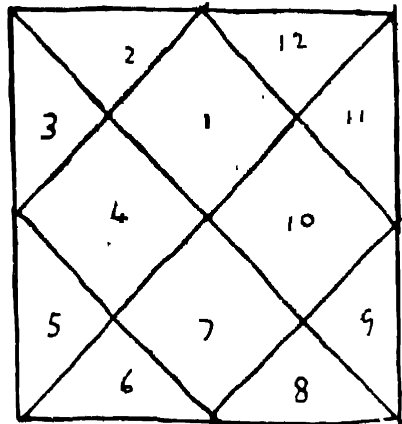
‡ The three-leaf-clusters of this tree are loved by the god Shiva if put upon his image.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

he plucked some leaves out of the thick foliage of the tree and threw them down. The leaves, however, chanced to fall on a *Shiva-linga* which happened to stand below, and secured for him the merit of having worshipped god Shiva with Bel-leaves on a *Shivrātri* day. He was also all the while repeating the god's name and had undergone a fast. The result was that not only were his past sins forgiven, but he was placed with his family in heaven.[1]

Similarly, Dhruva, the son of king Uttānapād, attained divine favour by unflagging devotion, and was given a constant place in the heavens as the immovable pole-star.[2]

According to Hindu astrology, there are nine *grahas** or planets, twelve *rāshis*† or the signs of the zodiac and twenty-seven *nakshatras*‡ or constellations. Books on astrology explain the distinct forms of the *nakshatras*. For instance, the Ashvini constellation consists of two stars and presents the appearance of a horse. It ascends the zenith at midnight on the *purnima* (the 15th day of the bright half) of Ashvin (the first month of the Gujarati Hindus). The constellation of Mrig consists of seven stars, four like the legs of a sofa and three others under them in a line. All these twenty-seven groups of stars reach the zenith at midnight on particular days in particular months; and the months of the Hindu calendar are named after them.[3]

All planets influence the life of a person, one way or the other, according to their position in the heavens at the time of his birth. A *kundali, i. e.*, a figure like the one



shown here, is drawn by astrologers to illustrate the respective positions of the planets. The twelve squares of the diagram represent the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the positions of the planets in different squares influence persons in different ways. Ravi (the Sun), Budha (Mercury) and Shukra (Venus) occupy one *rāshi* for one month; Chandra (the Moon) occupies a *rāshi* for 135 *ghadis*,¶ *i. e.*, two days and a quarter; Mangal (Mars) for one month and a half; Guru (Jupiter) for thirteen months; Shani (Saturn) for two years and a half, and Rāhu for a year and a half. This is their normal and ordinary motion. But if they take an abnormal course and move either too fast or too slow, they finish their revolution through a *rashi* within a shorter or a longer period.[4]

If the planet Guru (Jupiter) occupies either the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 6th, 8th, 10th, or 12th, square of a *kundali*, it is said to bring about rupture with friends, pecuniary wants, and an increase in the number of enemies[5].

[1] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[2] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

* The nine *grahas* are, Ravi (the Sun), Chandra (the Moon), Mangal (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Guru (Jupiter), Shukra (Venus), Shani (Saturn), and Rāhu and Ketu.

† The names of the twelve *rashis* are :—1 Mesha (Aries), 2 Vrishabha (Taurus), 3 Mithun (Gemini), 4 Karka (Cancer), 5 Sinha (Leo), 6 Kanyā (Virgo), 7 Tulā (Libra), 8 Vrishchika (Scorpio), 9 Dhanu (Sagittarius), 10 Makara (Capricornus) 11 Kumbha (Aquarius), 12 Mīna (Pisces).

‡ The following are the twenty-seven *nakshatras*:—1 Ashvinī, 2 Bharanī, 3 Kritikā 4 Rohinī, 5 Mrig, 6 Ardra, 7 Punarvasu, 8 Pushya, 9 Āshlesha, 10 Magha, 11 Pūrvā-phālguni, 12 Uttara-phālguni, 13 Hasta, 14 Chitrā, 15 Swāti, 16 Vishākha, 17 Anurādha, 18 Jyeshthā, 19 Mūl, 20 Pūrvāshādha, 21 Uttarāshādha, 22 Shravana, 23 Dhanishtha, 24 Shatatārakā, 25 Pūrvābhādrapada, 26 Uttarābhadrapada, and 27 Revatī.

[3] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

¶ One *ghadi*=24 minutes.

[4] Mr. Motechand Vasanji Doshi, Kālāwad

[5] The Schoolmaster, Dadvi.

If Shani (Saturn) occupies the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, or the 12th square in a man's *kundali*, it causes despondency of mind, family quarrels, imminent injuries from foes, and pecuniary wants.[1]

The presence of Mangal (Mars) in the 3rd, the 6th, or the 11th square is auspicious.[1]

Of the nine planets, Budha, Guru, and Chandra are benevolent, Mangal and Ravi are neither benevolent nor baneful; and Shani, Rāhu, and Ketu are downright malevolent.[2] Each planet has a story connected with it concerning its benevolence or malevolence, and showing also the way to secure its propitiation. For instance, the malevolence of Shani drove King Vikrama to unknown countries, and subjected him to grave calamities. On the advice of a wise man, however, he observed the Saturday-vows and thus overcame his difficultes.[3]

When a planet is unfavourable to a person, it has to be propitiated by vows, and the person who is under its evil influence often lays upon himself the obligation of abstaining from particular articles of food or from wearing certain articles of clothing for a certain number of days.[4] Particular days of the week are set apart as appropriate for the worship of particular planets, and, on such days, the person keeping the vow observes a fast and worships the planet through the medium of a Brāhman,[5] For instance, *vrats* or vows are observed on Tuesdays in honour of Mangal (Mars), when an image of the planet, engraved on a golden dish, is worshipped, and the person observing the vow takes food consisting of wheat only, and that too, only once during the day. This mode of fasting is followed for a number of consecutive Tuesdays prescribed by an astrologer; and on the last Tuesday, when *pūrnahuti** is offered, Brāhmans are feasted and *dakshinā* is given to them. A piece of red cloth and some corn are used in the installation of the planet; these and the golden engraving are carried away by the priest.[3]

Similarly, in propitiating Rāhu and Ketu the same ceremonies are gone through: only, instead of wheat, *mag* (Phasolens mungo) is eaten by the devotee. In the same way Shani (Saturn) is said to favour the diet of *adād* (or lentils): Guru (Jupiter) inclines to *chanā* (or gram), while Shukra (Venus) favours *cholā* (dolichos sinensis).[3]

Certain forms or figures, called *mandals*, are favoured by particular *grahās*, and are drawn in their honour in worshipping them. Different things, too, are given in charity in honour of different planets,[6]

All the nine *grahas* and the twenty-seven nakshatras are worshipped on the occasion of the *Griha-Shanti* ceremony, which is performed before occupying a newly erected building.[2]

It is considered inauspicious to hold a marriage ceremony while Shukra (Venus) is invisible. In such a case, however, the ceremony may be performed after setting up and worshipping a small golden image of the planet.[2]

Of the stars, the constellation of *saptarshi* is perhaps the one most often worshipped. Its worship forms a part of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of investing boys with the sacred thread[7] and also of the ceremonies of marriage. The worship of the *saptarshi* on marriage occasions is believed to be an attestation of the marriage, and to secure the benign care of the *saptarshi* for the couple. The form of worship is sometimes as follows: a red and white piece of

[1] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[2] N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[3] M. H. Raval, Vanod.
[4] Hirji Monji, Ganod.
[5] N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[6] Gangaram Tribhowandas, Lilapur.
[7] D. K. Pandya, Dhhānk.
* *I. e.*, a handful of rice, ghi, cocoanuts, and some other objects are cast into the fire as an offering.

cloth is stretched on the ground, bearing an image of the *saptarshi* over it; wheat and rice are scattered over the cloth, a ghi-lamp is lighted, and red lac and flowers are offered to the image.[1] Another form of worship is to mark seven red-lac-dots on a *pātlā* or a wooden stool, and to place seven pice and seven betel-nuts thereon. After worshipping the seven pice, the bridal pair are made to take four turns round the stool, touching the stool with their great toes at every turn. A proverb runs to the effect that, whatever may happen to the couple, still the seven pice of *satpati* (*i. e.*, the ceremony described) are secure.[2] A third process is to form seven small piles of *kamod*,* on each of which, successively, the bride places her right foot while the bridegroom removes each pile one by one.[3]

The fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad (the eleventh month of the Gujarati Hindus) is observed as a day of worship in honour of the *saptarshi* group. People observe a fast on that day. Brāhmans set up seven *chāts*† in honour of the seven sages, adding an eighth in honour of Arundhatī, the wife of Vasishtha, and worship them by *shodashopachār* (*i. e.* sixteen-fo'd ceremonial). The worship is said to secure felicity for departed souls.[4]

The *saptarshi* are also annually worshipped by Brāhmans on cocoanut-day (the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan) on the occasion of changing their sacred threads. Hindu seamen also worship the constellation on the same day.[5]

In the performance of the *Nīl-parvān* ceremony, which is held to propitiate the spirits of departed ancestors, and which requires a calf and a heifer to be married, an entertainment being simultaneously given to one hundred and eight Brāhmans, and on the occasion of Vastu or the ceremonies performed before or at the time of occupying a newly-built house, burnt offerings and worship are offered to the *saptarshi*.[6]

Every Brāhman must offer *arghyas*‡ to, and worship, the *agastya* constellation, in a hut of *darbha*§ and *kāsada*,§ within seven days from the date of its appearance. Failure to make this offering brings pollution on him for seven months, and disqualifies him from performing any of the rites or ceremonies prescribed by the Shastras.[6]

Married couples are made to look at the Pole star immediately after the Hymenal knot is tied by the priest, in the hope that they may be as long-lived or as inflexible or unmoved by the ups and downs of life.[2]

The twelfth day after the death of a person, known as *Tārā-bāras* (or the star-twelfth) is kept as the day of star-worship by the relatives of the deceased, when one member of the family observes a fast on that day in honour of the deceased, and takes food only after worshipping the stars at night. It is customary on this day to give up the use of bronze vessels and to give them away in charity.[7]

Just as persons carrying or accompanying a corpse to the cemetery are considered *sutaki* (under ceremonial impurity), so those who witness this rite are also considered unclean : but they are purified by a sight of the stars.[8]

Young girls watching the starry sky at night recite a verse which means, " I worshipped the star-spangled firmament first and

[1] K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.
[2] R. B. Pandya, Jetpur Sanskrit Pathashālā.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Khirasarā.
[4] D. K. Pandya, Dhhānk, and N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[5] B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
[6] Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[7] Kalyanji Bhaishankar, Kolki, and R. B. Pandya, Jetpur.
[8] G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.

* A superior kind of rice.

† Twisted braids of *darbha* grass.

‡ *Arghya* is an offering of water in a spoon filled with barley seeds, sesamum seeds, sandal ointment, rice, and flowers.

§ Two varieties of sacred grass, used in thatching roofs.

then my lover Ābhlā dabhlā Kankunā dābhlā* — "Ye stars! blind the prowling thief and seize him if he tries to steal away, and your blessings on my lord confer!"[1]

The *Rohini* and *Krilika* constellations, popularly known as Gadli, are supposed to indicate the rise and fall in the cotton-market.[2]

The dimmest star of the *saptarshi* group foretells the death of a person within six months from the date on which it becomes invisible to him.[3] Again, if a man cannot perceive the *saptarshi* or the galaxy in the sky, it is considered such a bad omen that his end is believed to be near at hand.[4]

The rainbow is believed to be the bow of Indra†, the god of rains, and is therefore called '*Indra-dhanushya.*' We see it when Indra draws his bow to release the rains from the rākshasas (demons);[5] or, when successful in bringing down rain, Indra manifests his glory by drawing a bow;[6] or when in the struggle for supremacy between Summer and the rainy season, Indra draws his bow to defeat Summer.[7]

It is also believed that when Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, adjusted an arrow to the bow of Shiva, to compete for the hand of Sītā in the swayamvara (or maiden's-choice marriage) celebrated by her, the bow was split into three pieces, which ever since present themselves as rainbows in the sky.[8]

The rainbow is popularly regarded as an indication of good or bad rainfall according as it appears at particular hours and in particular directions. If a rainbow appears in the east a speedy rainfall is expected; if on the other hand it is seen in the west, rainfall is apprehended to be distant.[9] Some people, however, believe the contrary, *i.e.*, they regard the appearance of a rainbow in the west as an indication of good rains, and in the east as a sign of scarce rainfall.[10] Perhaps both ideas are reconciled by a third belief according to which the appearance of a rainbow in a direction facing the sun, indicates the proximity of rain.[11]

If a rainbow is seen at sunset or sunrise just before the commencement of rain the fall of rain will be excessive; but if it appears after rainfall, the rain will probably cease.[12] According to some persons the appearance of a rainbow in the morning portends a drought.[13] There is, however, a popular saying to the effect that were the *kachbi*, *i. e.*, the rainbow, to be seen at sunrise in the west, it foretells great floods before nightfall.[7]

The sight of a rainbow is sometimes regarded as a bad omen. Some believe that it shortens a man's life and brings misfortunes to him.[4] Others believe that it is calamitous to a man's relations by marriage, especially to the mother-in-law, who is sure to lose her power of hearing.[14] People sometimes clash earthen vessels against one another to avert the evils which are to be feared from a rainbow.[15] It is also said that the sight of the whole of the rainbow is a good omen:

1 Odhowji Avichal, Lākhāpadar.
2 Talakshi Dharamsi, Khandhar.
3 The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.
4 Hirji Monji, Ganod.
5 L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.
6 Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrāsā.
7 N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
8 The Schoolmaster of Pālānvār.
9 D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
10 K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.
11 The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.
12 Mr. Kalyanji Bhaishankar, Kolki.
13 The Schoolmaster of Khandhar.
14 Mr. R. B. Pandya, Jetpur.
15 Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.

* Meaningless terms.

† Indra has full sway over the twelve meghas (or clouds), of which Shāmaghana is the greatest. Indra directs them to pour down waters in whatever regions he likes. At the time of the deluge he lets loose all the twelve meghas under the lead of Shāmaghana and thus brings about the destruction of this world.—N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

but the sight of a part, however large, is inauspicious.[1]

According to the *Puranas*, the milky way or *ākāsh-gangā* is the celestial river Gangā which was brought down by Bhagirath to the earth.[2] King Sagar once performed an *ashwa-medha** sacrifice, when, according to custom, he let loose a horse, and sent his sixty thousand sons with it. Indra, jealous of the growing power of Sagar, stole the horse and concealed it in the hermitage of Kapila, when the sage was deeply absorbed in religious meditation. The sixty thousand sons of Sagar followed it to this asylum, where they taunted and insulted the sage, believing him to be the thief. Kapila, who was ignorant of the theft, opened his long-closed eyes in anger, emitting sparks of flame from them, and destroyed the sons of Sagar together with the whole of their army. Bhagirath, the grandson of Sagar, propitiated the sage, and on his advice practised religious austerities in honour of Shiva for the purpose of bringing down the River Gangā from heaven. Through the kindness of God Shiva, Bhagirath was at last successful in bringing the celestial river down to this world; and with the water of the river he revived the sons of Sagar. The River Gangā (*i. e.*, the Ganges) in this world is therefore also known by the name of Bhāgirathi. It is this heavenly river which we see as the milky way.[3] Like the sacred Ganges on the earth, the river Gangā in the celestial regions is held in great respect by the gods[4] and purifies the heavenly bodies, just as the earthly Ganges washes away the worst sins of mortals.[1]

Some people, however, believe the milky way to be the track by which the holy Ganges descended from heaven to earth.[5]

Another belief is that the God Vishnu, at the time of his Vāman (or Dwarf) incarnation, touched the *ina* (*i. e.*, the Egg) in his third footstep and thus caused a flow of waters, which is known as *ākāsh-gangā*.[6] Some suppose the milky way to be a ladder leading to the heavens.[7] Astrologers call it *Vatsā*, a fictitious creature with numerous horns, mouths, and tails.[8] According to another belief, the milky way consists of two *rekhas*—lines—one of sin and the other of good and meritorious actions. The length of one line compared to the other betokens the predominance of good or evil as the case may be.[9] The milky way is also supposed to be the track left by the *rath* or car of Rāmachandra.[10]

Ākāsh-ganga or the milky way is said to consist of one crore and eighty lacs of stars.[11] If a man cannot perceive the milky way in the sky, his end is believed to be near at hand.[12]

The Musalmāns declare the milky way to be the track formed by the footstep of the horse of the Prophet Muhammad, on the occasion of his night-journey to Heaven.[7]

1 Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwah.
2 Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia, and B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
3 Mr. Vallabh Ramji, Mendardā.
4 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
5 Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.
6 Mr. Jethalal Anupram, Aman.
7 Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
8 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
9 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
10 Mr. K. B. Fazlullah.
11 Mr. G. K. Bhall, Songadh.
12 Mr. Hirji Monji, Ganod.

* When a king desired to be *Chakravarti*—Sovereign of all India—he used to perform a horse-sacrifice, and a horse was let loose with a copper-plate fastened to its head with the name of the king engraved upon the plate. The horse moved in front followed by the king's army. Those who were not willing to acknowledge the suzerainty of the king challenged his army by seizing the horse. Such a horse-sacrifice, if successfully completed, threatens the power of Indra, who is therefore said to be very jealous and to create obstacles to the performance of such sacrifices—K. D. Desai.

The occasion for earth-worship most frequently arises when anything is to be built upon its surface. At the time of setting the *manek-stambha*, or the first pillar of a marriage-bower or a bower for a thread-ceremony,[1] before commencing the construction of wells, reservoirs, and tanks[1] and in laying the foundation-stone of a house, a temple, or a sacrificial pit,[2] or of a street, a fortress, a city, or a village,[3] or of any constructive work raised upon or made under the ground, certain ceremonies, called *khat-muhurt* or *khat-puja*, are performed. The earth-mother is then worshipped in the manner prescribed in the *Shastras*, to propitiate her against interruptions in the completion of the work undertaken. The owner or the person interested in the new construction pours a little water on the earth where the foundation-pit is to be dug, sprinkles red lac and *gulal* (red powder), places a betel-nut and a few precious coins, and digs out the first clod of earth himself.[4] Some of the things offered to the earth at the time of *khat-puja* are *panchamrit*,* betel-nuts, betel-leaves, *pancharatna* (or the five kinds of precious things, namely, gold, silver, copper, coral, and pearls), a bowl and green garments.[2] Under the influence of particular *rashis* (signs of the zodiac), particular corners of the building under construction are required to be dug in the *khat-muhurt* ceremonies.[3] For instance, a little digging in the north-west corner is believed to be favourable to the constructor who happens to be under the influence of *Sinha* (Leo), *Kanyā* (Virgo) and *Tulā* (Libra): in the north-east corner, if under the influence of *Vrishchika* (Scorpio), *Dhanu* (Sagittarius) and *Makar* (Capricornus): in the south-east corner if under the sway of *Kumbha* (Aquarius), *Mīn* (Pisces) and *Mesha* (Aries): in the south-west corner in the case of *Urishabh* (Taurus), Mithun (Gemini) and Kark (Cancer).[3] After the worship of the earth-mother, sugar or molasses is distributed among neighbours, bystanders and relatives, in token of the auspiciousness of the occasion.[5] An image of Ganpati is worshipped in a copper-dish, this is buried underground, and a brick is laid on it when starting the work of construction.[3] In setting up the *manek-stambha* on marriage occasions, a small earthen bowl is filled with milk, curds, turmeric, *dūrvā-sprouts*† and *mag* seeds (phasoleus mungo), and buried in the ground after being sprinkled over with red lac and rice.[6]

The ceremonies appertaining to *khat-muhurt* are treated of at length in a book called *Dharma-sindhu*.[7] They are believed to secure durability of construction.[4]

On the *Dasarā*‡ day or the 10th day of the bright half of Āshvin (the last month), Rājās go out in state with their ministers and subjects to worship the earth-mother and the holy *shami* tree (prosopis spicegera). A wetted plot of ground is first dug over with pikes, *javālā* (tender wheat plants) and

[1] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

[2] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

[3] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.

[4] Mr. Talakshi Dharashi, Sayala.

[5] The Schcolmaster of Dadvi.

[6] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

[7] The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka

* A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar.

† Durvā is a kind of sacred grass.

‡ On the Dasarā holiday, which is also known as *Vijayādashmī*, Hindus take special dishes, dress themselves in their best garments and go out of towns and villages to worship the earth-mother and the holy *shami*, with javālā stalks, a few of which are inserted in the folds of their head-dress as auspicious tokens. In towns and big cities a procession is formed, conducted by some city magnate or a native chief riding an elephant. They go in stateto the place of worship, and after the completion of the worship a goat or a he buffalo preferably the latter, is killed, and a salvo of three to seven or more cannon is fired. People then return home and prostrate themselves before their elders, and receive from them a handful of candied sugar, a betel-nut and leaf, with blessings for long-life and prosperity. Such blessings are considered likely to prove effective.—K. D. Desai.

shami leaves are then mixed with the muddy earth, and small balls of the mixture are made. A pice and betel-nut are placed in each ball, and they are presented to the worshipper as a mark of good luck. Travellers carry such balls with them on their journeys for luck. Kings carry the same to obtain success on the battle-field. The Pāndavas had such balls with them on the field of Kurukshetra when they obtained a victory over the Kauravas.[1] The balls are also used as *pastānā*.* The *javālā* in the balls are taken out and allowed to grow in an earthen vessel filled with clay and manure till they reach a span in heigth, when they are taken up and used.[2]

Earth-worship is performed before burying treasure underground, and also when a marriage-procession, at the time of returning, reaches the limits of the bridegroom's village.[3]

In some places, virgins worship the plot of ground on which the *Holi* is lighted, for about ten or twelve days after the *Holi* holiday.[4]

Another occasion for earth-worship is the third day of the bright half of Chaitra (the sixth month), on which day Vishnu saved the earth in his Varāha (or Boar) incarnation, when it was being carried to the nether regions by the demon Shankhāsur.[5]

On the eighth day of the bright half of Māgh and also of Āshvin (the fourth and the last month respectively), *naivedya* (an oblation of food) is offered to the earth-mother, and is then used as her *prasād* (gift). No cooked food is allowed to fall on the ground on this day: even the leavings after meals are given away to cows.[6]

When any ceremony is to be performed on the earth's surface, as much of the spot as is required for the ceremony is cleansed by watering it and plastering it with cow-dung. A betel-nut and a pice are then placed on it as the *Chādā* or rent of the spot.[7]

On those occasions when *dakshinā* is given to Brāhmans outside the village limits, worship of the earth-mother is performed by pouring milk on the ground, and by placing seven betel-nuts and seven single copper-pieces thereon.[8]

Some ambititious Brāhmans dig earth from near the roots of a banyan tree after offering prayer to the earth, and out of it, make an image of *Parthishwar*—Lord of the Earth— hoping thereby to obtain wealth. The same ceremony, if observed near the roots of a pipal tree (ficus religiosa), is believed to confer wealth and male issue.[2]

When Vishnu killed the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, the earth was strewn with their flesh and marrow (*méda*). Therefore the earth is called *medenī*, and for the same reason is unclean, and no holy objects are allowed to touch it.[9] Another explanation is that the earth was rendered unclean because blood was shed on its surface in the combat of the demon Vritrasur with the god Indra.[10]

The things polluted by a contact with the earth are either objects which are to be

[1] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

[2] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

[3] Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

[4] Mr. Talakshi Dharashi, Sayala.

[5] Mr. B. K. Dave. Kotda-Sangani.

[6] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrāsā, and the Schoolmaster of Jāsdān.

[7] The Schoolmaster of Pātanvāv.

[8] The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.

[9] Mr. Laxmichand Hemji, Vasāvad.

[10] Mr. Madhowji Tulsiram, Movaiya.

* Some Hindus, when intending to go on a journey, consult an astrologer as to the *muhurt* or auspicious hour for setting out. If they do not happen to leave their place at the prescribed moment, they put a *pastānā*—some of the articles to be carried by them in their journey—such as a suit of clothes or a box, in a neighbour's house as a token of their having set out at the stated time.—K. D. Desai.

dedicated to gods, such as sandal-wood ointment, *panchamrit*,* the leaves of the *bel* tree (Aegle marmelos), *tulsi* leaves (leaves of the holy or sweet basil plant), betel-leaves and flowers ;[1] or objects which are sacred because of their having been dedicated to the gods, including *tīrtha*[2] or water used in bathing the images of gods†; or things which are by nature so holy that it is improper to place them on the bare earth; for instance, images of deities, water of the sacred Ganges or the Jumna,[3] any holy writ,[4] a conch-shell and even gold.[5] Cooked food also deserves respect, as it supports the lives of men, and it is sinful in a Hindu to let it lie on the bare ground. Any irregular conduct in this respect arouses the wrath of the Annadeva (or the food, deity).[6]

It is, however, maintained by some that the reason why certain things, such as materials of worship, are not allowed to touch the earth, is that the earth itself being a deity, such things would be dedicated to this deity by a contact with the earth and would thus become incapable of any further use, as things that are dedicated to one deity cannot again be offered to another.[7]

During the course of the recitation of mantras (holy hymns) in honour of Vishnu and Mahadeva; on the occasion of offering prayers to the *grahas* (planets) for their propitiation: and on occasions like *Vishnuyāga*,‡ *Mahārudra*,‡ *Shatachandi*, *Gayatripurushavachana*§ and *Brāhmana-varuna*‖ the devotee or the sacrificer and the priest sleep on *darbha* grass or on clean woollen blankets, spread on the bare ground.[1]

Other occasions for sleeping on the floor are the days of the observance of certain *vrats* or vows; such as, the *Divāsā* or the 15th day of the dark half of Ashādh (the ninth month), the *Jamnāshtami* or the 8th day of the dark half of Shrāvana (the tenth month), the days of *Goatrad*, a *vrat* lasting from the 11th day to the 15th day of the bright half of Bhādrapad, Mahashivaratri or the 14th day of the dark half of Māgh, the Ekādashi day or the 11th day of both the bright and dark halves of a month,[4] the *Navarātra* days or the first nine days Āshvin, eclipse days, and the day of *Jāgran* or the 15th day of the bright half of Āshādh,[6] besides, sometimes, the whole of the months of Shrāvana and the Purushottam or intercalary month; and the *chaturmas*, *i. e.*, the four months of the rainy season.[8]

A Brāhman in his *brahmacharya* (or the period of his life which, according to the *shastras*, should be devoted to the acquirement of learning, and which commences from the date of his being invested with the sacred thread and terminates at the age of twenty-three) and a widow are not allowed by the *shastras* to sleep elsewhere than on beds made on the ground.[4]

Women, while in menstruation, sleep on the floor for four days.[2] Some women, when they are separated from their husbands, also sleep in this fashion.[8]

A dying person, two or three minutes before his death, is placed on the ground, which

[1] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.
[3] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[4] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[5] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka.
[8] Mr. M. M. Rana, Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.
* A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey, and sugar.
† Such objects are taken in a plate and thrown over a *tulsi* (or sweet basil) plant.—K. D. Desai.
‡ Sacrifices in honour of Vishnu, Mahādev and the goddess Chandi, respectively.—K. D. Desai.
§ A form of devotion requiring the recitation of the *Gayatri-mantra* a hundred thousand times with certain symbolic ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.
‖ The appointment of duly authorised Brāhmans to perform religious ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.

is first purified with cow-dung-plaster.[1] For ten days after a death, the members of the deceased's household and his relatives sleep on beds spread on the bare ground.[2] If the demise be very affecting, the nearest relatives sleep on the floor for periods which may extend to three months, six months, or even for a year, and sometimes the penance lasts for their whole lives.[1]

It is customary, among some sects, not to allow the *sātharā*—*i. e.*, the spot lately occupied by a corpse in the house—to be *sunā* or unoccupied for a single night. Someone must sleep on the spot for twelve consecutive days from the date of demise.[3]

Pilgrims,* after pilgrimage, abandon sensual pleasures, take their meals only once every day, and sleep on the floor.[1] It is customary to sleep always on the ground while in holy places. Devotees, ascetics, *sadhus*, and their disciples sleep on the ground.[2]

The God Indra has twelve *meghas* or clouds under his control, and he directs each of them to pour out their waters wherever he likes. When in the least irritated in the execution of his orders, Indra's voice is heard in this world in thunder-claps which rise to a terrible pitch if the deity becomes downright angry.[1] Thunder is also said to be the loud laughter of Indra when in a happy mood.[4]

Another belief is that during the rainy season, Indra plays *gedi-dāndā*†, and the strokes given to the *gedi* in the course of the game, produce what we call thunder;[5] or, that the clouds are god's footballs, and thunder is produced by his foot striking them, while at play during the rainy season.[2] Some believe thunder to be due to the loud sounds produced by various musical instruments which are played upon on the occasion of the marriage-ceremony of Indra.[6] According to others, thunder is produced by the cannon of Indra;[7] or, as some again say, by the trumpetings of *Airāvat*, the elephant of Indra[8]; or, we hear thunder when Indra draws his bow and adjusts an arrow to the bow-string, in order to bring about the fall of rain.[9]

A further belief attributes thunder to the very rapid pace of the chariot of Bhagwān.[10] Some people, however, say that it is produced when Bhīma (one of the five Pāndavas) wields his prodigious club or bludgeon.[11] In the opinion of others, Vidyut or Tanyatun, the offspring of Lambā, the daughter of Daksha, and the wife of Dharmarāj thunders in the rainy season.[12] It is also suggested that the god of rains shakes the heavens and thus produces thunder.[3] The *shastras*, it is said, declare that thunder is caused by the sounds of the *dundubhi*—or

[1] Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[2] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[3] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[4] Mr. L. I. Joshi, Surela.
[5] Mr. K. P. Joshi, Limbdi.
[6] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara, or of Bhagwan, according to Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[7] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[8] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[9] The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.
[10] The Schoolmaster of Pāolāuvav.
[11] Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.
[12] The Schoolmaster of Rajkot Girls' School.

* Intending pilgrims sometimes impose such self-denials upon themselves, vowing abnegation from particular articles of food or wear till they have performed their pilgrimage. Some renounce the use of ghi, some of milk, others of betel-leaf or nut, others swear not to wear a turban or a dupatta—till they are given the merit of a pilgrimage.—Khan Bahadur Fazlullah.

† This game, much resembling the English boys' game of Tip cat, is also known as *gilli-dāndā*. The *gedi* or *gilli* is a small piece of wood, two or three inches in length, an inch or less in diameter and sometimes tapering at both ends. The *dāndā* is a small round stick, of the same thickness and a foot or more in length, by which the *gedi* is played. There are two sides to the game as in cricket, though not composed of a definite number of players. There are a number of ways in which the game can be played.—K. D. Desai.

kettledrums—beaten by the gods in delight at the sight of rain.[1] There is also a popular belief in the Surat district that an old hag causes thunder either when she grinds corn or when she rolls stones in the clouds.[2]

The prevalent belief about lightning seems to be that it is the girl whom Kansa tried to dash against a stone, but who escaped and went up to the sky. Kansa, the tyrant king of Mathurā, was informed by a heavenly voice, by way of prophecy, that a son would be born to his sister who would cause his destruction. Kansa thereupon confined his sister Devaki and her husband Vasudeva in prison, loaded them with fetters, and kept the strictest watch over them. He took from Devaki, and slew, every child of hers as soon as it was born. In this way he disposed of her first six children. On the seventh occasion, however, on which Devaki gave birth to a son named Krishna, a girl was born at the same hour to Nanda in Mathurā ; and Vasudeva secretly interchanged the two children in spite of the vigilance of Kansa. When Kansa knew of his sister having been delivered, he seized the infant girl and tried to dash her against a stone. The little one immediately flew away to the skies, where she still dwells in the form of *Vijli* or lightning.[3]

The *shastras* describe *Vijli* as the distinctive weapon of Indra, just as *pashupalākā* is peculiar to Shiva and the *Gāndīva* bow to Arjuna.[4]

Other beliefs about lightning are that *Vijli* is the sister of Megharājā, the god of rains, and appears to announce his approach :[5] that *Vijli* is a goddess who rests upon winds, fire, and rains :[6] that *Vijli* is but the thunderbolt of Indra :[7] that lightnings are the flashes of the bright weapon of Indra :[8] that lightning is the lustre of the fireworks and the lamps lighted by the gods in honour of the nuptials of Indra : [9] that lightning is produced by the sparks caused by the friction of the *gedi* and the *dāndā* of Indra when the god plays the game.[10] *Vijli* is also known as Saudaminī, *i. e.*, one residing on Mount Sudāmā.[11]

The occurence of thunder and the appearance of lightning on particular days and in particular directions are regarded as signs of the abundance or scarcity of rain during the season.

Thunder during the Rohini *nakshatra** is a bad omen : it foreshadows either a famine,[12] or a *Boterun*, *i. e.*, complete cessation of rains for seventy-two days after the thunder-claps are heard.[8] According to another view, if the Rohini *nakshatra* lasts for a fortnight and if the sky is clear during the period and yet lightning and thunder occur, a *Boterun* will be the consequence; but if lightning and thunder were to accompany the clouds in the same *nakshatra*, heavy and plentiful rains may be confidently expected.[13] Lightning without clouds in the same *nakshatra* is believed to be the cause of what is popularly called Rohini-*dazi*, *i.e.*, the burning heat of Rohini.[14]

Some persons expect a *Boterun* after *kadakas* or crashing thunder. Others apprehend a famine if they hear thunder on the second day of the bright half of Jyeshtha (the eighth month).[8]

1 Mr. H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.
2 Mr. K. D. Desai.
3 The Schoolmasters of Dhhank, Sanka, Limbdi, and Sultanpur.
4 Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
5 The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.
6 The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.
7 The Schoolmaster of Surela.
8 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.
9 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
10 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
11 The Schoolmaster of Gondal.
12 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
13 Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
14 The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
* *i. e.*, the period for which the Rohini *nakshatra* lasts.

Thunder or lightning in the Hasta* *nakshatra* foretells good harvests and a prosperous year.[1] Thunder in the same *nakshatra* is believed to muzzle the jaws of serpents and other noxious creatures, and to achieve this object, also, *o samélu* (or a log of wood) is struck against a *mobhārā* (or a hollow stone used for threshing corn).[2] If thunder is not heard during this *nakshatra*, mosquitoes and other insects and vermin are believed to be likely to multiply.[3]

If thunder is heard during the Ārdrā *nakshatra*, the rainfall will be delayed for a month.[4]

Lightning is commonly seen on the second and the fifth day of the bright half of Āshādh, and is considered a sign of good rainfall, while its absence indicates a probable scarcity of rain.[5] Its appearance on the fifth day of Āshādh is believed by some to foretell an early fall of rain.[1] Since the rainfall, and therefore the state of the crops during the ensuing year, are suggested by lightning on this day, corn-dealers settle a rise or fall in the price of corn according as lightning is or is not seen on that occasion.[6]

Thunder in the east predicts a speedy fall of rain.[1] If flashes of lightning are seen in the north-east or the north, rain will fall within three days.[1] Lightning in the south-east or the south foretells extreme heat.[7]

Long-continued thunder shows that the rainfall is distant. Similarly, continued flashes of lightning intimate danger to the lives and property of people.[7] Sudden thunder portends an immediate cessation of rain.[1] Thunder or lightning out of season threatens calamity to the country.[8]

Vijli or lightning is said to be fettered on the fifth day of the bright half of Āshādh—(or, as some say, on the second day of Shrāvan)[2]—after which date no apprehensions of its destructive powers need be entertained.[9] Till then, however, it is free and is likely to injure those persons† who have not cut or shaved their hair from their birth.[10]

The occurence of lightning is believed to cause the delivery and sometimes even the death of pregnant women.[11]

Any period marked by the occurrence of lightning is considered inauspicious.[12]

The Puranas speak of fourteen worlds—the seven *swargas* (celestial regions) and the seven *pātāls* (nether regions)‡. Underneath the seventh *pātāl*§ lies Shesha (the divine cobra) who supports all the fourteen worlds on one of his one thousand hoods. On account of the heavy burden, the serpent-god sometimes gets tired, and tries to change his position. The result of the movement is an earth-quake.[9] According to another version, an earthquake occurs when Shesha changes

1 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
2 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
3 Mr. B. K. Dave, Kotda-Sangani.
4 The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.
5 The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
6 The Schoolmaster of Songadh.
7 Talakshi, Dharashi, Sayala.
8 Mr. L. H. Jadow, Vaśawad.
9 Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
10 Mr. G. K. Dave, Sultanpur.
11 The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.
12 Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

* The Hasta *nakshatra* generally commences at the end of Bhādrapad or the beginning of Ashvin and lasts for a fortnight. The rains during this period, which are required for the rabi crops, are so much esteemed that each drop of them is said to be worth a drop of ghi. People store the *hathio-varshād* or the rain-water of Hasta in reservoirs for drinking purposes, believing it to be very pure and digestive.—K. D. Desai.

† Among the Hindus it is customary for those whose children do not live to keep their children unshaved for a certain number of years, after which the children are taken to a holy place and shaved there for the first time. The temple of Ranchhodji at Dākor is a favourite place for such ceremonies.—K. D. Desai.

‡ The seven nether worlds are Atāl, Vital, Sutal, Talātal, Mahātal, Rasātal, and Pātāl.

§ In an ocean, as some say—D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

his posture in sleep,[1] or is the result of a hair falling from the body of Shesha.[2] Some people say that ordinarily Shesha does not feel the weight of the fourteen worlds on his head; he bears the load as if it were only a single sesamum seed. But when too much sin accumulates in any of the regions, the burden becomes unbearable for him: he begins to shake under it, and an earthquake occurs.[3]

Some believe that there is a tortoise under the divine cobra who supports the world;[4] others go further, and add a frog below the tortoise:[5] and it is said that the slightest motion on the part of either the tortoise or the cobra is the cause of an earthquake.

Another belief is that earthquakes occur whenever there is tyranny or injustice on the part of a king, or whenever immorality spreads in society, because the earth is unable to bear the sin, and trembles at the sight of it.[6]

According to a different opinion, the earth is supported by the *Pothia* or the favourite bull of Shiva on one of his horns. An earthquake is caused whenever he transfers the earth from one horn to another in order to relieve the former from the constant pressure of the burden.[7]

There is also a belief that deities of some strange species reside in the nether regions, and the earth is shaken whenever these beings fight among themselves.[5]

According to the Varāea-sanhita, an earthquake is always the precursor of some unprecedented calamity.[8] The prevalent belief in the popular mind seems to be that an earthquake is the result of immorality and sin, and further that it forebodes some dire calamity, such as famine, pestilence, an outbreak of fire, a revolution, or a great war.[9] The phenomenon is, therefore, regarded with great fear; and when it occurs, people endeavour to avoid the contingent evils by such meritorious acts as the giving of alms, and generally by leading a virtuous life.[10]

The most popular of the holy rivers are the Ganges, the Jumnā (or Jaumnā), the Narbadā, the Saraswati (near Sidhpur), the Kaveri, the Godāvari, the Gandaki, the Sarayu, the Damodarā, the Sindhu (or Indus), the Mahanad, the Gomati (near Dwārkā), the Brahmaputra, the Sābarmati, the Ghels (near Gaddheda), the Tungabhadrā, the Suvarnabhadrā, the Bhadrashitā, the Jambuvati, the Phalaku (or Phalgu), the Kanshiki, the Tamraparnī, the Sita and the Alakanandā. Any point where three rivers meet is also a sacred place. Most of the holy rivers are the subject of many traditions, and books have been written to celebrate their merits.

The Ganges, the Jumna, and the Godāvari are said to be the holiest of all rivers.[9] There are a number of beliefs about the origin of the Ganges. One of them is that the Ganges is the stream caused by King Bali washing the feet of Vāman (the Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu).[11] Another story relates that the god Brahmā was exhausted by overwork at the time of the marriage of Shiva and Pārvati. The gods, therefore, created water from their own lustres, and gave it to Brahmā in a gourd, to be used in a similar contingency. When Vishnu in his *Vāman avatār* (or Dwarf incarnation) bestrode the heavens with a single step, Brahmā washed his toe in the water from this gourd. A stream was thus created called Swarga-gangā

[1] Mr. Jethalal Devji, Bantwā.
[2] Mr. G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.
[3] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank, and Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[4] The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.
[5] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[6] Mr. K. P. Josi, Limbdi, and Mr. Raju Ramjee Kaujee Pathak Girls' School, Gondal.
[7] Mr J. K. Upaddhyaya, Pātanvāo.
[8] Mr. Raju Ramjee Kanjee Pathak, Gondal.
[9] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[10] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[11] Mr. M. M. Rana Rajkot.

and brought down to the earth by Bhagirath, the grandson of Sagar. When the Ganges fell from the heavens, it was supported and held fast by God Shiva in his *jatā* or matted hair. It was released by his loosening the hair, and in its course, inundated the sacrificial ground of King Jahnu. The latter, being angry, drank up its waters. On the entreaties of Bhagirath, he released the stream by tearing off his thigh.* The river then flowed to the spot where the sixty thousand sons of Sagar were burnt to ashes; and it is said by some that one of the sixty thousand was saved at the end of each year up to the year 1955 of the Samvat era (corresponding to A. D. 1899), by the end of which period all the sixty thousand had attained salvation. From the earth the Ganges went to the nether regions. Thus flowing in the heavens, on the earth and in the Pātāl, the Ganges is called Tripathagā (*i. e.*, flowing in three courses). In its divine form, the Ganges is the wife of Shiva. Owing to the course of Brahmā, she was born in human form in this world and was married to Shantanu, by whom she became the mother of Bhishma, the heroic uncle of the Kauravas and the Pāndavas.[1]

It is customary among Hindu pilgrims, when they visit Kāshi (Benares) to take with them copper-vessels filled with *Gangajal*, (water of the Ganges) and to worship the Gangā when they reach their homes after the pilgrimage. A figure is drawn in seven different kinds of corn: the bowl is placed on it: *abil gutāl* (red powder), frankincense, and *naivedya* (an oblation of food) are offered: a ghi lamp is lighted: a Brāhman woman is dressed as Una, the wife of Shiva, and Brahmans are entertained at a feast, *dakshina* being given to them.[2]

The water of the Ganges, as well as that of the Jumnā, is believed to be so pure that it cannot be affected by microbes, even if kept for years in the house. This quality is believed to be a manifestation of its divine nature. It is further called *patit-pāvan* (lit. purifier of the fallen), and exculpates the sinful from their sins, either by a single draught or by bathing in it.[3] *Gangājal* is kept in most Hindu families, a draught of it taken by a dying person being believed to secure *moksha* or eternal salvation for the soul.[4]

A vow is observed by women, in honour of the Ganges, for the first ten days of the month of Dyeshtha. On these days they rist early in the morning and bathe in the holy waters of the Ganges.[5]

Sometimes ghi lamps are placed upon the waters of the Ganges or the Jumnā, and vessels of metal, pice, and cocoanuts are cast into the stream. At such a time, when many people are standing on the banks offering prayers with folded hands, or engaged in the *arati*,† the river presents a very picturesque scene, the numerous lights being reflected in the water.[6]

The Jamunā or Yamunā is the daughter of the Sun, and the sister of Yama, the god of Death. The banks of the Jumnā are well known as the scene of the amorous sports of God Krishna.[7] The story of the defeat of the demon Kāhya Nagā who was ejected from the Jumnā by Krishna is well-known.

[1] Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.
[3] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Kolki and the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.
[7] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.
* The river is, therefore, regarded as his daughter, and is called Jahnavi.
† The waving of lights to and fro before an object of worship.

It is said that those who have bathed in the Jumna or have once tasted its water, need not be afraid of Yama, the god of Death.[1] It is considered meritorious among the Hindus to bathe the image of God Shiva in water from the holy Jumna or the Ganges or the Godāvari.[2] There is a popular *shloka* in honour of the Jumna which runs :—" Victory to thee ! Oh Yamuna, flowing through the Madhu-vana (the Madhu woods), the bearer of shining waters, the companion of Jāhnavi, the daughter of Sindhu, the ornament of the enemy of Madhu (*viz.*, Krishna), the appeaser of Mādhava, the dispeller of the danger of Gokul, the destroyer of the sins of the world, the giver of intellect, the scene of the amorous sports of Keshava. Victory to thee ! O remover of difficulties, purify me."[3]

The banks of the Godāvari are known as the site of the hermitage of Gautama. When the planet Brihaspati (Jupiter) enters the Sinha-rāshi (the constellation Leo)* the holy Ganges goes to the Godāvari, and remains there for one year. During that year, all the gods are believed to bathe in this river. Thousands of pilgrims visit Nasik to offer prayers to the Godāvari, and after bathing in the river, give alms to Brahmans. Similarly, on the Kapilāshashti day, on which six *jogs* or conjunctive incidents occur simultaneously, the virtue of all *tīrthas* or holy places is believed to be concentrated in the Godāvari at Nasik.[3]

The mere sight of the Narbada has the same effect as a bath in the Ganges or the Jumna.[4] It is said that the Narbada is the image of Shiva, and that fragments of the stony bow of Shiva are to be found in its bed.[5] The stones in the bed of this river have the same sanctity as the images of god Shiva.[6] *Shāligram* stones, which are worshipped as the images of Vishnu, are found in this river.[6] It is an act of high merit among Hindus to take a *pradakshina* round the Narbada, *i. e.*, to travel along the banks of the river, inhabited as the region is by many *Sādhus* and other holy persons.[7] Ashvatthāmā, the immortal son of Drona, is believed to reside on the banks of this river and to pay occasional visits to the Bhils in the neighbourhood.[7] The *Shukla-tīrtha*, situated on the Narbada, is visited by numerous pilgrims, and a fair is held there on every sixtieth year.[7]

The sage Kapila instructed his mother Devahūti with divine knowledge on the banks of the Saraswati. Since then, the river is held sacred and funeral ceremonies—*Shrāddhas*—are performed on its banks in honour of departed female ancestors.[5] Similarly *Shrāddhas* in honour of male ancestors are performed at the confluence of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati at Allahabad†[8]

Of the Gandaki it is said that it contains as many *shankars* (images of Shiva) as there are *sankars* (stones). The *shāligram* stone is found in this river also. The Sarayu is sacred as the scene of the childish sports of Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyana.* On the banks of the Phalaku or Phalgu, Rāmachandra performed *Shrāddha* ceremonies in honour of his father Dasharath.[5]

[1] Mr. B. K. Dave, Schoolmaster Kotda-Sangani.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[3] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Schoolmaster Dhhank.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.
[6] Mr. L. D. Mehta, Mota Devalia.
[7] Mr K. D. Desai.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

* This happens every twelfth year. The year of *Sinhastha* i. e. the year when Brihaspati stands in the Sinha-rashi, is the only one in which marriages among the Kadva Kunbis take place ; and for this reason the smallest children in the community, sometimes even those who are in the womb, are married in this year.—Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

† The Saraswati is believed to be present, but invisible at this spot.

A bath in the waters of a holy river washes off the sins of the bather.[1] It is also meritorious to repeat the names of the several holy rivers.[2] The performance of *Shrāddha* ceremonies on the banks of a holy river secures the felicity of deceased ancestors in heaven.[1] At the time of performing *Shrāddhas* at a holy place, Hindus shave their moustaches, bathe in the sacred waters, and then go through the necessary ceremonies, in the course of which *pindas* are offered to the *Pitars* (spirits of dead ancestors). Brahmans are feasted after the ceremonies, and *dakshina* is given to them.[3] Tarpan or an offering of water with flowers, ointment, red lac, cocoanuts, and betel, is frequently made to the river on the banks of which the ceremonies are performed.[4] The bones of a deceased person, left unburnt after cremation of the body, are gathered together and thrown into holy rivers such as the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Godāvari, for the purification of his soul.[5]

When heavy floods threaten a village or a city with serious injury, the king or the headman should go in procession to propitiate the river with flowers, cocoanuts, and other offerings in order that the floods may subside.[6] A story is related of the occurrence of heavy floods in a village in the Jatalpur Taluka, when a certain lady placed an earthen vessel (ordinarily used for curdling milk), containing a ghi lamp, afloat on the floods, whereupon the waters were at once seen to recede.[7]

Besides the holy rivers, there are numerous *kunds* or sacred pools which are regarded with equal reverence, and in which a bath has the same efficacy for destroying sin. Similarly, they are equally suitable places for the performance of *Shrāddha* ceremonies. These *kunds* are the subject of numerous beliefs, and each of them has a certain *māhātmya* or peculiar merit of its own. Six miles to the east of Dwārka, near the sea-coast, there is a *kund* called Pind-tārak, where many persons go to perform the *Shrāddha* and the Nārāyan-bali ceremonies. They first bathe in the *kund*: then, with its water, they prepare *pindas*, and place them in a metal dish: red lac is applied to the *pindas*, and a piece of cotton thread wound round them; the metal dish being then dipped in the *kund*, when the *pindas*, instead of sinking, are said to remain floating on the water. The process is believed to earn a good status for the spirits of departed ancestors in heaven.[1] It is further said that physical ailments brought on by the *avagati*—degradation or fallen condition—of ancestors in the other world, are remedied by the performance of *Shrāddha* on this *kund*.[8]

The Dāmodar *kund* is situated near Junāgadh. It is said that if the bones of a deceased person which remain unburnt after his cremation are dipped in this *kund*, the soul of that person obtains *moksha* (or final emancipation).[1]

There is a *vāv* or reservoir on Mount Girnār, known as Rasakūpikā-vāv. It is believed that the body of a person bathing in it becomes as hard as marble, and that if a piece of stone or iron is dipped in the *vāv*, it is instantly transformed into gold. But the *vāv* is only visible to saints and sages who are gifted with a supernatural vision.[9]

Kāshīpuri (Benares) contains a *vāv* called Gyān-vāv, in which there is an image of Vishweshwar (the Lord of the universe, *i.e.*, Shiva). A bath in the water from this *vāv* is believed to confer upon a person the gift of divine knowledge.[1]

[1] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[2] Mr. D. K. Shah, Charadwah.
[3] The Schoolmasters of Dhhank, Vanod, and Kolki.
[4] Mr. M. R. Raval.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.
[7] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[8] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[9] Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank, and the Headmistress of Gondal Girls' School.

In the village of Chunval, a few miles to the north of Viramgām, there is a *kund* known as Loteshwar, near which stands a pipal tree. Persons possessed by ghosts or devils, are freed from possession by pouring water at the foot of the tree and taking turns round it, remaining silent the while.[1]

A bath in the Mān-sarovar near Bahucharaji is said to cause the wishes of the bather to be fulfilled. There is a local tradition* that a Rajput woman was turned into a male Rajput of the Solanki class by a bath in its waters.[1]

There is a *kund* called Zilāka near Zinzuwādā with a temple of Naleshwar Mahādev near it. The *kund* is said to have been built at the time of King Nala. It is believed locally that every year, on the 15th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*, the holy Ganges visits the *kund* by an underground route. A great fair is held there on that day, when people bathe in the *kund* and give alms to the poor.[2] There is also another *kund* close by, known as Bholava, where the river Saraswati is believed to have halted and manifested herself on her way to the sea.[3]

There is a *kund* in Baladāna near Vadhwan, dedicated to Hol, the favourite *mātā* of the *Chārans*. In this *kund*, black or red *gagar bediuus*—pieces of cotton thread—are sometimes seen floating in the water. They appear only for a moment, and sink if any one endeavours to seize them. The appearance of black pieces forebodes famine: but the red ones foretell prosperity.[4]

In Bhadakon near Chuda there is a *kund* called Garigavo. The place is celebrated as the spot of the hermitage of the sage Bhrigu and a fair is held there annually on the last day of *Bhādrapad*.[4]

Persons anxious to attain heaven, bathe in the Mrigi *kund* on Mount Girnār; and a bath in the Revati *kund*, which is in the same place, confers male issue on the bather.[5] There is also a *kund* of the shape of an elephant's footprint *Pagahein* on Mount Girnār. It never empties and is held most sacred by pilgrims.[6] People bathe in the Gomati *kund* near Dwārkā and take a little of the earth from its bed, for the purificationt of their souls.[7] In the village of Bābarā, Babhruvāhan, the son of Arjun, is said to have constructed several *kunds*, all of which are believed to be holy.[6]

The Lasundra *kund* near Lasundra in the Kaira District[8] and the Tulsi-shyāma *kund* on Mount Girnār[9] contain hot waters. There is also a hot *kund* called *Devki-unai*, about thirty miles to the south of Surat.[8] There the waters remain hot throughout the whole of the year, except on the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Chaitra*. On this day, the waters cool, and people can bathe in the *kund*. Many pilgrims visit the place on this occasion, to offer money, cocoanuts, and red lac to the *unai mātā*, whose temple stands near the *kund*. It is said that King Rāma built this *kund* while performing a local sacrifice, and brought water up from the pātāl (nether regions) by shooting an arrow into the earth.[10]

Other holy *kunds* are: the Bhīm *kund*, the Gomukhi-gangā, and the Kamandalu *kund* on Mount Girnār near the temple of Bhimnāth Mahādeo; the Rādhā *kund*, the Lalita *kund*, and the Krishna-sarovar in Dwārka; the Rāma sarovar, the Sītā *kund* and the Devki-unai *kund* in Ayodhya (Oudh); [11] and the Suraj *kund*[12] and the Hanumāndhāra[13] *kund* on Mount Girnār.

[1] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
[2] Mr. M H. Raval, Vanod.
[3] Mr. M. S. Shah, Zinzuwādā.
[4] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[5] The Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.
[6] Mr. L. D. Metha, Mota Devalia.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Khirasarā.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Lewaria.
[9] Mr. Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
[10] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[11] Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[12] The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.
[13] The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka.
* See P. 42.

Waterfalls are not very familiar to the people of Gujarāt. There is a belief, however, that barren couples obtain issue if they bathe in a waterfall, and offer a cocoanut.[1]

If a river source issues from an opening, in the shape of a *go-mukh* (cow's-mouth), the stream is called *dhodh*, and is considered as sacred as the holy Ganges. A bath in such a *dhodh* has the same efficacy for absolving persons from their sins.[2]

When a person dies an accidental death and before the fulfilment of his worldly desires, his soul receives *avagati* (*i.e.*, passes into a degraded or fallen condition), and it is not released from this state till *Shrāddhas* have been duly performed in its name, and the objects of its desire dedicated to it with proper ritual. The same fate befals those souls which do not receive the funeral *pindas* with the proper obsequies. Such fallen souls become ghosts and goblins,* and are to be found where water is, *i. e.*, near a well, a tank, or a river.[3]

Those who meet death by drowning become goblins, residing near the scene of their death, and are a source of danger to all who approach the water; for instance, in Monāpuri and Sāsai, there are two *ghunas* (mysterious watery pits) haunted by *bhuts* (ghosts) which take the lives of one or two buffaloes every year.[4] *Mātās*† and *Shankhinis* also haunt wells, springs, and tanks and either drown, or enter the persons of, those who go near their resorts.

Persons who are possessed in this manner, can be freed by *bhuvas*,† who give them a magic thread to wear.[5]

There is a *vāv* called *Nīlkanth vāv* near Movaiya, in which a pinjari (a female cotton-carder) is said to have been drowned, and to have been turned into a ghost, in which form she occasionally presents herself to the people.[6]

Another ghost haunts an old *vāv*, called Madhā, in Vadhwān and drowns one human being every third year as a victim. But a male spirit named *Kshetrapāl* resides in the *kotha* (or entrance) of the *vāv*, and saves those who fall near the entrance. A person is, however, sure to be drowned if he falls in any other part of the *vāv*.[7] A ghost also resides in the *vāv* at Hampar near Dhrāngadhrā and terrifies the people at times.[7]

The goddess Rainadevi resides in water, and is worshipped by virgins on the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Áshādh*, when they grow *javālās* (tender wheat-plants) in an earthen vessel and present them to her, remaining awake for the whole of the night to sing songs in her honour.[2]

Daryā-Pir, the patron of Luvānās (merchants) and Khārvās (sailors), resides in the sea; and vows are observed in his honour by these people on the second day of the bright half of every month, when they pass a little water through his sieve.[8]

[1] The Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.
[2] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[3] D. K. Pandya, Dhhank; the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala and the Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.
[4] Mr. L. D. Mehta, Devalia.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka and the Shastri of Jetpur Pathashala.
[6] The Schoolmaster ot Movaiya.
[7] N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

* There are several species of *bhuts* and *prets*—ghosts and goblins—thus, for instance, *Jalachar*, i. e., those who live in water ; *Agnichar*, i. e., those found in fire ; *Bhuchar*, i. e., those hovering on the earth ; *Gaganachar*, i. e., those moving in ethereal regions, *Manushyachar*, i. e., those moving among men ; *Khagachar* or those moving among birds, and *Pashuchar*, i. e., those living among beasts. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.

† *Vide* page 1.

It is well known that a drowning person clings fast to anyone who tries to save him, and endangers the lives of both himself and his saviour.[1] It is also believed by some people that the messengers of Varuna (the lord of all waters) seize those persons who bathe in a river earlier than the usual hour in the morning; and the act of saving a drowning person thus deprives Varuna of his victim, and brings down the wrath of that deity.[2]

Sometimes, for the sake of *moksha*, a person takes *samādhi* (*i. e.*, drowns himself with a religious motive) in a holy river, such as the Ganges or the Jumna. In such a case the relatives and other persons refrain from interference and do not try to rescue the person.[1]

When a well is to be dug, an expert is first called to select a likely spot on which to dig. A Brahman is then consulted as to the auspicious hour on which the work of digging should be commenced.[3] For this purpose, Tuesdays and those days on which the earth sleeps are to be avoided. The earth is supposed to be asleep on the following six days in every month, namely: the 1st, the 7th, the 9th, the 10th, the 14th and the 24th days following a *sankrānti* (*i. e.*, the day on which the sun crosses from one constellation to another). Excluding these days, a date is generally fixed on which the *Chandra-graha* (or the planet moon) is favourable to the constructor of the well.[4]

On the appointed day, the expert, the constructor of the well, the Brahman priest, and the labourers go to the place where the well is to be dug, and an image of the god Ganpati—the protector of all auspicious ceremonies—is first installed on the spot and worshipped with *panchāmrit*.*[5] A green coloured piece of *atlas* (silk cloth), about two feet long, is then spread on the spot, and a pound and a quarter of wheat, a cocoanut, betels, dates and copper coin are placed on it. A copper bowl containing some silver or gold coins and filled with water, is also placed there; the mouth of the bowl is covered with the leaves of the Ashoka tree (*Jinesia Asoka*) and a cocoanut is placed over the leaves. After this, the priest recites sacred hymns and asks his host to perform the *khāt*† ceremonies.[6] Among favourite offerings to Ganpati and the earth in the course of worship and in the performance of the *khāt* ceremonies are: curds, milk, honey, molasses, cocoanuts, *dhanā* (a kind of spices), leaves of *nāgarvel* (a kind of creeper) and red lac.[3] The expert who is called to choose a proper site for the well offers frankincense and a cocoanut to the spot, and lights a lamp thereon. After the *khāt* ‡ ceremonies are over, the host distributes sugar or molasses among the by-standers, and offers a sum of money to the expert, who usually refuses it, asking the host to spend it in charity. Those who accept money give away a part of it in alms to the poor.[3]

Sometimes, to secure the unobstructed completion of the work, the god Ganpati and the goddess Jaladevi are installed and worshipped daily, till water appears in the well.[4] Some people, however, install the goddess Jaladevi after the appearance of water, when a stone is taken out from the bottom of the well and is plastered with red lead to represent the goddess and is ceremoniously worshipped. When the construction of the well is complete, *vāstu*, *i. e.*, the ceremony in vogue after the completion of a new building or *jalotsava* (the water-festival) is celebrated, Brahmans being entertained at a feast, with *dakshina* given.[7]

1 N. D. Vera, Rajpara.
2 The Schoolmasters of Vanod and Kolki.
3 D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
4 H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.
5 The Schoolmasters of Dhhank and Pātanvāv.
6 The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
7 The Shoolmasters of Ganod and Dadvi.
* A mixture of milk, curds, ghi, honey and sugar.
† *Vide* page 29.
‡ Rich persons use silver or golden spades and hoes when turning up the first clod of earth.

The water of the Krukalas well in the island of Shankhodwar is believed to cure fever and diseases caused by morbid heat. A draught of the water of the Gomukhigangā near Girnar, makes one proof against an attack of cholera.[1]

The water of a *gozarā* well (*i. e.*, a well which is polluted on account of a person being drowned in it) cures children of bronchitis and cough.[2]*

There is a well near Ramdorana, of which the water is effective against cough,[3] and the water of the Bhamario well near Vasāwad possesses the same virtue.[4]

The water of the Mrigi *kund* near Junagadh remedies leprosy.[3]

The Pipli well near Zālāwad and the Detroja-vāv near Kolki are well-known for the stimulative effect of their waters on the digestion.[5]

If a dark stone is found in the course of digging a well, the water of that well is believed to have medicinal properties.[6]

The birth of a child under the *mul nakshatra* endangers the life of its father: but the misfortune is averted if the child and its parents bathe in water drawn from one hundred and eight wells.[1] Such water, if swallowed, is said to cure *sanipāt* or delirium.[7]

In the island of Shial there is a vāv called Thān-vāv, where mothers, who cannot suckle their children for want of milk, wash their bodices. When they afterwards wear these bodices, these are believed to be able to cause the due secretion of milk.[8]

The most famous of the sacred lakes are Pampa†, Bindu‡, Pushkar and Sāmbhar near Ajmere, Mān-sarovar near Bahucharāji, Nārāyan-sarovar in Cutch, Rāvanrhad in the Himālayas, and Rāmarhad. The following popular myth is related about Mān-sarovar.

Two kings once agreed that the two children that should first be born to them should marry each other. But it happened that both the kings had daughters. One of them, however, concealed the fact, and gave out that the child born to him was a son. So that when the children attained a marriagable age, they were married to each other according to the agreement.

But the wife found out the secret when she went to stay with her supposed husband, and disclosed it to her parents, who invited the counterfeit son-in-law to their house with the object of ascertaining the truth. The alleged son, however, suspected the design and fled, with a mare and a bitch. On arriving near Mān-sarovar, the animals went into the lake in order to refresh themselves, when there was an immediate transformation ; and the bitch and the mare came out a dog and a horse. On observing this miracle, their mistress followed their example and was also turned into a male. The story is still sung by girls in a *garabi* (song) during the *Navarātra* holidays.[9]

There is a belief that the ancient golden city of Dwārka, the capital of god Krishna, still exists in the sea, although it is invisible to the eyes of mortals.[6] A story is told of a man named Pipo Bhagat who, once perceiving a golden bowl floating in the sea, plunged into the water and saw the golden palaces of Dwārka and god Krishna resting therein. It is said that he returned with the tide and related his experience to several people.[10]

---

1 B. K. Dave, Kotda, Sangani.
2 The schoolmasters of Limbdi and Chhatrasa.
3 The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
4 The schoolmaster of Mota Devalia.
5 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
6 D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
7 The Schoolmaster of Pātānvāv.
8 G. K. Bhatt, Songadh.
9 Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.
10 The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

* It is a common practice to bring a small circular piece of an earthen vessel from the neighbourhood of such a well and to hang it by a piece of string round the neck of a child to cure it of *hadakhi-udharas* or strong cough.—K. D. Desai.

† Pampa is described in the *Rāmāyana* as being situated in the Dandaka forest, *i. e.*, in the Deccan, and seems to be the modern Hampi in Bellary district.

‡ Perhaps the one in Sidrapur—K. T. G.

Similarly, the golden Lanka of Rāvan is still believed to exist under the sea, ruled over by Bibhishan, the brother of Rāvan, and visible only to the eyes of saints and holy persons.[1] It is a common belief that the nether regions are inhabited by a species of semi-divine beings, half men and half serpents, called Nāgs, who possess magnificent palaces under the water.[2] The story of Kāliya Nāg, who resided at the bottom of the Jumna and was driven from that place by Krishna, is well known.[3] There are a number of mythological traditions in the *Purānas* of kings and princes having visited these palaces in watery regions, and of their having brought back beautiful *Nāgakanyās* (daughters of Nāgs) therefrom.[4] For instance, Arjuna married a *Nāgakanyā* named Ulupi when he was living in exile with his brothers. He also stayed for some time with the Nāgs.

Ghosts and demons sometimes inhabit palaces under the water. Deep waters, unfrequented by men, are the favourite resorts of such beings.[5]

The god Varuna resides in the waters, and is said to have once carried off Nand (the adoptive father of Krishna) to his watery abode, for having bathed in the Jumna before dawn.[3]

Kālindi, the daughter of the king of the Kalingas, practised religious austerities in a palace under the waters of the Jumna with the object of securing a suitable husband. Krishna, on being informed of this by Arjuna, went to the place and married her.[6]

There is a story in the *Purānas* that a king, named Nandrāj, used to bury his treasures in the sea with the assistance of a *mani* (jewel) which furnished a safe passage through the water. The *mani* was in the end burnt by the queen of Nandrāj and the treasure still lies hidden in the waters of the sea.[7]

It is narrated in the fourth chapter of *Bhāgvat-purān* that the ten thousand sons of Prachetas used to reside in palaces built under water.[8]

Mountains are held to be sacred in a variety of circumstances; thus some are valued for possessing medicinal drugs: some are revered as the birthplaces of the gods, or as the residences of saints: some for possessing many *tīrthas* (holy spots): some because they were visited by Rāma or the Pāndavas: some serve as guardians of the four quarters: and some contain the sources of holy rivers.

Both the important ranges of the Presidency, the Sahyādri and the Sātpuda, are subjects of veneration in the popular mind. The Himālayas, the Vindhya Mountains, and the Nilgiris command special respect. Other sacred mountains are Girnār and Shetrunja in Kāthiawār, Mount Abu, Pāvāgad, near Baroda, Brahmagiri Arāsur, Tryambak near Nasik, Koyalo, Govardhan near Mathurā, Revatāchal near Dwārka, and Hinglaj in Sind.

It is said that in ancient times there were deep miry ditches where Girnār and Abu stand at present. One day a cow belonging to the sage Vasishtha fell into one of them and was found by Kacha, the son of Brihaspati, after a long search. When the incident was brought to the notice of Vasishtha, he requested Meru (a mythical mountain) to send his two sons Girnār and Abu to occupy and fill the ditches. Girnār required sixty-eight *tīrthas* to accompany him; and the boon was granted by the gods.[9]

1 The Schoolmasters of Dadvi and Kolki.

2 D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.

3 H. M. Bhatt, Ganod.

4 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

5 Jairam Vasaram, Jodia.

6 The Schoolmaster of Khirasara.

7 N. M. Dave, Sānkāj

8 The Deputy Educational Inspector of Halar.

9 The Schoolmasters of Dhhank, Moti Parabadi, and Luvaria.

Girnār is one of the seven great mountains which once possessed wings.[1]* It is also known as the place where the sage Dattātraya performed religious austerities.[2] The place is so holy that any person dying within a radius of twelve *gaus*† from it is believed to attain *moksha*.[3] A visit to the temples on Girnār absolves one from all sins; and taking a turn round Girnār and Shetrunja is said to bring good fortune.[4] Bhagwān manifests himself to those who ascend the Bhairavajaya summit on Girnār. There is a rock on this mountain of which it is said that those who cast themselves from it directly attain heaven.[5]

Pāvāgad is known for the temple of Mahākāli Mātā. It is said that King Patai once propitiated her by austerities, and on being desired to demand a boon, asked the goddess to accompany him to his palace. The goddess was highly incensed at this request, and promptly destroyed him.[5]

Hanūmān, the monkey-god, once promised to take the Mountain Govardhan to meet Rāma. It is well known how the monkey allies of Rāma constructed a bridge of rocks across the sea to Lanka, and how Hanūmān supplied the requisite material by fetching huge mountains. Whilst engaged on this work, he was one day carrying the Govardhan mountain to the site of the bridge, when Rāma issued an order that all monkeys who were fetching mountains should deposit their burdens at the spot where they stood at the moment of the order. Hanūmān could not disobey the order of his lord, and he had accordingly to drop the Govardhan mountain near Mathurā. In order to fulfil Hanūmān's promise, however, Vishnu held the mountain over his head for seven days, at the time of his Krishna incarnation.[5]

It is said that the inhabitants of the districts round Govardhan formerly revered and adored Indra. But Krishna condemned this custom, and introduced the worship of Govardhan. Indra was exasperated at this conduct, and poured tremendous rains on Gokul in order to drown Krishna and his followers. But Krishna held up the Govardhan mountain on his little finger and sheltered all his people under its cover. The mountain was supported in this manner for seven days, by the end of which the rains subsided and Indra confessed himself vanquished. Even now Vaishnavas form an image of Govardhan out of mud and worship it on the *Janmāshtamī* day (*i.e.*, the eighth day of the dark half of Shrāvan).[6]

The Oshama Hill near Pātanvār (in the jurisdiction of Gondal) is noted for the beautiful temples of Tapakeshwar, Mahādev and Mātari Mātā. It is said that Bhīma‡ the second of the five Pāndavas, first met the giantess Hidimbā, on this hill.[7] The charcoal-like stones which are dug out in numbers from this hill are believed by the people to have been blackened by the blood of the giant Hidimb, the brother of Hidimbā who was killed by Bhīma.[8]

[1] The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.

[2] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

[3] The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.

[4] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

[5] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

[6] The Schoolmasters of Kotda-Sangani, Vanod, and Luvaria.

[7] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

[8] The Schoolmaster of Patanvav.

* All mountains once possessed wings and caused much havoc when they flew about. So Indra clipped their wings with his thunderbolt and they are lying motionless since.—K. D. Desai.

† Three-fourths of a *gau*=one mile.

‡ After the conflagration of Lakshabhuvan, the Pāndavas escaped to the Hidimba Forest. There one day, in his excursions, Bhīma came across the giantess Hidimbā sitting on a see-saw. On her offering to marry him if he succeeded in swinging her see-saw, he is said to have swung it so high in the skies that she could even see the stars during daytime.—K. D. Desai.

Mount Shetrunja (or Shatrunjaya) possesses numerous Jain shrines and attracts thousands of pilgrims every year. The hearts of all pilgrims are believed to be purified from the moment they come within six miles of the mountain.[1]

Mount Abu possesses the temple of Ambā Mātā where Krishna's hair was clipped for the first time.[2] Tryambak is known for the temple of Tryambakeshwar and the source of the holy Godāvari.[3] About Revatāchal, it is said that the mountain was golden in ancient times.[4] In the Vindhya Mountains is situated the famous temple of Omkār Mandhātā.[5] The hermitage of Kākbhushundi in the Nilgiris was visited by Rāma when he listened to the religious stories read out by that sage. The sage Agastya also is said to have resided in these mountains.[6]

The temple of Hinglaj stands on a hill which is situated at a distance of eighteen days' journey by road from Karachi. The Mātā is ministered to by a Musalman and the place is mostly visited by *Atits*, *Bāvās*, *Khatris*, *Chhipas*, *Mochis*, and other low-caste Hindus. On occasions the doors of the temple spontaneously open, and after the devotees have visited the *Mātā*, they again shut in the same mysterious manner.[5]

As the abode of Shiva and as containing the sources of the holiest of rivers, the Himālayas are the most sacred of all mountains, and possess many holy places of pilgrimage, such as Badrinārāyan, Kedārnāth, Hardwār, etc. Badrinārāyan is the favourite resort of those who have relinquished the world and who only wish to meditate on the Divine Being. The sages Nara and Nārāyan are said to have peformed religious austerities in this place, and eighty-eight thousand *rishis* (sages) are believed to be similarly occupied there to-day. Owing to the excessive cold, the place is extremely difficult to reach. Pilgrims carry burning hearths with them to protect themselves against cold. Besides, it is necessary to cross the Pathar-nadi (or stony river), of which the water, if touched, turns one into stone. The method of crossing this river is to suspend *sikāns* or slings above its water and to swing from one sling to another.[7]

A hill called Swargārohan is believed to be twenty miles to the north of Badrikedārnāth and is said to lead to heaven. In ancient times the Pāndavas had repaired to this place in order to do penance for the sin of having killed their kinsmen in the Great War. But when they tried to ascend to heaven by the Swargārohan Hill, only Yudhishthir and his faithful dog were able to reach their goal; the rest were frozen in the snow.[7]

Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Shiva, is supposed to be situated in the northern part of the Himālayas. The mountain is described as always covered with verdure and full of beautiful gardens and of palaces made of jewels, with roads paved with golden dust and *sphatika-mani* (crystal stone).[7] It is said that Rāvan, the king of Lankā, once uprooted this mountain and held it on the palm of his hand, in order to display his prowess. The demon Bhasmāsur, who was enamoured of the goddess Pārvati, is said to have performed the same feat in order to frighten Shiva.[3]

Another mythical mountain is Meru, which is supposed to occupy the centre of the earth.* The sun, the moon, and all the planets revolve round this mountain, and it therefore plays an important part in the causation of day and night. For night falls on one side of the earth when the sun goes

[1] The Shastri of Jetpur, Pathashala.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[4] R. B. Dave.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Luvaria.
[7] M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
* The earth is believed to be flat like a dish and to consist of seven large islands, which are compared to the seven petals of a lotus.

to the other side of Meru; and the day begins when the sun emerges from that side of the mountain. Meru is sixty-eight thousand *yojans** in height and penetrates the earth to the depth of sixteen thousand *yojans.* Its eastern side appears white, the southern is yellow, the western is black, and the northern red. The mountain is also believed to consist of gold and gems. The Ganges, in her fall from the heavens, is said to have descended first on the top of this mountain and then to have flowed in four streams in four directions. The southern stream is known as the Ganges; the northern, in Tartary, is called Bhadrasoma; the eastern is the same as the Sitā; and the western is named Chax or the Oxus. The top of this mountain is believed to be inhabited by gods, *gandharvas* (celestial musicians) and *rishis* (sages).[1] According to the *Yoga-vāsishtha*, there is a *kalpa-vriksha*† on the Lalmani summit of Meru, where a *rishi* named Bhushundkāk is engaged in devotional prayers since time immemorial.[2] The Purānas declare that Vaivaswat Manu, the first man, resided near Meru, and that his descendants migrated to Ayodhyā to found there a kingdom which was afterwards ruled over by Rāma.[1]

It is believed by some people that mountain-tops are inhabited by a class of recluses, called Aghori-bavas, who devour human beings.[3] The Kālikā hill near Girnār is believed to be frequented by *Joganis* (female harpies) who take the lives of visitors to the hill, and it is said that none who visits the place is ever known to return.[4] Persons who visit the temple of Kalikāmātā on Mount Girnār always lose one of their party, who falls a victim to the goddess.[5]

The changes in the seasons are attributed by some to Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesha (Shiva), the gods of the Hindu Trinity. Brahma sends down the rains and produces corn, grass, etc., Vishnu protects and nourishes the harvests in winter, and Shiva causes the heat of the summer.[6] There is also a belief that these three gods go down in turns to the *pātāl* (nether regions) and stay there for four months. Vishnu descends on the eleventh day of the bright half of Āshādh, and on that day the rainy season begins. When Vishnu comes up and Shiva takes his place, people experience the cold of winter: but as this god always keeps a *dhuni*‡ burning near him, the waters under the surface of the earth, such as those in the wells, remain hot during this period. Such waters are cooled when Shiva returns and Brahma goes down to the *pātāl*: but the return of Shiva causes summer on the earth.[7]

According to another belief, the sequence of the seasons is controlled by the sun-god.[8] There are six *ritus* or seasons; and the changes in the *ritus* depend upon the position of the sun in the twelve *rāshis* or signs of the Zodiac.[9] Each *ritu* lasts for a period of two months, during which time the sun travels through two *rāshis*. *Vasant-ritu* is the period which the sun takes to pass through the *Min* (Pisces) and *Mesha* (Aries) *rāshis*. *Grishma-ritu* corresponds to the time during which the sun passes through *Vrishabha* (Taurus) and *Mithun* (*Gemini*). During *Varshā-ritu* the sun moves through the signs *Karka* (Cancer) and *Sinha* (Leo), and during *Sharad-ritu* through *Kanyā* (Virgo) and *Tulā* (Libra). *Hemant-ritu* is the time which the sun takes to travel through

[1] M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[2] D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Limbdi.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
[5] The Schoolmasters of Dhhank and Sānkā.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwādā.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Mendardā.
[8] The Schoolmasters of Dhhank and Gondal Taluka.
[9] The Shastri of Jetpur, Pāthāshalā.
* One *yojan*=eight miles.
† A magic tree, supposed to grant all desires.
‡ Fire used for the purposes of smoking.

Vrishchika (Scorpio) and *Dhanu* (Sagittarius). *Shishir-ritu* occurs when the sun stands in the *Makar* (Capricornus) and *Kumbha* (Aquarius) *rāshis*.[1]

Indra (the god of rain), Varuna (the lord of all waters), Vāyu (the god of wind), Agni (the god of fire), and the moon-god are also believed by some to have power over the seasons.[2]

The belief is as old as the *Vedas* that demons sometimes obstruct the fall of rain, and confine the waters of the clouds. It is Indra who fights with them and breaks through their castles by means of his thunderbolt, sending down showers of rain for the benefit of his worshippers. So, whenever there is an unusual drought, people still invoke the aid of this god, and celebrate a festival in his honour, called *Ujjani* or *Indramahotsava*. *Homas** are performed to propitiate the god, and Brahmans are entertained at a feast. Sometimes the festival is celebrated outside the village, where people go in large parties to dine together. The usual dish on such an occasion is *Meghladu* or sweet balls of wheat-flour fried in *ghi*.

Another favourite ceremony supposed to cause rain to fall is the submersion of the image of Shiva in water, by blocking up the *khāl* or passage in the *Shiva-linga* by which water poured over the image usually runs off.[2] This ceremony is known as *Jala-jatra*. *Rudrābhisheka*, or the ceremony of pouring water in a constant stream over the image of Shiva for eleven consecutive days and nights, is sometimes performed with the same object.[3]

Sometimes the assistance of Shringhi *rishi* is invoked to bring about a fall of rain. The *rishi* is installed in water, mantras are recited, and prayers are offered before a sacrificial fire. This ceremony, called *Parjanya-shānti*, is said to have been performed within recent years in Bombay, and to have been successful in bringing rain.[4]

It is also said that rainfall can be caused by singing a song or a sacred hymn to the *malār* tune. There is a tradition that the well-known saint Narsinha Mehta once sang this tune on the occasion of the celebration of the first pregnancy of his daughter, and the performance was immediately followed by a shower of rain. Rain, which is brought down in this manner, can be put a stop to by singing to a different tune.[5]

Low-caste women have recourse to the following expedient to bring rain. Five or six of them place a quantity of muddy earth on a wooden stool, which is carried by one of them. The lump of mud is covered with leaves of the *Gidotān* or *Tindotān* creeper, and is called *mehulo* or *meghalo*. The whole party then sing songs, and visit every house in the village. A bowl of water is poured over the *mehulo* and the women receive some corn for their trouble.[6]

Some believe that when the worship of the village-gods is neglected and when the people grow corrupt, ill-treat the saints and are given to the killing of cows and Brahmans, Yama, the God of Death, directs his colleagues, Indra and Varuna, to threaten the world with a drought. The rainfall returns only when the people revert to righteous ways, and after Indra and Varuna have been conciliated by offerings.

The lower classes of the people believe a prolonged cessation of rain to be due to the wrath of local minor deities, aroused by the neglect of their worship. In such a contingency, therefore, they prepare *bāklan*† of

[1] K. D. Desai.
[2] N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
[3] D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
[6] The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad and K. D. Desai.
* Offering oblations to gods by throwing *ghi* into the consecrated fire.
† A flat round loaf, about two to four inches in diametre, prepared from the flour of *adād*.

adād (lentils), *lapsi*,* *vadān*† and other dishes, and offer them to the local gods for their propitiation.[1]

To stop an incessant fall of rain, people often observe the *Āladrā* vow. The *patel* or headman issues a proclamation that on a particular day none should cook, or churn whey, or fetch water, or wash clothes, or attend to any of the multifarious household duties; but that all should pass the day in prayer. A complete cessation from toil in favour of earnest devotion to divine powers are the peculiar features of this vow. People do not abstain from food: but food must be prepared on the previous day. If the rains do not cease in spite of this vow, but threaten the village with inundation, the headman leads a procession to the confines of the village and makes an offering to the waters.[2]

In some places a spinning wheel, sometimes specially constructed of human bones,[3] is turned by a naked person in the reverse direction to the usual one, with the object of causing the cessation of immoderate rainfall.[4]

A cessation of rains is also believed to be brought about by offering an oblation to the god Kasatia, and by the observance of the vow called *Kasatia gānth* (or tying the knot of Kasatia). The vow lasts for three weeks, and those who observe it do not partake of anything except rice[5] (or, according to others, *jirān*, a kind of spice[6]).

Some persons attribute a heavy fall of rain to the wrath of Indra, and offer ceremonious prayers to appease that god.[7] In some places people engage the services of magicians to restrain the fall of rain.[8] Farmers sometimes brand the rain by casting burning sparks upon it in order to stop an incessant fall.[9] Vows in honour of *samudra* (the ocean) are also observed with the same object.[3]

In the changing circumstances of life, women more readily have recourse to religious vows for the fulfilment of their wishes than men. This fondness of women for vows has brought into vogue a number of *vrats* or religious observances which are practised by women only. *Gangigor* or *Ganāgor*, *Vat-Sāvitri*, *Molākat*, *Goutrāt*, *Alavana* or *Alunda*, *Eva-vrat*, *Tulsi vrat* *Umā masheshwar-vrat*, and *Surya-vrat* are instances of such vows.[1] The *Molākat-vrat* is observed by virgins from the eleventh to the fifteenth day of the bright half of *Āshādh*.[10] The *Goutrāt-vrat* is believed to secure male progeny, as well as long life to the husband. It is observed on the fourth day of the dark half of *Shrāvana*, on which day women fast till the evening, and then take food after worshipping a cow.[11] The object of the *Eva-vrat* (or *Jiva vrat*) is to secure eternal exemption from widowhood, the day for this vow being the last day of *Āshādh*. It is then necessary to observe a fast till the evening; and the only food allowed is a preparation of wheat, taken at nightfall.[12]

On the fourth day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*, women observe a *vrat* called *Bol-choth*. In the morning the woman worships

[1] K. D. Desai.
[2] M. M. Rana, Rajkot.
[3] The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.
[4] D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
[5] The Shastri of Jetpur, Pāthashālā and the Schoolmaster of Vanod.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Mota Dewalia. According to him, the same vow is also observed to bring about a rainfall.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Vanod.
[9] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
[10] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.
[11] The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.
[12] The Schoolmaster of Mendarda.

* Coarse wheat-flour fried in *ghi* and sweetened with sugar or molasses.

† Bean-flour, generally of gram or peas, is allowed to remain in water with spices, until the paste acquires a sufficient degree of consistency, when it is rolled into small biscuit-sized balls and fried in sweet oil.

a cow and her calf (which must both be of the same colour), applies a little cotton to the horns of the cow, and makes an auspicious mark on the foreheads of both with red lac. She then places an offering of betel and rice before the cow, takes four turns round the pair, and whispers in the ears of the cow the words *tārun satya mārun vritya* (your truth and my devotion). A Brāhman then recites the legend of the *vrat*.*

After narrating this story, the Brahman takes the betel and other things placed before the cow. The woman then returns home and takes food for the first time during that day, the meal consisting of loaves of bājrā-flour and some preparation of *mag* (*phaselus mungo*). Some women take *ghi* and *khir*: but any preparation of cow's milk is strictly forbidden. Similarly, there is a prohibition against using things which have been cut by a knife or scissors.[1]

The worship of the goddess Rāndal is a favourite *vrat* with Gujarati women. A bower is erected for the installation of the goddess, and a *bājat* or a wooden stool is placed therein. A piece of fine cloth is spread on the *bājat*, and a figure is drawn in seeds of corn. A *kalasio* or bowl, with a cocoanut on it, is placed over the figure. The cocoanut has two eyes painted on it in black collyrium and a nose in red lac, and is decorated with rich clothes and ornaments to represent the goddess Rāndal. Ghi lamps are kept constantly burning before the goddess for three consecutive days and nights. An invitation is sent to the neighbouring women, who bring offerings of ghi to the goddess, and dance in a group at night to the accompaniment of melodious *garabis* (songs).[2] Sometimes, if a child is ill, or some misfortune is apprehended, *gorānis*, *i.e.*, a certain number of unmarried girls and unwidowed women, are invited to a feast in honour of Rāndal.

On the *Nāgapanchami* day, *i.e.*, the 5th day of the bright half of *Shrāvan*,† women draw an image of a *nāg* (cobra), and worship it with sprouts of *bājrā*. In some places it is the custom to avoid all food but *khichedi*‡ on this day.

The *wad* (the banyan tree) is worshipped on the first day of the dark half of *Shrāvan*. On that day the woman wears a necklace of fifteen leaves of this tree and prepares a dish called *navamuthium*.§ A *dorā* or piece of string is also worn on the person to ward off evil.[3]

Rishi-panchami,‖ *Gauri-pujan*, *Shitalāpujan*, *Shili-sātem* are holidays observed only by women. On the *Rishi-panchami* day only *niar*¶ rice is allowed to those who observe the *vrat*.[4]

Besides the observance of *vrats*, there are other ceremonies, auspicious as well as inauspicious, in which women alone can take part. Only women are concerned with all those ceremonies which are gone through on the birth of a child. On the twelfth day after birth, a name is given to the child by its aunt The ceremony of making an auspicious mark on the throne of a king is performed by an unwidowed woman or an unmarried girl.[5]

1 The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

2 The Schoolmasters of Vanod and Kolki.

3 The Schoolmaster of Surel.

4 The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.

5 Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

* The story tells how a woman and her daughter-in-law, intending to observe this vow, killed and cooked a calf by mistake; covered with shame, they locked themselves up in their house, and refused admission to the neighbours, to whom they confessed their crime. On searching for the remains of the calf, the neighbours discovered that it had been miraculously restored to life.—R. E. E.

† Some observe the *Nāgapanchami* on the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad.

‡ A mixture of rice and pulse treated with spices and cooked in water.

§ A preparation of nine handfuls of wheat.

¶ A kind of rice grown without ploughing.

‖ *Vide* Page 24.

At the time of a marriage, women make the auspicious mark on the forehead of the bridegroom and carry a *lāman-divo** to fetch *ukardi.** For nine days preceding the date of marriage the bride and the bridegroom are besmeared with *pithi* or yellow turmeric powder, when auspicious songs are recited by a party of women invited to witness the ceremony. When the bridegroom reaches the entrance of the marriage bower, he is welcomed there by his mother-in-law, who carries him on her hip to his seat in the marriage booth.[1]

It is necessary to make certain marks on the corpse of a woman, and these marks are made by women only.[2] Similarly, women alone take part in the ceremony of getting a widow's hair shaved on the ninth day after her husband's death.[3]

The *Shāstras* have enjoined the worship of certain higher-grade deities, and have prescribed certain ceremonials for the purpose. But women are not authorised to make use of these ceremonies. The reason is that the *Shāstras* regard women as inferior to men and do not grant them the privileges given to the latter. They are not allowed to learn the *Vedas* nor can the *Gāyatri-mantra* be taught to them. The result is that women are not qualified to perform the ceremonial worship of such higher-grade deities as Vishnu, Shiva, Durgā, Ganpati, and Hanumān;[4] similarly the sacrificial rites of *Vishnuyāg*, *Shaktiyāg*, *Ashvamedha*, *Rājayajna*, and *Gāyatri-purashcharan* can only be performed by men.[5]

It is the duty of men only to worship the *shami* tree (*prosopis spicegera*) on the *Dasarā* day, and the *Hutāshani* fire on the day of *Holi*.[5]

Women are not allowed to worship the god Kārtikey, who is said to shun women, and to have pronounced a curse against all who visit his image.[5]

The fifteenth day of the bright half of *Chaitra* is the anniversary of the birth of Hanumān, and a *vrat* called *Hanumān-jayanti* is observed on this day. This *vrat*,[6] as well as the *Ganesh-chaturthi-vrat*[7] are meant only for men.

The ceremonies of *Shrāddha*† and the *Baleva*[8] ceremonies can be performed by men only. The duty of giving *agni-sanskār*[1] to corpses, *i.e.*, of performing the necessary rites at a funeral, is also laid on men.

People who practise the art of attaining mastery over spirits and fiends, usually remain naked while they are engaged in the performance of their mysterious rites. There are many branches of this black art: for instance, *Māran*,[9] *Uchchātan*,[10] *Lamban*, *Vashikaran*,[11] *Mohan*,[12] *Stambhan*,[13] *etc.*, and although the *meli vidyā* (sacrilegious art) is not held in respect by high-class Hindus, it is popular among the lower

[1] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

[2] Mr. M. M. Rana, Rajkot.

[3] The Schoolmaster of Zaramā-Zāravā.

[4] The Schoolmaster of Kolki and the Head-Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School.

[5] Mr. K. D. Desai.

[6] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

[7] The Schoolmaster of Surel.

[8] Mr. N. M. Dave, Sanka.

[9] The art of taking the life of a person by means of a magical process called *muth-māravi*. The victim of this process suddenly vomits blood and loses his life, unless the evil influence is counteracted by another sorcerer.—B. K. Dave, Kotda Sangani.

[10] Causing a person to leave his business by making him disgusted with it, by means of magical spells.

[11] The art of so influencing the conduct of a person as to bring him perfectly under control.

[12] Bewildering an enemy by means of magical charms.

[13] The suppression of any force or feeling by magical means.

* The mother of the bride, accompanied by other women who sing songs on the way, carries an iron lamp to the village-boundary, and from that place the party bring earth to erect the altars on which sacrificial fires are burnt. The lamp is called *lāman-divo* and the earth which is brought is called *ukardi*.—K. D. Desai.

† *Vide* question 10.

classes. There is a belief that knowledge of this art dooms a person to hell ; but it secures to those who master it a position of much importance, and therefore finds many followers. The art consists in the knowledge of certain mysterious incantations, which enable a person to influence the spirits and to bring about certain results through their agency. Not only has every person when learning this art, to remain naked, but all those who make *prayogas* or experiments in it afterwards must observe the same precaution. The night of *Kāli-chaudas* or the 14th day of the dark half of *Ashvin*, is considered to be the most favourable time for the *sādhan* or accomplishment of this secret art of remaining naked.[1] On this day, it is the custom of those who exercise the art, to go stripped to a cemetery in the dead of night, and to cook food in a human skull as an offering to the spirits residing in the neighbourhood. On the same night, some sorcerers, after stripping themselves, are said to ride round the village on some mysterious conveyance.[2]

A practice is noted among low-class people of performing a *sādhana* before the goddess Jhāmpadi for the sake of progeny. The man who performs the *sādhana*, has first to go naked to a cemetery on a Sunday night, and to fetch therefrom the ashes of a corpse. At the time of the *sādhana*, the man takes his seat on a corpse, fills a *madaliun* or hollow bracelet with the ashes brought from the cemetery, and puts it on his arm above the elbow [3]

Dhobis, Mālis, Vālands and other low-caste people remain naked while worshipping Bhairav.[4] In the performance of the *anushthān* (propitiation) of such deities as Kāl-Bhairav,[5] Batuk,[5] Mani,[6] Griva,[6] *etc.*, the devotees keep their persons uncovered. The worshippers of the goddess Jakshani also remain naked when they attend upon her.[7]

Persons who practise the art of curing men from the effects of serpent-bites by means of incantations, have to sit naked under water in order to gain efficacy for their *mantras*.[4]

Followers of the *Devi-panth, Shakti-panth* and *Aghori-panth* sects remain naked while worshipping or offering victims to their gods.[8] *Vāma-mārgis* worship a nude image of the goddess *Digambarā*.[3]

The hook-shaped instrument, known as *ganeshio*, which is used by thieves in boring a hole through the walls of a house, is sometimes prepared by a blacksmith and his wife on the night of *Kāli-chaudas*, both being naked at the time. Instruments prepared in this fashion are believed to secure success for the thief, who scrupulously sets aside the first booty acquired by the help of the *ganeshio* for the blacksmith as a reward for his services. He does not grudge the reward however large the booty may be.[2]

In making dice according to the directions of *Ramalashāstra*, the workers should remain naked.[7]

There is a belief that granulations in the eyes of a child are cured if the maternal uncle fetches naked the beads of the *Arani* tree, and puts a circlet of them round the neck of the child.[9]

If a person uncovers himself on hearing the screech of an owl, and then ties and unties seven knots in a piece of string, repeating the process twenty-one times, the piece of string is believed to possess the virtue of curing *Taria Tāv* or periodical fever.[10] Another remedy for the same ailment is to go to a distance of three miles from the village and there to eat food which has been cooked in a state of nudity.[1]

1 Mr. K. D. Desai.
2 The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
3 Mr. N. M. Dave, Sānkā.
4 The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.
5 Mr. B. K. Dave, Kota Sangani.
6 Mr. N. D. Vora, Rajpara.
7 Mr. D. K. Pandya, Dhhank.
8 The Schoolmasters of Dhhank and Songadh.
9 The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.
10 The Schoolmasters of Upleta and Aman.

In the preparation of Nargudikalpa* or Gujakalpa*, some drugs have to be procured by a naked person.[2]

It is considered meritorious by some persons to rise early in the morning and to bathe naked on the Makar Sankrānti day.[3]

A Brahman boy must be naked at the time of the peformance of his thread investiture ceremony. After the ceremony, the maternal uncle of the boy presents garments to him, which he thereupon puts on.[4]

In Gujarat, for the most part, the people seem to be unacquainted with the belief that certain stones possess the virtue of influencing the rain. Some persons however attribute this quality to the stones on such sacred mounts as Girnār, Ābu, and Pāvāgadh.[5] There is a point called Tonk, on mount Girnār, of which it is said that rain is certain to fall whenever anyone succeeds in climbing it.[6] There is also a common belief that *arasi* marble if heated has influence over rain.[7]

It is a common practice to submerge the image† of Shiva in water with the object of bringing rain. Similarly the image† of the goddess Harshadh is sometimes bathed when rain is desired.[8] The *bhuva* or the *bhui*, *i.e.*, the male and the female attendants of the goddess are at the same time given a bath, and an offering of *Khir*‡ is made to the goddess.[8]

There are two goals which a pious Hindu tries to attain by leading a life of purity and virtue, *viz.*, (i) *moksha* or final emancipation, merging into the Eternal Spirit, and (ii) *swarga* (heaven or paradise) where meritorious persons enjoy pure pleasures unalloyed by earthly cares. The stars are the spirits of so many righteous persons who are translated to *swarga* for their good actions, and are endowed with a lustre proportionate to their individual merits. But every moment of enjoyment in *swarga* diminishes the store of merit: and those whose whole merit is thus exhausted, on receiving their proportionate share of pleasures, must resume their worldly existence. The Bhagavad-gītā says : "क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति" *i.e.*, "they enter the mortal world when their merit is expended." Meteors are believed to be spirits of this description who fall from their position as stars, to live again on this earth.[9]

Another explanation of meteors is that they are the sparks produced when the *vimāns* (or vehicles) of celestial people clash against each other.[10]

Meteors are also held to be the *agār* or *charak* (*i.e.*, excreta) dropped either by a curious water-bird,[2] or by Garud, the favourite eagle, and vehicle of Vishnu,[11] or by a fabulous bird Anal.[12] The latter is said to fly at an immeasurable height from the surface of the earth, and to take food only once a day.[12] It is almost impossible to catch the *charak* when it falls to earth: but if ever it can be secured, the application of it to the eyes of a blind man will restore his eyesight. It also furnishes an effective remedy for leprosy, and gives a golden lustre to the body of a person suffering from that disease.[11]

Some declare that meteors are stars which fall owing to the curse of Indra, and subsequently assume the highest human form on earth.[1]

[1] Mr. Nandlal Kalidas, Chhatrasa.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Āman.
[3] The Deputy Educational Inspector of Halar.
[4] Mr. K. D. Desai.
[5] The Shastris of Jetpur and Bhayavadar.
[6] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Chok.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Pātanvāv.
[9] Mr. K. D. Desai and the Schoolmaster of Dhhank.
[10] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.
[11] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[12] The Schoolmasters of Dhhank and Ganod and the Mistress of Rajkot Civil Station Girls' School.

* Name of a medicinal preparation.

† But the virtue of influencing rain belongs to the *Shiva linga* and to the idol of Harshadh, not because they are made of any particular kind of stone, but because they represent certain deities.

‡ Rice cooked in milk and sweetened with sugar.

It is also said that the stars descend to earth in human form when sins accumulate in the celestial world.[1]

The influence of meteors on human affairs is treated at length in the *Varāhasanhitā*.[2] The phenomenon is popularly regarded as an evil omen : it is supposed to portend devastation by fire, an earthquake, a famine, an epidemic, danger from thieves, and storms at sea.[3] The appearance of a bright shooting star is supposed to foretell the death of some great man;[4] and on beholding one, it is customary to repeat the words 'Rām Rām'* several times.[5] A shower of meteors is believed to presage some civil commotion or a change in the ruling dynasties.

Some persons, however, regard the appearance of meteors as auspicious or baneful, according to the *mandal* or group of stars, from which they are seen to fall. Meteors from the *Vāyu-mandal*, (or the group of stars known by the name of Vāyu) portend the breaking out of an epidemic : those from *Varuna-mandal*, are believed to be favourable to human happiness; if they fall from *Indra-mandal*, they forebode danger to all kings; those from *Agni-mandal*, threaten war between nations.[6]

During the monsoons, rain is believed to fall in that direction in which a meteor is seen to shoot.[7] A meteor in the west is ominous to kings, and if it falls into the sea, it forebodes evil to the dwellers on earth.[8]

The appearance of a comet is believed to portend some dire calamity to the king and the nation.[8] It is said that if a heavenly body is seen, *chhogālo*,† *chhogālā* kings (*i.e.*, great and celebrated kings) are in danger of their lives.[9] A comet is also believed to threaten all tailed animals with destruction.[9]

1 The Schoolmaster of Sayala. Perhaps it is the accumulation of sin in this world that brings down the saints of heaven in human form. The earth is unable to bear too much sin and would soon come to an end if the balance between virtue and sin were not maintained. It is for this purpose that saints are born in this world and add to the store of merit on earth, by preaching righteousness to people and by leading a virtuous life.—K. D. Desai.

2 The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

3 The Schoolmasters of Rajpara, Vasawad, Upleta, and Khirasara.

4 The Schoolmasters of Pātanvāv and Sultānpur.

5 The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.

6 The Schoolmaster of Charādwā.

7 The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.

8 The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

9 The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

* It is an act of merit to repeat the name of Rām, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu. As the death of a righteous person is due to the growth of sin in this world, people utter the name of Rām in order to atone for that sin. The name is repeated as long as the shooting star is visible. Vaishnavas recite the name of Krishna.—K. D. Desai.

It is also said that the name of Rām or Krishna is repeated, because the falling star enters the Court of God Bhagwān.—The Schoolmaster of Lākhāpadar.

† (*I.e.*) with a tail. *Chhogā* is the end of a turban, which is allowed to hang down the back.

CHAPTER II.

HEROIC GODLINGS

SEVERAL stories, in addition to the legend of the Rāmāyana, are related of the birth of the god Hanumān. Dasharatha, king of Ayodhyā, being childless, once performed a sacrifice with the hope of thereby obtaining male issue. On the completion of the ceremony a heavenly being rose out of the sacrificial fire and presented the king with a celestial preparation, called *pāyas*, which he directed the king to give to his wives if he desired a son. The king divided the divine gift among his three queens ; but the share of one of them was snatched away by an eagle. It was dropped into the hands of Anjani; who was herself childless, and was practising austerities for the sake of obtaining son. On partaking of the *pāyas*, Anjanī conceived, and the son born to her was afterwards known as the god Hanumān.

Another story relates how Anjani was one of those persons who helped Indra in his evil designs on Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama. She had on that account been cursed by Gautama, and threatened with the birth of a fatherless child. To prevent the curse from taking effect, Anjanī buried herself in the ground as far as her waist, and began to observe religious austerities in the hope of propitiating Shiva. The latter was pleased with her devotion, and sent her a *mantra* through Nārada, who was ordered to deliver it in her ear. Vāyu, the god of wind, forced the *mantra* into her womb, and she conceived a son named Hanumān. This son had the form of a monkey, because, at the time of conception, Anjanī happened to behold a monkey, named Keshi, on a neighbouring tree.

Hanumān is a *chiranjīva*, *i.e.*, one of those seven * persons who are to live for ever and are therefore considered to be immortal. He is represented as possessed of miraculous strength, and his body is *vajramaya*, *i.e.*, adamantine. When Sītā was carried off by Rāvana, it was he who crossed the sea and brought news about her to Rāma. When Ahi and Mahi, two cousins of Rāvana, carried off Rāma and Lakshmana by magic and decided to offer them as victims to their favourite goddess Panoti, Hanumān entered the temple of Panoti, crushed her under his feet, and released Rāma and Lakshmana. Hence he is known as the conqueror of Panoti. After the death of Rāvana, Hanumān was left to guard the kingdom of Lankā, which was conferred by Rāma on Bibhīshana, the brother of Rāvana.[1]

Hanumān is an incarnation of one of the eleven Rudras,† [2] is a *brahmachāri* (*i.e.*, one who has taken the vow of celibacy), a powerful and benevolent deity, and a giver of many blessings. At the same time, he is considered to be the master-deity of all *bhuts*, *prets*, *pishāchas*, (ghosts, goblins, fiends), of *dākans* (witches), *shakans*, *chudel*, *vantri*, of the forty-nine *virs* (male

[1] K. D. Desai, from the answers of various Schoolmasters. [2] The Schoolmaster of Vasavad.

* The following couplet mentions all of them :

अश्वत्थामा बलिर्व्यासो हनूमांश्च बिभीषणः ।
कृपः परशुरामश्च सप्तैते चिरजीविनः ॥

† A group of gods supposed to be inferior manifestations of Shiva, who is said to be the head of the group.

fiends), of the fifty-two *vetāls*, of *yakshas* and *yakshinis* and of all evil spirits in general, who are believed to obey his commands.[1] Vows are observed in honour of Hanumān if a person is possessed by a *bhut* or a *pret*, or if he is scared by a *jhapat* (sudden encounter) with a devil, or if he happens to step inadvertently within the *kundalan** of an *utār*. Persons who are possessed by evil spirits are exorcised by the *bhuvas* by reciting the *zanzira mantra* in honour of Hanumān.[2]

Kāli-Chaudas, *i. e.*, the 14th day of dark half of Ashvin† is considered to be the most favourable day for practising the black art; and the god Hanumān is accordingly worshipped with much ceremony by *bhuvas* on that day.[1]

All *bhuts*, *prets* and spirits are thus believed to obey the commands of the god Hanumān. In the course of a *sādhana* (*i. e.* the process of procuring the fulfilment of certain desires through the favour and by the agency of spirits) the latter are conjured in the name of Hanumān, so that the *sādhana* may not prove inefficacious. For this purpose the *Hanumān raksha mantra* is repeated one hundred and eight times before the image of the god, the devotee remaining standing all the time. A lamp of clarified butter is also lighted, and frankincense is burnt. The *mantra* runs as follows:—'Om namo Hanumān bālā ghatapīdam, pānikā rakhavālā, lohaki kothadi, bajarkā tālā, deva-dānava-kumār, nikal Hanumān āsan, Mahādev bāsan, Hanumān hathēla, bajarkā khilā.' It is neither pure Sanskrit, nor Gujarāti, nor Hindustāni, but roughly it means:—'Bow to the young Hanumān, the tormentor of *ghata*, the guardian of water, the iron-safe, the lock of *vajra*, the son of the gods and the demons. Take your seat, the receptacle of Mahadev, O stubborn god, O Nail of adamant.' After the repetition of the *mantra*, four nails are driven into the four corners of the seat of the votary, and it is believed that the *sādhana* is thus rendered sure of success.[3]

The god Hanumān is sometimes worshipped when a serious epidemic is to be warded off. The usual mode of propitiating him in such cases, and also in exorcising spirits, is to pour red lead and oil over his image, to make an offering of *udad* seeds (*Phaseolus radiatus*) and molasses, and to invest the image with a wreath of one hundred and eight flowers of *ānkadā*‡ or of as many leaves or berries of the same plant.[4]

The influence of the god is believed to be so powerful in some places that it is said that a *bhut* or a *pishācha* is at once exorcised from the body of a person who observes certain ceremonies there. In some places the mere sight of the image of the god has the same effect, and it is believed that ghosts shriek and fly from the bodies of possessed persons, if these visit the images of Hanumān. In Kodolia, about half a mile to the west of Lilapur in Gujarāt, there is a temple of Hanumān where persons suffering from fever go on a Saturday, and take a meal before 2 p. m. at which time the god goes out to graze his cows. This proceeding is believed to work a cure in cases of fever and is called *anagah*.[5] A mere glance at the temple of Hanumān at Khandia and

[1] The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.
[4] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Prānt Hālār.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur.

* *Kundalan* is the circle formed round the *utār* by a *bhuvā*, after he has placed the *utār* in a cemetery or over a crossway.—The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

† This is the day to learn such arts as that of *muth*, *chot*, *māran*, *etc*., i.e., the art of doing bodily injuries by means of magic even to persons who are at a distant place. The process is gone through in a cemetery at the dead of night.—The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

‡ A poisonous plant, the leaves of which are used in fomenting in cases of palpitation and of stomach troubles.—The Deputy Educational Inspector, Prānt Hālār.

Saranghur, or of that image which is known as 'Bhīd-bhanjan,' is sufficient to drive out evil spirits from the bodies of possessed persons.[1] The same virtue is attributed to the images of Hanumān at Bhurakhia, near Lathi and at Nariana, near Dhrangadhra, in Jhalavar,[2] Kathiawar.[2]

There are certain peculiar conjunctions of planets, which if they appear in a person's horoscope, always bring him misfortunes. In such circumstances, the person is said to be under the influence of *panoti*.* Such influence lasts for a period varying from one year to seven years and a half.[3] When the planet Shani (Saturn) enters the 1st, 11th, or the 12th *rāshi* in relation to a person, the latter is said to be affected by *sādāsāti-panoti*, i.e., *panoti* extending over seven years and a half.[4] The *panoti* enters the life of such a person with feet either of gold, silver, copper or iron: and in most cases the result is disastrous. If the *panoti* affects the head of a person, he loses his wits; if it affects the heart, it takes away his wealth; when it affects the feet, it brings bodily ailments. In order to counteract the evil effects of *panoti*, people worship Hanumān as the god who crushed the malignant goddess Panoti under his feet. On Saturdays red lead and oil, *adad*, molasses are offered to the image of the god.[3] Frankincense is burnt, a lamp is lighted, and a wreath of *ānkadā* flowers is sometimes dedicated.[5] A fast is observed on such days; and sometimes the services of a Brahman are engaged to recite verses in honour of the god.[4]

There is a belief that Hanumān cries out once in twelve years, and those men who happen to hear him are transformed into *hijadās* (eunuchs).[3]

Oil which has been poured over the image of Hanumān and caught in a vessel is called *naman*. It is sometimes carried in a *vātki* (a small metal cup) and is burnt to produce *anjan* (*i. e.*, soot used as collyrium). This *anjan* is believed to improve the eyesight, and to protect a person from the influence of evil spirits.[2] There is a saying in Gujarāti that *Kāli-chaudasno ānjyo, ane koine na jāy gānjio*, i. e., a person using *anjan* on Kālichaudas day cannot be foiled by anyone.[6]

Of the days of the week, Saturday is the most suitable for the worship of Hanumān. Of all offerings, that of red lead and oil is the most acceptable to him.[6] When Hanumān was carrying the Drona mountain to the battlefield before Lankā, he was wounded in the leg by an arrow from Bharata, the brother of Rāma. The wound was healed by the application of red lead and oil, and hence his predilection for these things.[2] It is also said that after the death of Rāvana and at the time of the coronation of Bibhīshana, Rāma distributed prizes to all his monkey followers, when nothing was left for Hanumān except red lead and oil.

Mostly *Ānkadā* flowers are used in worshipping Hanumān, but sometimes *Karan* flowers also are made to serve the purpose.[2] The favourite dishes of Hanumān are *maliddā*†, *churamā*‡ and *vadān*,§ [6] The usual *naivedya* is *malidda* of *Savāpāti*, i.e., of wheat weighing about six pounds and a quarter and *vadān*.[7]

Bhīma the second of the Pāndavas was begotten from Kunti by Vāyu, the god of

[1] The Schoolmaster of Songadh.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Ganod,
[3] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Sanka.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
[6] K. D. Desai.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

* The *panoti* cannot affect anybody who has an elder male relative living, *i. e.*, it influences only the eldest male member of a family.—K. D. Desai.

† A sweet preparation of wheat flour fried in ghi.

‡ Sweet balls of wheat flour fried and afterwards soaked in ghi.

§ Small biscuit-sized cakes of pulse flour treated with spices and fried in oil—K. D. Desai.

wind, and hence was called Vāyusuta. From his childhood he was possessed of miraculous strength, and had a voracious appetite. Every day he consumed 12 *kalashis** (or 192 maunds) of corn, and as much oil as is yielded by 13 *ghānis*.* He also required a maund and a quarter of betelnuts after each dinner. These habits had procured him the name of Vrikodara, *i.e.*, wolf-bellied. He played a very important part in the Great War, and on the last day of the battle smashed the thigh of Duryodhana with his ponderous mace. In his early days he killed several demons including Baka and Hidimba.[1]

Bhīma never took food without first worshipping Mahādev. On one occasion no temple of Shiva could be found within easy distance, and in a rage, Bhīma turned his bowl upside down and set it up as Mahādev. Such was the first installation of Bhīmanāth Mahādev revered to this day by all Hindus.[1]

Once upon a time Bhīma obstructed the stream of a river by laying himself across it, when the river rose to the banks and submerged a temple of Shiva near by. Shiva thereupon assumed the form of a lion and pretended to chase Pārvatī in the guise of a cow. Bhīma, in his true Kshatriya spirit, instantly rose from the water in order to save the cow from the lion. But the latter gave Bhīma a blow on the shoulder with one of his paws, and instantly transformed himself into a sage. After Bhīma had fruitlessly searched for the lion for a long time, he was informed by the sage that it was he, Shiva, who had assumed the form of a lion in order to rouse him from his position across the river. Shiva then favoured him with a boon that the half of his body which had received the blow would be turned into *vajra* (adamant). On Bhīma's request a further boon was granted to him that he should in future be able to digest as much as he could eat without suffering discomfort. Hence the proverb: *Bhīma khāve shakuni aghe*.[2]

It is said that Bhīma once played at *navateri* (lit. nine and thirteen), *i.e.*, he flung into the sky nine elephants with his right hand and thirteen with his left. The corpses of these animals were afterwards brought down to earth by Shukamuni to expiate king Janmejaya's sin of *Brahmahatyā* (Brāhman-slaughter).[2]

In his whole life-time Bhīma is said to have fasted only on one day, which happened to be the eleventh day of the bright half of Jyeshtha and is now called *Bhīma-agiāras*. On this day people who desire to be cured of dyspepsia observe a strict fast, taking neither food nor water, and pass their hands over their bellies repeating the name of Bhīma and also offer cocoanuts to his image.[3] On the night of *Bhīma-agiāras*, persons who are anxious to obtain health, wealth and victory over their enemies, bathe the image of Bhīma in water and *panchāmrit*† and worship it according to the prescribed ceremonies.[4]

In some places there are *vāvs* (or tanks) called Bhīma-vāvs which are said to have been formed by the strokes of Bhīma, when playing *gilli-dandā*.[5]

There are huge images of Bhīma on Mount Pālitānā.[6] There are many places in different parts of India which possess such images and which are believed to have been visited by the Pāndavas during their exile from Hastinapur. The Pāndavas never attained the status of gods and there is no systematic form of worship for them.[1]

1 K. D. Desai.
2 The Schoolmaster of Aman.
3 The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
4 The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.
5 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
6 The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

*. A *ghāni* is that quantity of oil seeds which is put in at one time to be crushed in an oil mill.

† A mixture of milk, honey, curds, sugar and ghi.

Bhīshma, the uncle of the Kauravas and the Pāndavas, was an incarnation of one of the Ashtāvasus* and was the son of king Shantanu by Ganga. The stories about Bhīshma are chiefly derived from the Mahābhārat, and need not be repeated here. He is not regarded as a god and does not receive systematic worship.[1]

A fast is observed on the eighth day of Māgh, the anniversary of the death of Bhīshma. A *dorā* (a knotted piece of string) tied in the name of Bhīshma is believed to cure fever.[2] The *Yantra* (a mystical formula or diagram) of Bhīshma is sometimes drawn on a piece of paper, water is poured over it, and the water is offered to women in labour to drink, as likely to expedite delivery. Bhīshma-worship is supposed to facilitate the observance of the *Brahmacharya-vrat* (the vow of celibacy) and to bestow heroism and learning.[3] Bhīshma is credited with having composed the well-known poem, Bhīshma-stavarāj, which recites the glory of Krishna and shows the way to attain salvation.[4]

There is a large temple of Ganpati near the eastern gates of Dhhank. It is said that this Ganpati informed a goldsmith, by appearing in a dream, that he was buried in a particular spot, and promised that a son would be born to him if he raised a temple in honour of the god. The goldsmith satisfied the wishes of the god and was soon relieved from the repeated taunt of the *vānziāpanā* (*i. e.*, the barrenness of his wife).[5]

The following tradition is connected with a place, about a mile from Dhhank, called Dhhank-ni Fui. Dhhank was in ancient times a great city and was known as *Preh Pātan*†. Once a *bāvā* (recluse), named Dhundhalimal, came to reside with his *chelā* (disciple) in a cave on a neighbouring hill. Every day the *chelā* went about the city begging alms for himself and his *guru*; but nobody except a poor *kumbhāran* (a potter-woman) ever gave him anything. So the *chelā* was obliged to cut and sell fuel in order to obtain means of subsistence, although he did not mention this fact to his *guru*. One day the *guru* noticed the growing baldness of his disciple and on being questioned about it, the latter had to admit his difficulties in earning a livelihood. The next day the *bāvā* decided to test the charity of the neighbourhood, and went on a begging round in person. He moved about the city from door to door, crying aloud *ālek ālek*, but nobody except the *kumbhār* woman offered him so much as a handful of flour. He then addressed the latter thus:—"Girl, this city is sinful and will shortly meet with destruction. Fly, therefore, instantly with your family and never turn your face towards the city in your flight". Having thus warned the only righteous person in the city, the *bāvā* returned to his cave where, after reciting an incantation in high exasperation, he pronounced a terrible curse for the destruction of the city 'Let Pātan be buried and let *māyā*‡ be reduced to *māti* (dust).' A whirlwind at once arose and destroyed the whole city. The *kumbhāran* had already fled with her children; but she unfortunately happened to look back in her flight, in spite of the warning, and she and her children were all turned into stones. In this form she can be seen even to-day, with two of her children on her shoulders and leading the other two.

1 Mr. K. D. Desai.

2 The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthāshālā.

3 The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.

4 The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

5 The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.

* The Vasus are a class of deities, eight in number, and are often collectively called Ashtāvasus.

† *Vide* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, page 414.

‡ *Māyā*, in philosophy, means the illusion, by virtue of which, one considers the unreal universe as existent and distinct from the supreme spirit. Here it means the effect of *māyā*, the unreal splendour of the world, in fact phenomena opposed to the noumenon.

To the south of the same village on the banks of a small lake are situated the temples of Hinglaj Mātā and Kāmdev Mahādev. If there is a prospect of a drought in any year, the people of the village make an offering of *lāpsi* to the former deity in order to bring about a fall of rain. About two miles from Dhhank there is a temple of Vikani, in whose honour vows are observed for the cure of fractured bones of men and animals. Brāhmans are feasted at the temple of Hanumān at Timbo, four miles away from Dhhank. At a distance of about two *khetarvās* (fields) there is the shrine of Ashabi-pir where Mussalmāns feast *fakirs* and other co-religionists of theirs.[1]

Besides the above there are the temples of Shankar Tapakeshwar Mahādev and Mungeshwar Mahādev near the hill mentioned in the paragraph above and the temples of Pipaleshwar Mahādev and Rāmchandraji, to the south of Dhhank. There are also temples erected in honour of *suttees* known as Nomalmātā, Hulmātā, etc.[1]

The river Vinu meets the Bhādar, at a place two miles to the east of Ganod, and the Moja also joins the Bhādar a little further to the east. Hence the spot is called *Traveni* (a confluence of three rivers) and is regarded as holy. The beautiful temple of Baraneshwar Mahādev is situated here. Vows for feasting a certain number of Brāhmans, are observed in honour of this deity.[2]

The celebrated shrine of Husen-pir is situated in the vicinity of Ganod, and is much revered by the Khoja community, who hold a fair there on every *Āso-sud-bij*, i. e. the second day of the bright half of Āshvin. The fair lasts for seven or eight days, when Khojas from Bombay and even Zanzibar visit the place. A large building, the Khojakhana, is set apart to the west of the shrine for the *sabhā* (or meeting). The largest fair was held in *samvat 1940* (1884 A.D.), when H. H. the Agashah paid a visit to the shrine. There is a large gathering of people at the place every *bij* day.[2]

Husen-pir was a native of Kadi and a Saiyed by birth. In his youth, with his father's permission, he decided to remain unmarried, and took to travelling. In the course of his wanderings he halted for a week on the spot where his shrine stands at present, and was so charmed with the place, that he asked the owner of it, a Rabāri, Almora by name, for permission to reside there always. The Pīr was accompanied by two followers of the Mujāvar fakir sect. The present Mujāvar attendants at the shrine are descended from them, and stand in the 12th or the 15th degree of descent.[2]

One evening (it was the 5th day of the dark half of Bhādrapad) the Pīr accompanied by his two followers went to the Bhādar to offer the evening prayers. After the prayers were over, he told his followers that a flood was soon coming in the river, and asked both of them to leave him and return with their horses. One of them left the place as directed: but the other placed his head on the Pīr's lap and was drowned along with his master in the flood, which came down as if in obedience to the Pīr's words. Before dying the Pīr granted a boon to the Mujāvars that their line of descent would never fail for want of their heirs, and that their heirs would always be his attendants.[2]

The same night the Pīr informed the Khojas of Keshod and Kutiana that his corpse and that of his Mujāvar follower lay unburied at a particular spot. The Khojas, accompanied by the Rabāri Almora, visited the place in the morning and made ready to carry the corpses to Junāgadh. They found to their astonishment that the corpses could not be removed. Almora then recollected the request of the Pīr, and told the Khojas of his favourite place. The corpses were then carried to their present place of rest, and all efforts of the Khojas to proceed further

[1] The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.

[2] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

proved unavailing. At that time there was a village called Keralun about a mile from the present site of Ganod. It is, however, uninhabited and in ruins and its site is now known as the *timbo* of Keralun. The Khojas erected a shrine over the place where the Pīr was buried, and the tombs of his relatives were afterwards erected in the vicinity. Vows observed in honour of the Pīr having proved fruitful in many cases, the Pīr's fame spreads wider every day. The Gondal Durbar has granted a *wādi* (a piece of land) for the maintenance of the Mujāvar family, who also receive the things that are offered to the Pīr. The Khojas consider it a merit to dedicate a portion of their earnings to this Pīr. People of all castes from Ganod offer one *kori** at the time of the marriage of a girl at their house. The knots of the marriage-scarves of newly-wedded couples are untied here, and the ceremony of shaving children for the first time is also performed in the presence of the Pīr. The usual offering to the Pīr consists of *churamu* and *kansār* : some people, however, offer a goat or a ram and call it *pānechednāriel.*[1]

There is a hollow log of wood on the boundary of Lath, a sub-village of Gondal and a mile to the South of Ganod. Long ago a fakir, while accompanying a band of outlaws *bārvatias*, was killed in a scuffle and was buried here. A *bābul* tree grew over his tomb, and came to be known afterwards as Lakkad Pīr (the wooden Pir). The tree after a time withered till its stem was reduced to a small log with a hole in the centre. People observe vows in honour of this Pir for the cure of cough and bronchitis in children. After recovery, the children are made to pass through this *bākān* or hole and an offering of *kansār* is made to the Pīr. It is not only the Musalmāns who observe vows in the Pīr's honour : Hindus also have the same strong faith in him.[1]

Nearly twelve miles from Vanod lies the temple of Bechrā Mātā, who is the patron goddess of the Pāvaiyā sect. A male buffalo is offered to her as a victim on the 15th day of the bright half of every month. Near the temple there is the holy *kund* of Mānsarovar, the legend about which has already been related in these notes†

The village of Dādvi possesses the shrine of Mangalshā Pīr. Friday is the day for special worship of the Pīr, when dainties and cocoanuts are offered, and a flag is hoisted. Frankincense is burnt every evening.[2] There is also a temple of Māchho, the goddess of the Bharvāds, who offer her *lāpsi* and cocoanuts on every *bij* day. They also light a ghi lamp and lop off the ears of a goat or a ram, and offer the blood to the goddess.[2]

In Kolki a *bāvā* of the Bharvād caste named Hado Bhagat is said to have set up the images of all the gods in a certain temple. It is believed that he possessed miraculous powers. His decendants do not sell goats to Kasāis (butchers[3]).

There is a temple of Khodiār Mātā in Chok. The goddess is worshipped by Atits, who offer her *lāpsi* on every Dasarā day. There is also a temple of Hanumān, where the Khākhis bring an offering to the god every Saturday.[4]

In the village of Motā Devaliā are the temples of Bholānāth, Mahādev and Pipaleshwar Mahādev. Both the deities are worshipped by Atits, who perform the ceremony with the usual materials of frankincense, a ghi-lamp, cooked food, and who also blow a conch. It is said about Pipaleshwar Mahādev that none can stay at night in the temple. Once a Brāhman, who insisted on passing the night there, was hurled to a

[1] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

[2] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.

[3] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

[4] The Schoolmaster of Chok.

* *Kori* may mean either a new garment or an unused earthen jar.

† See p. 42 *Supra*.

distance of two fields. There is also a temple of Swāmi-Nārāyan and three temples of Thākorji where the ceremony of worship is performed every morning and evening in the usual way with frankincense, a ghi lamp, and *ārati*. The shrine of Nilā-Pīr on the village boundary is revered alike by Hindus and Musalmans.[1]

In the vicinity of Chhatrasa, there is a temple of Kishordās Hanumān. On *Kāli-Chaudas* day the people of the village offer *churamu* and *vadān* to the god. The shrine of Gebalashā Pīr is situated two miles away from Chhatrasa, on the boundary line between that village and Kalānā. Sweet-balls, or sometimes only molasses, are offered to this Pīr on the fulfilment of vows observed in his name. Near the village gates lies the shrine of Daudshah, of whom it is said that he deprives thieves of their eye-sight, if they try to enter Chhatrasa. In the Vishnu-mandir, *annakūt** is offered to Vishnu by the attendant priest, on the first day of the bright half of Kārtik.[2]

A temple of Khodiar Mātā surrounded by Pandari creepers is to be seen on the way from Mojidad to Sanka. The Thakor of Limbdi used to kill a goat before the goddess during the Navarātra holidays; but an offering of *lāpsi* is now substituted for the goat. There is another temple of the same goddess on the way to Zābālā where she is worshipped by the Bhadkavā Durbar. The attendants at both places are Atits, and the usual offering consists of *lāpsi* and *khir*.† At a place near the boundary-line between Mojidad and Ayarda, Swāmi-Nārāyan Bhagwān and Sahajānand Swāmī are said to have bathed in the company of Hanumān in the river Vansal. The Brahmachāris‡ of the Swāmi-Nārāyan sect hold a fair there and offer prayers to Hanumān on the 15th day of the dark half of Bhādrapad.[3]

Every marriage-procession on its way to and from the place of marriage has to offer a new earthen jar to such field-deities as Dādmokhodiar, Lālo, Hardās, etc. Failure to do so arouses the wrath of these deities and brings disasters to the married couple. The only form of worship in use for these deities is to apply red lead and oil to their images. Seven kinds of corn, *viz. adād* (phaseolus radiatus), *mag* (phaseolus mungo), *kalathi*, *math*, *chanā* (gram), wheat and *juvari* are mixed and cooked together and the preparation which is called *khichdi* is offered to the deities at sunset. If the deities are not propitiated in this manner, they are believed to do harm to the people of the village.[4]

On a hill near the village of Patanvav there is a temple of Mātāji, where a ghi lamp is kept constantly burning at the cost of the Gondal Durbar. In Patanvav itself there is a shrine of Ahabā Pir attended upon by a fakir. At the approach of the monsoons, all the villages offer *lāpsi* to Mātāji and *churamu* to the Pīr.[5]

In Paj, near Saltanpur there is a shrine of Gebansha Pīr surrounded by a number of *bābhul* trees; and it is said that if a person were to cut any of the trees, he would meet with death or at least fall ill. There is a cobra deity, called Khetalo, near Sultanpur whose *gors* (attendant priests) are Nāgmagā Brahmans. It is believed that 'this deity confers once on each generation of the *gors*, as much wealth as would suffice for the life-time of all men of that generation.[6]

1 The Schoolmaster of Mota Devalia.
2 The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.
3 The Schoolmaster of Mojidad.
4 The Shastri of Jetpur. Pāthashālā.
5 The Schoolmaster of Patanvav.
6 The Schoolmaster of Sultanpur.
* An offering of all sorts of dainties and vegetables.
† Milk and rice boiled together and sweetened with sugar.
‡ *I. e.* persons who have taken the vow of celibacy.

There is a temple of Hadmatio Hanumān about half a mile to the west of Luvaria. A *Kanbi* of the Dhani tribe once, while pursued by robbers, took shelter behind the image of Hanumān, and vowed that he and his descendants would discharge priestly duties towards the god if he escaped safely out of the difficulty. The god protected him in his danger, and his descendants are now the recognised attendants at the temple.[1]

The village of Aman possesses the holy tomb of Davalshah Pīr. This Pīr lived in the 15th century and was a native of Ahmedabad. He had come to serve in the Amaran *thāna*, when he was killed in a battle. A tomb was built over his body, and he soon came to be regarded as a Pīr. His name became famous when a blind Bharvād regained his eye-sight through his favour. The Pīr also gave a son to a Bania from Ahmedabad who visits the tomb every year in a black suit. Once a Miana killed a cow and took refuge at the shrine of this Pīr: but the shrine spontaneously caught fire and he was burnt with it. The present building was erected by the Bania, and the ladies of the Jamsaheb's court have supplied silver gates and copper railings to it. The Jamsaheb also presents *kinkhab* coverings for the tomb every year. On the night of the *Uras* (or the fair held in the Pīr's honour) sandalwood is burnt before the Pīr.[2]

Charadwa is well-known for the temple of Rājeshwari Mātā. King Prithwi Rāj Chohān suffered from white leprosy and was once going to Dwārkā, with the hope that residence in the holy city would cure him of his disease. On the way, one of his best bullocks suddenly fell. The animal was almost given up for dead when a young woman named Rājbāi, daughter of Udā Chāran, happened to pass by while carrying water in earthen pots. Rājbāi touched the bullock with one of her toes, and to the astonishment of all beholders, the animal at once got up. Prithwi Rāj got rid of his leprosy by the favour of Rājbāi, who granted him an additional boon that she would come to help him on another occasion if he remembered her and sought her assistance. Rājbāi then directed him to visit Dwārkā. Long after, king Prithwi Rāj, when he was at his own place, remembered her in a moment of distress, and she went there (in spirit) after giving instructions to her relatives not to dispose of her body, as she would return soon. But the relatives did not understand her, and before she had returned from Prithwi Rājā's place, her body was disposed of according to the usual manner. For this, Rājbāi cursed her relatives that one of their descendants in each degree would turn out a lunatic. In her memory a pillar was raised and an image set up, both of which are worshipped every morning and evening. Milk, sugar and cakes are offered to her every morning in a *thāl* or dish, and milk and sugar every evening. There is a festival in honour of Rājbāi during the Navarātra holidays.[3]

The temple of Swāmi-Nārāyan at Charadwa contains the images of Shrikrishna, Baldev Rādhā, Rāma, Lakshman and Sītā. The ceremony of *ārati* is performed before the images five times every day. The first is called *mangalārati* or the auspicious *ārati* and is performed early in the morning. The second is *Shangār (Shringār) ārati*, when night garments are taken off the images and new ones are put on for the day. The third, *Rājbhog ārati*, takes place at the time when dainties and cooked food are offered to the gods. The *Sandhyā ārati* follows the offering of milk, sugar and cakes to the gods in the evening. The last, *Pidhān ārati*, is performed at night, when night garments are substituted for the rich dresses of the day. There are five occasions during the year

[1] The Schoolmaster of Luvaria. [2] The Schoolmaster of Aman. [3] The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

when a fair is held at this place: (1) the Annakūt fair on the first day of Kārtik; (2) Vasantapanchamī fair, on the fifth day of the bright half of Māgh; (3) Hutāshani or Holi fair, on the 15th day of the bright half of Phālgun; (4) Rāmanavamī fair, on the 9th day of the bright half of Chaitra, (5) Jamnāshtamī fair on the 8th day of the dark half of Shrāvan.[1]

To the north of Charadwa there is a field-goddess, named Motisāri Meldi Mātā, in whose honour persons who are afflicted by diseases take a vow of presenting a *tavā* (a cake fried in oil in a pan). There is also a serpent-god named Charmaria who receives an offering of *lāpsi* on every *Aso-sud-bij*, *i. e.*, the second day of the bright half of Ashvin.[1]

Besides these there are four temples of Shiva, one of Shaktimātā, one of Hanumānji and two Mahomedan Pīrs in the village.[1]

In Limbdi Taluka, there is a temple of Kālikī Mātā, in whose honour vows are observed by persons suffering from physical or mental afflictions. The attendant at the place is a Brahman, and the worshippers of the Mātā visit her temple on a Sunday or a Tuesday and offer sweetmeats or *lāpsi*. On the eighth day of Ashvin a *havan* is made (*i. e.*, offerings are burnt) before the goddess.[2]

Vows in honour of Khodiar Mātā are efficacious in the prevention of such epidemics as cholera. The Khiyado Māmo quells evil spirits, *bhūts* and *prets*. The Khodo Māmo cures such diseases as cough and bronchitis. In the temple of Rāmnāth, a *brahmabhoj*—a feast to Brahmans—is given on the last day of Shrāvan.[2]

Near the western gates of Zinzuwada is seen the celebrated shrine of Rājbāi Mātā. In old times Zinzuwada was only the *nehado** of a Bharvād called Zunzā. At that time the queen of the reigning prince of Pātan could not be delivered of a child even though two years had passed since the time of conception. Once while on tour the queen's party encamped near the *nehado* of Zunzā Bharvād. The latter, when he learnt of the queen's misfortune, said that the co-wives of the queen had bewitched her by the *kāman* art, *i. e.*, by passing an earthen pot round her and by burying the pot underground with a live frog hanging with its head downwards in it. He added that the queen would not be delivered unless the frog was brought out by some stratagem. He asked the queen and her followers to stay there for some time, and sent word to Pātan with a messenger that the queen was delivered of a son. The co-wives of the queen, dismayed at the unexpected news and at the futility of the *kāman* art, went to look at the buried frog, which instantly jumped out and at the same moment the pregnant queen gave birth to a son. As the child was brought to birth by the instructions of a *Siddha-purusha* (a magician), it was named Siddharāj. The town of Zinzuwada was built in memory of Zunzā Bharvād, and a temple of Rājbāi Mātā was erected in honour of the queen. A large lake named Sensāsar was also constructed in memory of Sensā, the brother of Zunzā.[3]

Soon afterwards people began to observe vows in honour of Rājbāi Mātā. The devotees of the goddess visit her temple every evening. All newly-married couples in the village offer salutations to the Mātā accompanied by hired musicians and a party of women who sing on the way to the shrine. A virgin walks in front of the party with an earthen pot and a cocoanut on her head. After the salutations, sweetmeats to the amount vowed for are distributed among all those who are present. Sometimes a woman who has observed vows for the sake of a son,

1 The Schoolmaster of Charadwa.

2 The Schoolmaster of Limbdi Taluka.

3 The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

* *Nehado* is the residence of Bharvāds or shepherds.

presents a silver umbrella to the goddess, of the value of one rupee and a quarter or five rupees and a quarter, on the birth of a son to her. Burnt offerings and *lāpsi* are presented to the goddess to protect the town from such misfortunes as cholera, plague, etc.[1]

There is a well-known place called Vāchhdā-solanki about eight miles from Zinzuwada. Once a Rajput boy, aged sixteen, was going round the marriage-altar at the time of his wedding, in the village of Kuar, when he heard a piteous cry from a distressed cowherd, whose cows were being carried away by freebooters. The boy immediately ran to rescue the cows; but he was killed in the encounter. A temple was built on that spot in his honour. There is a small *kund* near the temple, the water in which is believed never to dry up and to possess the quality of curing hydrophobia.

Goradia Hanumān lies three miles from Zinzuwada, and there is a tradition that there is a treasure hidden near by. Many vows are observed in honour of Dhamā Hanumān, whose place is at a distance of two miles from Zinzuwada.[1]

The holy *kund* of Zilānand is one mile from Zinzuwada. It is a custom of the neighbourhood to throw the bones of deceased persons into this *kund*, and a fair is held annually at the place on the last day of Bhādrapad. The Bhotāvo *kund* is one mile distant from Zilānand *kund*: the bottom of this *kund* presents a bluish appearance, and the water always remains hot. It is said that there are sulphur mines below.[1]

A princess of Marwar used to worship five gods: Sumaria Ganesh, Kanaknath, Ratneshwar Mahādev, Nāgnāth and Hanumān; and she had taken a vow never to take food before she had worshipped all of them. The gods followed her everywhere in all her tours, but they had made one condition, that they would stop if she looked behind at them on the way. The princess happened to look back at Ganpati on the ridge of Sumaria near Keshia, three miles to the east of Jodia. So Ganpati would not leave Sumaria, and was installed there as Sumaria Ganesh. The same happened to Ratneshwar near Badanpur; to Kanaknāth, at a place midway between Kanakpuri (the modern Kunad) and Badanpur; and to Hanumān, near Kunad. In the same manner, Nāgnāth was installed near the Balambha gate of Jodia. The old town of Kanakpuri was buried by an earth-quake, and the image Kunadia Hanumān was found among its ruins.

The attendants of Sumaria Ganesh are Atīts. A fair is held there on the 4th day of Vaishākh, when thousands of Dheds flock to the place. The usual offering to the god consists of sweet balls. Kanaknāth is attended upon by Atīt Bāvās who share among themselves whatever is offered to the god. Shaivas hold a fair here on the 8th day of the dark half of Shrāvan.

The devotees of Kunadia Hanumān observe *anagh* (vulgarly called *anagodha*) at his place on Saturdays. They cook their food there and make offerings to the god before partaking of it, fasting afterwards for the day. The *anagh* is observed in the month of Mārgashīrsha. The attendants of this god are Khākhi Bāvās.[2]

One mile to the north-west of Jodia, towards the sea, there is a stone image of a horse set up on a pedestal, known as Rāval Pīr. A heroic Girāsia of the Dāl sect, named Rāval, was once shipwrecked while on an expedition from Cutch, and is said to have landed at the spot where Rāval Pīr stands at present. He received a hearty reception at the hands of the then ruling prince of Jodia (who was a Khavās) and was installed in the Durbār as Nana Rāval Pīr.

On the second day of the bright half of Āshādh (which is the new year's day

[1] The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

[2] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.

according to the Halari year) Hindus offer *lāpsi* to Rāval Pīr as also on each Monday in the month of Bhādrapad. On occasions of popular distress, such as the breaking out of cholera or when the rains stop for days together, the *bhuwās* at the place, who are Dāl Rajputs, receive the *pedi* (a small heap of *lāpsi*) on behalf of the Pīr, and being possessed, declare the will of the Pīr as to when rain may be expected or when an epidemic will be warded off. Persons who are anxious for the success of their undertakings observe vows in honour of the Pīr which may cost them anything from a single pice to twenty-five rupees. At the shrine of Nānā Rāval Pīr, huge kettledrums are beaten and the ceremony of *ārati* is performed every morning and evening.[1]

The present site of Lilapur was formerly uninhabited, and the village stood nearly one mile off. Once the goddess Bhavānī directed the *patel* of the village in a dream to reside on the present site, and promised him that he would be always happy and that none of his descendants for seven generations would die of cholera. In testimony of the reality of the dream a box of red lac, a cocoanut, a reel of red thread—called *nādāsādi* and *chunadi*—were found under the patel's pillow. The village was then removed to its present site. The descendants of the patel are called Yadodā. The Mātā chose to take a Bharvād to be her attendant. On the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan offerings are burnt before the Mātā, when the attendant *bhuvā* has to offer sweetmeats worth five rupees. Every Bharvād family spends a rupee and a quarter every third year in honour of the Mātā.

During the famine of the year 1895 Samvat era (=1839 A. D.) the *bhuvā* was thinking of leaving the Mātā in order to escape from starvation, when the goddess appeared in a dream to him, and told him that he would find half a rupee every morning in the temple until he saw and partook of the new harvest. In the month of Shrāvan, he happened to partake of some new seeds and the coin could not be found as usual after this, although the new harvest was not quite ready till three months afterwards. At the entreaties of the *bhuvā*, however, the Mātā again told him in a dream that he would find a silver anklet, weighing 60 *tolas*, on the *bhogavā* (village boundary) of the village of Shiyani. A number of vows are observed in honour of this goddess with various motives.[2]

The Shakta Mātā in the western part of the same village prevents the Joganīs or female fiends from spreading contagious diseases.[2]

The Surdhans near the gates of Lilapur represent two heroes who were killed in an encounter with freebooters in the *Samvat* year 1836 (1780 A. D.). The knots of the marriage-scarves of the descendants of the Surdhans are untied before them, and any of their female descendants visiting the images without a veil on their faces, are subjected to serious calamities.[2]

About ten years ago Unād Bhagat and Jivā Bhagat of Paliad were one day walking together, when Unād Bhagat collected seven stones and placing them one over the other, said to Jivā Bhagat that he was constructing a *pālio*, *i. e.*, a tomb for Jivā. Immediately Jivā died, and Unād had to carry out what was merely meant in jest. Some rooms are built at the expense of the Jasdan Durbar, and a *pujāri* daily offers worship to Jivā Bhagat. A fair is also held in his honour on the second day of Bhādrapad.[3]

About two miles from Jasdan in the village of Bakhalvad there is a temple of Āvad Mātā. The latter represents the queen of one of the rulers of Jasdan. On every Vijayā-dashamī, *i. e.*, the 10th day of the

[1] The Schoolmaster of Goda. [2] The Schoolmaster of Lilapur. [3] The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.

bright half of Ashvin, the prince of Jasdan goes to visit the image in a procession, offers *lāpsi* to Āvad Mātā, and then a feast is celebrated. Formerly it was the custom to kill a buffalo before the goddess on this day: but only *lāpsi* is now offered instead. It is usual to take some wine also on this occasion.[1]

On the Chitalia hill, two miles from Jasdan, there is a temple of Shitalā, the goddess of small-pox, where children who have lately recovered from that disease are taken to offer salutations to the goddess. Silver images of human eye, milk, sugar, curds, grapes, cocoanuts, a sheet of blank paper, and a number of other things are presented to the goddess on such an occasion. Some persons vow to visit the goddess with a burning hearth on their heads. Such vows are discharged on a *sātem, i. e.*, the 7th day of the bright or the dark half of a month. On Shili Sātem, the 7th day of the dark half of Shrāvan, there is a large gathering of people at the place.[1]

The village-gods of Upleta are Kaleshwar, Pragateshwar, Somnāth, Nīlkanth, Dādmo and Khetalio. Pragateshwar is said to have emerged from the earth of his own accord and is therefore called *Swayambhu* (self-existent). The same is said about Nīlkanth and Somnāth also. The temple of Dādmo lies a little away from Upleta. Persons suffering from cough observe vows in his honour and partake of parched gram. There is a *devi* near Pragateshwar before whom a sacrifice is performed on the 9th day of the bright half of Ashvin, and cakes, bread, *khichdi* and *khir* are offered.[2]

In Gondal there is a temple of Gondalio Nāg and one of Nāgnāth Mahādev. Pure milk is the usual offering made to both the deities. Gondalio Nāg is installed in Durbārgadh and is white in appearance. Newly married couples of high class Hindus untie the knots of their marriage-scarves before this deity. In the Durbārgadh there are tombs of seven *ghoris* with whose assistance the first king of Gondal is said to have won his crown. There is also a family goddess of the Bhadeja Rajputs in Gondal known as Ashāpuri, a vow in whose honour is believed to fulfil all desires.[3]

There is a female spirit named Meldi in Movaiya who is worshipped by *bhuvās* on the 14th day of the dark half of Ashvin. On that day they heat oil in an iron pan and take out cakes from the burning oil with unprotected hands. A goat and a cock are also sacrificed on this occasion, and the meat is partaken of in order to win the favour of the goddess.[4]

There is a *bedā* tree near Movaiya about which the following story is told. Long ago there was a *kanbi* (farmer) in Movaiya who used to see a boy moving in front of him with an uncovered head whenever he was ploughing his field. One day the *kanbi* lopped off the hair from the boy's head who followed him to his home, entreating him to return the lock of hair. The *kanbi* however did not heed him, and concealed the lock of hair in a jar containing gram. The boy then served the *kanbi* as a field-boy, when one day he was asked by his master to take gram out of the jar for sowing. The boy, who was a *bhut*, found his lock of hair there, and when once he had obtained it, he took a very heavy load of gram to the *kanbi* and bade him good-bye. But before the boy had fled with his lock of hair, the *kanbi* begged of him a boon that a *bedā* tree should grow in his field, where vows could be observed in honour of the *bhut*.[4]

The villagers in Sayala accompanied by several *bhuvās* and by musicians who beat the *dhols* and the *dānklān* go outside the village

[1] The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Upleta.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Gondal Taluka and the Head Mistress of girls' school, Gondal.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Movaiya.

to visit the temple of Khodiār Mātā on the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan. The *bhuvās* wind a piece of cotton-thread round the village, and sometimes pour out milk or water in the same place in order to secure its safety from any epidemic. On the same occasion four divers, who are generally healthy young athletes, are presented with an earthen pot each and are made to stand in the village-tank till the water reaches to their necks. They are asked to dive simultaneously in the water at a signal from the headman of the village, and to get out immediately. Each of them is named after one of the four months of the rainy season and the amount of water in the pot of each is supposed to indicate the amount of rain which would fall in the respective months of the next year. After leaving the water the divers break the pots on the spot, and the fragments are taken away by the people, to be kept in their jars of corn, in the belief that they will bring prosperity in the ensuing season. The four divers are then made to run a race on the *maidan*, and he who wins the race gets a small plough and a cocoanut as a prize. The winner is called *hālino-jityo*, and it is believed that he will be successful in all his undertakings.

On the same day the *bhuvās* place a small four-wheeled chariot of the Mātā outside the village, and it is believed that the chariot carries off the plague, cholera and similar diseases with it. Such ceremonies are performed in most of the villages on the Balev holiday (*i. e.*, the Nārel-Purnimā day, or the 15th day of the bright half of Shrāvan).[1]

The foundation of a new settlement is carried out in various ways. A series of unusual accidents befalling the residents of a village makes them doubtful of the security of their residence, and produces a desire to move to a safer home. Very often on such occasions the *bhuvās* or exorcists are possessed by the Devis, or Mātās, and declare the will of the gods regarding a new settlement. Sometimes a change of home is recommended tot he villagers in a dream: sometimes a heavenly voice is said to direct the change, in addressing one of the villagers.[2]

An astrologer has first to be consulted as to the auspicious date on which the boundaries of the new settlement should be marked out. Three or four days before the delimitation, learned Brahmans are sent to purify the chosen site by the recitation of sacred mantras.[3] On the appointed day the headman of the village leads a procession to the site, and performs the ceremony of installing the village gods. It is said that, at the time of founding a new settlement, it is necessary to install and worship the *panch-deva* or the five deities, namely, Hanumān, Ganpati, Mahādev, Vishnu and Devi. Hanumān is installed at the village-gates, and is propitiated with an offering of *churmu* and *vadān*. The images of Ganpati and Vishnu are set up in a central place in the village, temples being built for them in due course. Mahādev is generally installed on the village-boundary, and has a temple built for him afterwards. Devi may be set up anywhere: her installation is not permanent nor does she receive systematic worship.[4] But more generally only Ganpati, Hanumān and Mātā are installed on this occasion.[5] Occasionally other deities, such as the Earth, Shesh Nāg,* the Navagrah (the nine planets), the pole-star and Kshetrapāl are also worshipped.[6]

The village-gates are fixed after the ceremony of installation, and a *toraṇ*—a string of *āsopālav* leaves (Jonesia asoka) with a cocoanut in the centre—is fastened across them

[1] The Schoolmaster of Sayala.
[2] K. D. Desai.
[3] The Schoolmaster of Khirasara.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.
[5] The Schoolmasters of Jodia and Khirasara.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Rajpara.
* The celebrated serpent of one thousand heads who supports all the worlds.

near the top.[1] Here the ceremony of *khāt-muhurt** is performed[2] and afterwards the headman, accompanied by a Brahman, who recites mantras, either winds a cotton-thread besmeared with red lac round the village or pours a stream of milk *dhārāvādi* along the village boundaries.[3] The headman has further to perform the *homa* at the gates of the village, when a company of Brahmans recite holy passages in honour of Hanumān and Mātā. At the time of the completion of the *homa*, when the *āhuti* (an oblation of ghi) is thrown on the fire, all persons present offer cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire.[4]

In some places it is usual to worship the newly chosen site itself, and then to drive into the ground a wooden peg besmeared with red lac, called the *khili* (peg) of Shesh Nāg, which is first ceremoniously worshipped with red lac, sandal-ointment and rice.[5]

After these ceremonies, the villagers are at liberty to build their own houses within the new settlement. When the houses are complete and ready for habitation, it is necessary to perform the ceremony known as *vāstun* (or *graha-shānti*) for the propitiation of the nine planets. Both the day of installing the gods and the day of *vāstun* ceremony, are observed as festivals, at which Brahmans are feasted, and *lāpsi*, *churmu* and *kansār* are offered to the gods.[6]

The new settlement may be named after the deity whose advice brought about the move or after the headman. It is sometimes named after the particular incident which drove the people to seek their new home.[6]

A failure of the harvest is in most cases due to the irregularity of the rains. It is therefore ascribed to the displeasure of Indra, the god of rain, and Varuna, the god of water. The mode of propitiating these gods has already been described.

Sometimes a cessation of rains is attributed to the wrath of the village-gods, whereupon the festival of *Ujāṇi* is celebrated in order to appease them. One day, preferably a Sunday, all the inhabitants go outside the village, and rich viands are cooked to be offered to the village-gods. At the same time, the headman performs a *homa* sacrifice and the dainties are partaken of after the villagers have thrown cocoanuts into the sacrificial fire.

In similar circumstances people sometimes seek the protection of the gods Annadeva, Annapūrṇā, and Kriyā Bhaudai. Six *dokdās*† or six pice are collected from every house in the village to make what is called a *chhakadi*, and the whole amount is then bestowed in charity in the name of the abovenamed deities.[7]

Rain during the Ashleshā and Maghā nakshatras‡ is destructive to the crops, and is a sign of the wrath of Indra, who should be appeased with sacrificial offerings.[8]

Diseases among cattle are believed to be brought on by the wrath of minor deities such as Shitalā Mahākāli[9] or the sixty-four Joganis.[10]§ The *bhuvās*, when they are

[1] The Schoolmasters of Chhatrasa and Rajpara.
[2] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
[3] The Schoolmasters of Khirasara, Jetpur and Rajpara.
[4] The Schoolmasters of Chhatrasa and Jetpur
[5] The Schoolmaster of Jodia.
[6] K. D. Desai.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.
[8] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
[9] The Schoolmaster of Kotda-sangani.
[10] The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
* Vide Chapter I., p. 29.
† 100 *dokdās*=1 rupee.
‡ The time taken by the sun to move through the constellations Ashleshā and Maghā, which is approximately the month of August.
§ Generally the same ideas prevail regarding diseases of cattle as in the case of human ailments. *Dorās* or magical threads and slips of paper are often used in cases of fever. In epidemics like cholera pollution is believed to be at the root of the evil. Bhangis are engaged to prepare images of corn to keep off the disease, and they forfeit their homesteads and property if the epidemic is not checked thereby. —*The Schoolmaster of Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.* (These images represent evil spirits presiding over particular diseases. Certain oblations are offered to these evil spirits, and after the recital of certain incantations they are either burnt or buried.)

possessed, declare to the people which particular deity is exasperated, whereupon that deity is conciliated either by offering dainties or a goat or a ram, or by the observance of *Ujāṇi*. A *dhārāvādi*—a stream of milk—is poured on to the ground adjoining the village side, and *toraṇs* of *āsopālav* leaves (Jonesia asoka) are fastened on the doors of the offended deity's temple.[1] It is also customary to place *baklān* and *vadān* at a spot where three roads meet in order to propitiate the evil spirits, who frequent such places.[2]

Small-pox is supposed to be the result of the displeasure of the goddess Shitalā. In all cases of small-pox the victim is left to suffer, the only remedy being the observation of vows in honour of the angry goddess. Different things are dedicated to the goddess according as the disease affects one part of the body or another; and they are usually offered on a Sunday or a Tuesday. The usual offering consists of *kulera*,* a *tāv* (a sheet of paper), fried *juvāri*, fried gram, and other articles varying according to the symptoms.[3]

To ward off this disease the women of the village sometimes prepare cakes, *gānthiās*,† etc., on the sixth day of a month, the preparations being partaken of on the next day, when no fresh food is to be cooked.[4]

Kharavā affects the hoofs of cattle, in which it produces irritation; it is generally due to worms in the hoofs. A *jantra* (a mystical arrangement of words) of the twelve names of Mahāvir (the great warrior, *i. e.* Arjun) is written on a piece of paper, and tied round the neck of the diseased animal, fastened over the gates through which the cattle pass, or suspended over the street by which the cattle go out to graze.[5] The *jantra* is as follows:—

Shrisakhā	Dhanurdhāri	Gājidhanā‡	Krishna-sakhā.
Dhananjaya	Lalanlārkhā ‡	Kapidhwaj.	Jayahari.
Gudākesh	Pitabhavā ‡	Narsinh	Pārth.

Sometimes the paper on which the *jantra* is written is placed in a hollow bamboo stick which is then fastened over the gates.[6] The *jantra* is believed to have the power to cure the disease.

Muvā-keshibi causes saliva to flow continuously from the mouths of animals. A *gagarbediun* (a piece of leather thong or a piece of black wood, on which magic spells have been cast) is suspended over the village gates or is tied to the neck of the animal, in the case of this disease occurring.[7]

In such diseases as *kharavā*, *sunaku*, *motu-dukh* (lit. the great malady), *valo*, *pet-tod*,§ *Bandhāi-javan*,‖ a *jantra* is tied by a piece of indigo-coloured cloth or by a piece of thread of the same colour, round the neck of the animal, and is also fastened over the village-gates. A *toraṇ* is prepared of the ears of *juvāri* corn with a cocoanut in the centre, and after magical incantations have been pronounced over it, is suspended over the village-gates. All animals passing under the *toraṇ* are believed to be proof against the disease.

1 The Schoolmaster of Dadvi.
2 The Schoolmaster of Mota-Devalia.
3 The Schoolmaster of Dhank.
4 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
5 The Schoolmaster of Dhank.
6 The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
7 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.

* Small round cakes of wheat flour sweetened with molasses and fried in ghi.

† A preparation of fine gram flour treated with spices, which after being made into a thick paste, is passed through a sieve into boiling oil.

‡ Shrisakhā, Gājidhanā and Pitabhavā are most probably corruptions of Shrishasakhā, Gāndivadhanvā and Prithābhava respectively; Lalanlārkhā perhaps of Lalāma narākhya.

§ A disease which causes severe pain in the stomach of the affected animal.

‖ A disease which stiffens the limbs of animals and renders them incapable of any movement.

But if this is not successful in checking the course of the disease, it is usual to swallow the *chelans** of Mungi Mātā (the Dumb Mother). For this purpose the *bhuvās* of the Mātā, who are Bharvāds, are invited to the stalls of the affected cattle, where they recite magic incantations amidst tumultuous shouts and yells. After this they are fed with rice, ghi and sugar, this latter process being called 'swallowing the *chelans* of the Mātā.'[1]

In event of this process being of no avail in restraining the disease, the headman of the village in the company of his wife performs a *homa* sacrifice in the places dedicated to the Mātās, and offers an *āhuti*—a sacrificial oblation—when all the villagers dedicate cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire.[2]

Sometimes the wrath of the god Gorakhdev is supposed to be responsible for cattle-diseases. A bunch of the leaves of a poisonous medicinal plant *ānkdo* is passed seven times over the body of the ailing animal with the prayer 'May Gorakhdev be pleased,' and a cocoanut is dedicated to the god.[3]

Another method of checking cattle-disease is to bury the corpse of an animal which has died thereof near the village-gates. It is believed that this puts a stop to any further deaths among cattle from the same disease.[4]

When such a disease as *shili* (small-pox), *sakharado*, or *kharavā* prevails largely among cattle, a belief gains ground that the Dheds (who flay the dead cattle and sell their hides) have poisoned the drinking water of the cattle in order to increase their earnings.[5]

The god Kāl-bhairav was brought into existence by the fury of god Shiva, when he, being extremely angry with Brahmā, cut off the fifth head of the latter. Kāl-bhairav is the leader of all *bhuts* (ghosts) and *dākans* (witches), and resides at Kāshi (Benares) by the order of Shiva. His favourite haunt is a cemetery. His image is always represented as fierce and ugly.[6]

It is said that this god once entered the mouth of Gorakhnath and performed religious austerities in that strange abode. Although Gorakhnath was nearly suffocated, he could only persuade Kal-bhairav to come out by extolling his glory and by conferring on him the leadership of all *bhuts* and the guardianship of the Kotvālu fortress at Kāshi.[7]

Kāl-bhairav does not command worship on any auspicious occasion. On the other hand, he is much revered by persons who practise the black art. On *Kāli-chaudas* day his devotees worship him in a cemetery, offer an oblation of *baklan*, and recite magic incantations till late at night.[8]

The offerings favoured by Kāl-bhairav are *khir*,† cakes of wheat flour, sugar and *vadān*.‡[9] The sacrifice of a live animal is also acceptable.[10] The offering after presentation to the god, are given to black dogs.

Pregnant women in order to secure a safe delivery sometimes vow to abstain from ghi till they have offered an oblation to Kāl-bhairav.[11]

[1] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
[2] The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
[3] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.
[4] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[5] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.
[6] The Schoolmaster of Moti Murad.
[7] The Schoolmaster of Chhatrasa.
[8] The Schoolmaster of Jodia and Dodiala.
[9] The Schoolmaster of Aman.
[10] The Schoolmaster of Patanvav.
[11] The Shastri of Jetpur Pāthashālā.

* The word *chela* in ordinary language means a pancake (*pudalo*) of wheat or gram, sweet or salt, and it is a favourite oblation to Mātā. So the word *chelan* may have come to be used for any oblation to Mātā and the expression swallowing the chelans may mean partaking of the oblation or offering of the Mātā.

† Milk and rice boiled together and sweetened with sugar.

‡ Vide page 48.

The following lines are often repeated in honour of this god[1]:—

भुक्तिमुक्तिदायकं प्रशस्तचारुविग्रहम् ।
भक्तवत्सलं स्थितं समस्तलोकविग्रहम् ॥
निष्क्वणन्मनोज्ञहेमकिंकिणीलसत्कटिम् ।
काशिकापुराधिनाथ कालभैरवं भजे ॥ १ ॥

(I worship Kāl-bhairav, the giver of food and of salvation, of auspicious and comely appearance, who is kind to his devotees.)

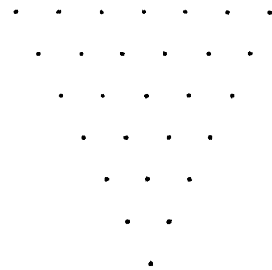
Ganpati or Ganesh, about whose origin the traditional legends prevail, is represented with four hands, in one of which he holds a *kamandalu* (a gourd), in the second a *lādu* (or a sweet-ball), in the third a *parashu* (or an axe), and in the fourth a *jap-māl* (or a rosary). He is sometimes called Dundalo (lit., big-bellied) because of his having a protuberant belly. He puts on a yellow garment and rides a mouse. His brother is Kārtik-swāmī who rides a peacock. His favourite dish consists of *lādus* or sweet-balls of wheat-flour fried in ghi and sweetened with molasses. Siddhi and Buddhi are the two wives of Ganpati. Before their marriage their father Vishwarupa had made a promise that he would bestow the hands of both on whomsoever circumambulated the whole Earth within one day. Ganpati reasoned that a cow and a mother are equal in merit to the Earth and by passing round the former, he got the hands of both. Ganpati is said to be the fastest writer of all, so that the sage Vyāsa secured his services as a scribe, at the instance of Brahmā, in writing the Mahābhārat. When Rāvan had conquered all the gods and made them serve in his household, Ganpati had to become a cowherd and to look after cows and goats.[2]

On *Vaishākh sud choth*, known as Ganpati *choth*, i. e., the fourth day of the bright half of Vaishākh, Ganpati is ceremoniously worshipped with red lead, red flowers, milk, curds, honey, etc. The image of the god is besmeared with red lead and ghi, and the remnant of this ointment is applied to the doors and windows of the house.[3] Sweet-balls of wheat-flour fried in ghi and sweetened with molasses are first dedicated to Ganpati and are afterwards partaken of as the god's gift.[4]

The people of Mahārāshtra observe Ganpati *choth* on the 4th day of the bright half of *Bhādrapad*, when an earthen image of Ganpati is made and worshipped with twenty kinds of leaves.[5]

It is a custom among the Vaishnavas to draw an image of Ganpati in those vessels which are to be used for cooking food at the time of performing the obsequies of a deceased Vaishnava.[6]

The Mātrikās are sixteen in number, and are worshipped on such auspicious occasions as a *yajna* (*i. e.*, a sacrifice), a wedding, or the ceremony known as *vāstu*.[7] Their installation consists in painting the following marks with red lac on the back walls of a house.



The marks are besmeared with molasses, and a little ghi and a piece of some precious metal is affixed to them.[8] At the time of a marriage, fourteen are worshipped in the house, one outside the village limits, and one near the front door of the house where the wedding is celebrated.[9]

1 The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.
2 The Schoolmaster of Barton Female Training College, Rajkot.
3 The Schoolmaster of Kolki.
4 The Schoolmaster of Dhank.
5 The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.
6 The Schoolmaster of Jasdan.
7 The Schoolmaster of Aman.
8 The Schoolmaster of Dhhank.
9 The Schoolmaster of Aman.

The Mātrikās or Mātās are worshipped during the Navarātra holidays also. On this occasion small *morias* or earthen bowls with a hole in the centre of each, are plastered with *khadi* (red or green earth) and *kāyā*; and young girls carry them on their heads with burning lamps from door to door. At each house they receive oil for the lamp and a handful of corn. On the last day, *i. e.*, on the ninth day, all the bowls are placed on the special site dedicated to the Mātās. The songs, which are also accompanied by dancing, are called *garabi* or *garabā*.[1]

The Mātrikās are also supposed to be the *grahas* or planets which influence the life of a child in the womb, and their worship is believed to bring about an easy delivery.[2]

There is also a family goddess of the name of Mātrikā. In worshipping her, seven round spots are painted on a wall with red lac, and ghi is poured over them in such a manner as to form five small *relās* (streams). A mixture of molasses and ghi is then applied to these spots with a piece of *ādāchh* (red cotton yarn). By this process the devotee secures the motherly regard of the goddess.[3]

One of the deities which preside over child-birth is Randal Mātā or Rannā Devi, who is said to be the wife of the Sun.[4] In order to secure an easy delivery, pregnant women take a vow that they will invite one or more *lotās* (bowls) of this Mātā. The process of "inviting the *lotās*" is as follow:—

The tufts round the shell of a cocoanut are pulled out, the nut is besmeared with chalk, and marks representing two eyes and a nose are painted on it. (Or the nut is so placed that the two spots on its surface represent eyes, and the pointed tuft of fibres between them serves the purpose of a nose). A bowl is placed on a piece of cloth stretched on a wooden stool, and the cocoanut is placed over the bowl. It is then dressed in elegant female attire, and a ghi lamp is kept constantly burning near it. This completes the *sthāpan* or installation of Randal Mātā. Women bow down before this representation of the Mātā, and sing melodious tunes in its presence. On the morning of the following day, the image is carried to the temple of the village Mātā, the cocoanut is deposited there, and the garments are brought home. The cocoanut is subsquently taken by the Brahman attendant of the Mātā.

On the day of the installation it is customary to invite five *gorāṇis** (married women whose husbands are living) to a feast of *khir* and cakes. On the next day, when the Mātā is sent away, three virgins are entertained with rice, sugar and milk.[5]

In some communities a custom prevails of "inviting the *lotās* of the Mātās" on the occasion of the first pregnancy of a woman. On the day on which the *lotās* are to be invited, the pregnant woman takes a bath early in the morning, and calls upon thirteen *gorāṇis*, whom she invites to dinner by marking their foreheads with red lac. A Brāhman is called to set up the Mātās, whose installation takes place in the same manner as that of Randal. The piece of cloth spread on the wooden stool is required to be green. When the *gorāṇis* sit down to the dinner, the pregnant woman washes their right toes with milk and swallows that milk as *charanāmrit* (lit. the nectar of the feet). The *gorāṇis* are required to taste a morsel of some preparation of milk before they begin their meal. At night, a company of women dance in a circle round the Mātās, singing songs. Next morning a *bhuvā* is called, who declares the will of the Mātās. On receiving a satisfactory reply from the *bhuvā*, the party disperses.[6]

[1] The Schoolmaster of Zinzuwada.

[2] The Schoolmaster of Ganod.

[3] The Schoolmaster of Sanka.

[4] The Schoolmaster of Sanka.

[5] The Schoolmaster of Anandpur.

[6] K. D. Desai.

* Also known as *surāsaṇis*.